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RESCUE AND SURVIVAL OF JEWS

IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA (NDH) 1941-1945

by

ESTHER GITMAN

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2005

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Abstract

RESCUE AND SURVIVAL OF JEWS
IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA (NDH) 1941-1945

by

Esther Gitman

Adviser: Prof. Jane S. Gerber

This dissertation focuses on the rescue of the Jews in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) during World War II. The central thesis is that, despite the brutalities of the Nazis and the Ustashe (Croatian Fascists), assistance came from all strata of the society: from officials in the NDH government, the Catholic Church, from national and international humanitarian organizations, the Italian 2nd Army, as well as thousands of ordinary citizens, family friends, neighbors, strangers and even individual Ustashe. The reasons, the means, and the ways of offering rescue and assistance varied, but most of those that reached out to help took great risks and put themselves in harm's way. They offered shelter, provided food, obtained forged exit visas, transported Jews across enemy lines and rescued children whose parents either had joined the Partisans or had been deported to concentration camps. However, due to the hostile and complicated political, religious and social environment in NDH, 30,000 Jews (77%) lost their lives. Thus, it is not surprising that contemporary historiographic literature focuses for the most part on the annihilation of the Jews. But there is a second side to this story: 9,500 Jews were rescued and survived.

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In this dissertation, I attempt to answer the following questions: (1) how did 9,500 Jews survive? (2) Who were the rescuers? (3) Was rescue the result of random acts or deliberate and purposeful actions? (4) Who was rescued and for what purpose? (5) Which territories of occupation had the highest rate of survival and why? The answers to these questions provide enough information to understand how rescue took place in NDH and in the territories under German and Italian occupation.

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During my year in Zagreb, I met Dr. Ivo Goldstein, a professor of history at the University of Zagreb who graciously agreed to be my mentor. As the author of "*Holocaust in Zagreb*", Professor Goldstein was uniquely qualified to assist and direct me to the most relevant sources of information. Dr. Goldstein has read parts of the

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dissertation and made many useful comments. Dr. Jure Kristo, a member of the Croatian Institute for History, also studied parts of the dissertation and made invaluable improvements. The Director of the Croatian State Archive, Dr. Josip Kolanovic together with the head of the research department, Ljubica Plese, responded very generously to my request for documents long after I had left Zagreb. Thanks are also due to the historians and archivists in the Croatian History Museum, Lucija Benyovsky and Mate Rupic. My unending appreciation goes to my friend and librarian, Ljerka Raic, who spared no effort in helping me to identify secondary sources of information. She also accompanied me on my interviews with survivors and rescuers.

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance given me by the Chief Rabbi of Croatia, Kotel Dadon, who opened many doors for me, thus making my work much easier. Special thanks are also due to the librarian of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, Julija Kos. To Vlasta Kovac the editor of the magazine *Voice,* Kovac published some of my early findings. I would like to thank my friend Jasminka Domas, journalist and reporter for Croatian radio and television, for giving me the opportunity to explain to the people of Croatia the purpose of my research.

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With great appreciation and gratitude I would like to thank my friend, Dr. Victoria Hamilton, for reading the manuscript several times and making valuable comments and important corrections that greatly improved the readability of the text. Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Dr. Israel Gitman, who throughout our lives

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together has encouraged me to undertake tasks that I dreamed about but thought were beyond my reach; whenever in doubt, he has been here to lend a helping hand.

I dedicate this work to my beloved grandchildren Gabrielle, Gilad, and Elisheva.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AHA	Antisemitizam, Holokaust, antlfasizam (Antisemitism, Holocaust, Antifascism.)
AIFM	Archives of the Italian Foreign Ministry
AIHRPH	Arhiv lnstituta za Historiju Radnicki Pokreta Hrvatske (Archive of the Institute of the History of the workers' Movement)
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
AFZ	Antifašistièki front žena (Antifascist Women Front)
AJC	American Jewish Committee
AML	Allied Military Liaison
AVNOJ	Antifašistièko vece narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije (Antfascist Peoples Board Yugoslavia)
BiH	Bosna i Hercegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
CA	Crvena armija (Red Army)
CK KPH	Centralni komitet komunistièke partije Hrvatske (Central Committee of the Communist Party
CK KPJ	Centralni komitet komunistièke partije Jugoslavije (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia)
CSP	Casopis za suvremenu povijest, Zagreb (Journal for contemporary History, Zagreb.)
DELASEM	Delegazione Assistenza Emigranti e Profughi Ebrei (Delegation for the Assistance to Jewish Refugees)
DAZ	Drzavni arhiv u Zagrebu. (State Archive in Zagreb.)
GESTAPO	Geheime Staatspolizei – Tajna drzavna policlja, (Gestapo,Gestapo Police)
GPSUZ	Gradsko poglavarstvo Stambeni ured u Zagrebu.
GSH	Glavni štab Hrvatske (Central Headquarter of the Croatian Army)
GUZ	Glavni urudzbeni zapisnik. (Main Registration File)
HAZ	Historijski arhiv u Zagrebu, (Historical Archive in Zagreb.
HDA	Hrvatski drzavni arhiv, Zagreb,(Natinal Croat State Archive, Zagreb.)
HDS	Hrvatski drzavni sabor, (Croatian Parliament)
HICEM	Hebrew Imigrant Colonlzation Emigration.
HIAS	Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Hebrew Sheltering
HSS	Hrvatska seljacka stranka,
HZ	Historljski zbornik, Zagreb
IGCR	Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees
IHP	Institut za hrvatsku povljest
IRC	International Red Cross
JA	Jewish Agency
JA	Jugoslavenska armija (Yugoslav Army)
Jal	Jevrejski almanah, Beograd
JDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
JIM	Jevrejski istorijskl muzej, Beograd, Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade.)
JMO	Yugoslav Muslim Organization"

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JNA	Jugoslavenska narodna armija (Yugoslav People's Army.)
JOINT	Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.
JP	Jevrejski pregled, Beograd.
JTH	Javno tuzilastvo Hrvatske (Main Public Prosecutor's Office of Croatia).
JVO	Jevrejska vjeroispovjedna opcina (Jewish Community
KAZ	Kaptolskl arhiv u Zagrebu, (Archbisps Archive in Zagreb)
KP	Komunisticka partija
KPH	Komunisticka partija Hrvatske
KPJ	Komunistièka partija Jugoslaviie
MINORS	Ministarstvo oruzanih snaga NDH
MPB	Ministarstvo pravosuda i bogostovlja
MUP	Ministarstvo o unutarnjih (unutrasnjih) poslova
NAZ	Nadbiskupski arhiv Zagreb
NDH	Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska
NOB	Narodno-oslobodilacka borba
NOO	Narodno-oslobodilaèki odbor
NOR	Narodno-oslobodilack i rat
NOV	Narodno-oslobodilacka vojska
NRS	National Refugee Service
ORT	Organization for Rehabilitation and Training
OZNA	Odjeljenje za zastitu naroda
RAVSIGUR	Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost .
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt
RELICO	Relief Committee for the War-Stricken Jewish Population
RUR	Ravnateljstvo ustaskog redarstva (Headquarter of Ustashe Police)
SA	Sturm-Abteilung – Jurisni odredi
SD	Sicherheitsdienst – Sluzba sigurnosti
SHS	Kreljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes)
SJOJ	Savezjevrejskih opstina (opcina) Jugoslavlje
SS	Schutz-Staffel – Zastitne snage
UNRRA	United National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNS	Ustaska nadzorna sluzba (Usthashe Supervisory Police)
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organization
WRB	War Refugee Board
ZAVNOH	Zemaljsko antifasisticko vijece narodnog oslobodenja Hrvatske
ZKRZ	Zemaljska komislja za utvrdivanje zlocina okupatora I njlhovih pomagaca (Legal Commission for Determining War Crimes)
ZBJEG	The masses of refugees that followed the Partisans, after the capitulation of Italy in 1943).
ZOZ	Zidovska opcina Zagreb (Jewish Community Zagreb)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on the rescue of the Jews in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) during World War II.[1] The central thesis is that, despite the gross brutalities committed by the Nazis and Croat Ustashe (Croatian Fascists)[2] in order to annihilate the entire Jewish people, many Croats, Bosnians and Italians from all walks of life saved the Jews from complete extinction. Archival material clearly demonstrates that those who rescued the Jews included NDH Ministers and officials, Catholic prelates, thousands of private individuals, national and international humanitarian organizations, as well as the Italian 2nd Army and the Partisans. The reasons, the means, and the ways of offering rescue and assistance varied, but the majority of those who reached out and helped took grave

---

[1] Croatia is situated between central, southern and eastern Europe. Because it has a distinct shape that resembles a horseshoe, it has many neighbors: Slovenia, Hungary, part of Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Italy across the Adriatic. Its terrain is diverse containing plains, lakes and rolling hills in the continental northeast (Central Croatia and Slavonia, part of the Pannonian plain). It has wooded mountains in Lika and Groski Kotar, which are part of the Dinaric Alps. It also contains the rocky coastline on the Adriatic Sea (Istria, Northern Seacoast and Dalmatia.)

[2] Ustashe is the traditional name employed by Croatian nationalist rebels that was adopted in 1929 by a secret terrorist organization led by the fervent nationalist, Ante Pavelic. During the 1930s, the Ustashe committed numerous acts of terrorism against Yugoslavia, including the assassination of King Alexander in 1934. They operated from Austria, Hungary and Italy. In 1941, 250 to 300 hard core Ustashe, together with their leader Ante Pavelic, established the Independent State of Croatia. They collaborated with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy thereby, an act that facilitated the murder of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and other dissidents including Croats. The word "Ustasha" could be best translated as *insurgent* or *freedom fighters.* For further information see Chapter 3.

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risks, putting themselves in harm's way. As will be demonstrated in this dissertation, many local citizens took an active part in the rescue of Jews. They offered shelter, obtained forged exit visas, and provided food. At other times they accepted belongings for safekeeping, transported Jews across enemy lines under the cover of Muslim garbs and even Ustashe uniforms; most importantly, they provided shelter for small children whose parents had joined the Partisans or had been taken to concentration camps.[3]

The Independent State of Croatia, NDH, was created with the help of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy on April 10, 1941. It was born out of the wreckage of the dismembered country of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. From its inception, the collaborationist[4] system of NDH government aimed to create a strictly Croatian "Lebensraum"[5]. To fulfill this ambitious objective, the NDH regime expelled some of the

---

[3] Interviews with Olga Neuman, 26.12.2002; Dr. Vera Oberiter, 21.11.2002; these two women although tender in age assumed the responsibility of caring for Jewish children. Yad Vashem Jerusalem granted both women in 2004 the prestigious award of Righteous Among the Nations. Interviews with Eva Grlic (mother) 2.2.2003 and Vesna Domani (daughter) 2.8.2003: Eva, after attempting to remain in Zagreb without success decided to join the Partisans and leave her daughter Vesna Domani with a friend who kept Vesna for the duration of the war. There were many similar incidents, which have not been adequately explored. There was also Catholic orphanages that sheltered Jewish children, see Chapter 6 the testimony of Danko Shtockhammer. See also: Appendices 6.1.16, 6.1.17, 6.1.21.

[4] The documents in the Croatian archives and also some of the historiographical literature refer to the Ustashe regime 1941-1945 as collaborationist (in local literature often referred as 'quisling') system of government.

[5] Dawidowicz, Lucy S, *The war against the Jews 1933-1945,* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975, 91. War for Lebensraum [living space] was thus associated in Hitler's mind with war against the Jews, not alone in an apocalyptic sense of a final struggle between Gog and Magog, between Aryans and Jews, but also in a conventional sense. Back in 1927, Rudolf Hess wrote to a friend that 'in Hitler's opinion [world peace would] ....be realizable only when one power, the racially best one, has attained complete and uncontested supremacy."

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Serbs, converted others, and annihilated the Jews and the Gypsies as well as the remainder of the Serbs and Croatian dissidents, stating:[6]

'... since many Croat citizens individually and in groups are engaged in the rescue of individual Jews and their families, the Ustashe Office for Law and Order sent instructions to the State Regulatory Board forbidding lawyers and solicitors from being involved in political matters, particularly on behalf of the Jews. Those who do not uphold this law will be held accountable and bear heavy consequences.[7]

The data and the various statistical analyses confirm the conclusion that the brutality and savagery of the Ustashe surpassed even that of Nazi Germany. On the eve of World War II, the Jewish population in the territories of the Independent State of Croatia, NDH, which included Bosnia-Herzegovina, was 39,500. In Croatia, there were 25,000 Jews and in Bosnia-Herzegovina 14,500. In total, approximately 9,500 Jews survived and 30,000 perished.[8]

According to the National Commission for the Verification of Crimes Committed against the Jews by the Nazis and their Collaborators, one of the first tasks assigned by the forces of occupation [Nazi Germany] to the NDH regime was:

'... to attend to the resolution of the Jewish Question. The resolution had to take its course in two directions: first, to confiscate [loot] all Jewish assets, i.e., to

---

[6] Znidarcic, Lav, *Alojzije Stepinac, O stotoj Godisnjici rodenja*, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1998, 116.

[7] "Novi list", 18, 05.16.41.

[8] Romano Jasa, *Jews of Yugoslavia, 1941-1945, Victims of Genocide and Freedom Fighters,* Belgrade: The Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, 1980, 5-14. The differences among historians in presenting figures and percentages regarding the pre war population, number of casualties and the rate of survival may differ by as much as 20 percent. For detailed discussion of how and why these differences occurred see also Ivo Goldstein, *Holocaust in Zagreb*, Zagreb: Novi Liber and Zidovska Opcina, 2001, 632-648.

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> return all the material possessions, that were in Jewish hands, to the Croatian people. These assets would then be used to rebuild the new Independent State of Croatia." Second, to physically exterminate the Jews in the territories of NDH in the manner of the Nazi doctrine of Racial Laws as conceived by Hitler and formulated by Dr. Alfred Rosenberg.[9]

While the Ustashe atrocities can be viewed as part of a global context of terror and murder introduced by Nazi Germany, nevertheless, in the Croatian situation, the Ustashe, on their own initiative, introduced immediate and wide-ranging punitive measures. The objective of all these hardship—wearing the Jewish identification sign "Z", destruction of holy places, prevention from earning a livelihood— led to psychological trauma, fear and confusion.[10] In fact, from April 1941 until the end of July 1942, the Ustashe, under the watchful eyes of the Nazis, were responsible for the deportation, execution, and annihilation of the Jews on Croatian soil. Jews were deported to Ustashe "home made" concentration camps. In their book *Jews Under the Italian Occupation,* Leon Poliakov and Jacques Sabille write:

> The Ustashe chapter written in the summer of 1941 was one of the most gruesome in the history of the Second World War which is saying a lot. The Jews were flung into extermination camps like that on the Isle of Pago, (Pag) where thousands were tortured to death.[11]

Although nearly fifty years have elapsed since the publication of the work of Poliakov and Sabille with their arresting description of the Ustashe, the Ustashe regime in the Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska, NDH) is still viewed as one

---

[9] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45 box 10, 123.

[10] Jelic-Butic, Fikrita, *Ustashe I Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska*, Zagreb: Sveucilisna Naklad Liber, 1977, 270, 273.

[11] Poliakov, Leon and Sabille, Jacques, *Jews Under the Italian Occupation,* Paris: Editions Du Centre, (English Edition), 1955, 132.

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of the cruelest in the annals of World War II. Extermination of Jews was not a random result of the German Nazi war machine; it was the very core and raison d'être of the fascist regimes in the former countries of Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, despite the assistance Nazi Germany received from the Ustashe regime, it will be demonstrated throughout the dissertation that the battle against Nazism and Fascism was fought vigorously in NDH; the number of Croat Partisans gradually swelled to 150,000, possibly more."[12] People from various ethnic and religious affiliations and from all territories of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina joined the Peoples' Liberation War (NOB). Thus, while the Nazis and Ustashe plotted the murder and annihilation of the Jews, many NDH citizens dared to defy the new regime that had betrayed the Croatian struggle for freedom and independence.[13] The objective of those who fought the Ustashe and the Axis Powers was to purge their country of occupiers, including their own brand of fascism, the Ustashe.

On April 17 1941, the Ustashe, using the Nazi blueprint, implemented their first legislative ordinances that promulgated the "act" known as the "Protection of the Croatian People and the State." These ordinances laid the groundwork for establishing a legislative system in which the murder of Jews was legally justified. The State Act declared:

> ...Anyone who damages, or has damaged, in any way the honor of the Croatian people and their vital interests, or who endangers in any way the existence

---

[12] Krizman –Lengel, Narcisa, "A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942," Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Vol. XX, 1990, 2-4.

[13] Nazor Ante, and Ladic, Zoran, *History of Croatia, Illustrated Chronology*, Zagreb: Multigraf, 2000, 355. On July 4 1941, Politburo of the KPJ reached the basic decisions and instructions for the armed resistance against the occupational forces.

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> of the Independent State of Croatia, and its ruling authorities, even if such an act is merely attempted, stands accused of the crime of grave treason (veleizdaja).[14]

In order to provide a radical solution to the "Jewish Question" in the spirit of the German ideology, a special statute was enacted on April 30, 1941 in which the Jews were charged with the collective responsibility for:

> ...The dissemination of lies about the conduct of the government that disturbed the public peace and order. For this, the NDH authorities determined, the Jews must be dealt with collectively and with harsh measures.[15]

Accordingly, these legislations marked the beginning of a campaign that intended to annihilate the Jews of NDH. Frequently, the Ustashe who committed crimes against the Jews did not fully understand the ideology of Racial Laws and the Final Solution, nor were they aware that the same laws could be turned against them overnight. However, they fully understood the usefulness of the Racial Laws in providing the means for the plunder, looting and confiscation of Jewish property.

The Ustashe ideologues argued that the removal of the Jews, the Serbs and the Croat dissidents— the enemies of the Croatian people—was indispensable to the realization of the goal of establishing a purely Croat State. In order to uproot the minorities from Croatia, the Ustashe regime utilized pre-existing concentration camps that

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[14] Krizman –Lengel, Narcisa, "A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942," Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Vol. XX, 1990, 2-4.

[15] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235-2/45, box 10, Dr. Pinto, Samuel, Zlocini Okupatora I njihovih pomagaca izvrseni nad Jevrejima u Bosni I Hercegovini, (Crimes committed by the forces of occupation and their colaborators aganst the Jewish People,18.

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they had inherited from the previous regime and the pre-World War II administrative system.

As stated above, the focus of this dissertation is the rescue and survival of Jews in NDH during World War II. However, to understand the issues involved in rescue under a collaborative government, it is essential to comprehend two separate topics that pertain specifically to the Independent State of Croatia:

One, as much as Croatia needed Germany, so Germany needed Croatia in order to protect its interests in the Balkan region and to assure Germany's free passage through the center of the Balkan Peninsula. Furthermore, Germany needed the bauxite ore found in Herzegovina which was vital to the German military. Initially, Germany had no interest in annexing the territories of Croatia. However, Italy was interested in obtaining the Adriatic Coast. As stated by Ciano, the Italian foreign minister: "Pavelic is favorable to the political pact. He doesn't even exclude the possibility of a union under one head, or a monarchy under an Italian prince."[16] Mussolini succeeded in this objective by persuading Ante Pavelic, at that time an exiled Ustashe in Italy, to surrender the coastal part of the country to the Italians in exchange for Italy's help in creating an independent Croatia.[17] While Germany had doubts about granting independence to Croatia, Italy insisted that it would be

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[16] Galeazzo, Ciano, *The Ciano Diaries 1939-1943, Italian Foreign Minister 1936-1943,* Safety Harbor, Fl: Simon Publication, 2001, 247, April 25 1941, 418. Ciano writes: "I saw Pavelic. The Croatian situation is getting ripe and if we delay too long the Croats will line up with Germany. Now I shall prepare a map to indicate the precise positions of the forces and their most urgent needs. Then we shall pass to the phase of execution. I have not fixed any particular moment: in fact, I have recommended that we avoid any premature explosion. We have received proof of the fact that Bombelles is a traitor on the pay roll of Belgrade and he will suffer the merciless law of the Ustashe."

[17] Matkovic Hrvoje, *Povjest Jugoslavije, 1918-1991,* Zagreb: Naklada Pavicic, 1998, 244.

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in the best interests of the Axis partners. Thus, Croatia became an independent "state by default and a satellite par excellence."[18]

Two, Croatia's nationalists understood that since they were the creation of Germany, the Nazi regime gave them their only chance of survival as an independent country.[19] Furthermore, in the early months of occupation, the Ustashe were in a very difficult economic and financial situation. In order to establish and stabilize their regime, they needed the backing of the Axis Powers.[20] Not surprisingly, the assistance received by the Ustashe did not come freely; they made major territorial concessions to Germany, Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Croats were grateful to Germany, making ideological concessions to please the Nazi regime such as the vigorous implementation of the "Final Solution."[21]

Although the Ustashe recognized the need to please Nazi Germany, they were also aware that, in order to survive as an independent country, they had to assert their internal

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[18] Hilberg, Raul, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: the Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*, New York: Harper Perennial, Aaron Asher Books, 1992, 86.

[19] Jelic-Butic, Fikrita, *Ustashe I Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska*, Zagreb: 173. Also "Hrvatski Narod" 24.6.1941.

[20] Trifkovic, Srdja, "Green Light From Berlin for Slaughters" *Liberty,* Official Publication of the Serbian Defense Council of America, Defense Council of America, November 25, 2001, Issue 1805, Source: DGFP, D, 12, June 6. 1941. Minutes of Hitler's talks with Pavelic. Pavelic had his first meeting with Hitler on 6 June 1941. Most of the conversation pertained to national policy. Towards the end of the conversation, Hitler stated: "After all, if the Croat state wishes to be strong, a nationally intolerant policy must be pursued for fifty years, because too much tolerance on such issues can only do harm." The last sentence gave historians much material for thought and they are still evaluating its importance. Needless to say, Hitler advocated, endorsed and condoned mass persecution of Jews, Serbs and other minorities. Pavelic easily fell prey to Hitler's tactic of "divide and rule."

[21]Shelah, Menahem, edi. *History of the Holocaust, Yugoslavia*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990, 138.

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independence by monopolizing and centralizing all powers of government. In the process of revitalizing their internal affairs, particularly the economy, the Ustashe needed the Jewish professionals. Engineers, physicians, businessmen, administrators were essential to the achievement of economic stability and quality of life. In some cases, the Ustashe refrained from deporting key people to concentration camps and released others who had already been deported because of need and friendship. A detailed account on this subject of rescue of Jews by the NDH government is presented in Chapter 5.

What Constitutes Rescue

In light of the numerous ways in which rescue was provided, the definition of "rescue" is no easy task. First, the whole issue of the rescue of Jews is emotionally charged and survivors often chose not to talk about rescue, at least when initially approached. Second, some of the survivors I interviewed admitted that, in the face of such great atrocities, where seventy-five percent of the Jewish population was brutally murdered, the discussion of rescue felt like a betrayal of those who had perished. To admit that there were good people that helped was also difficult, even when acknowledging that non-Jews from all ethnic groups rescued men and women of all ages.

Before introducing a definition of rescue for the purpose of this dissertation, it is imperative to address a number of basic questions. For example, was it necessary that a rescue effort result in the ultimate survival of an individual? Should the definition of rescue refer to a deliberate act or to any arbitrary act that resulted in rescue? Should monetary exchange be an issue in the definition of rescue? Should the rescuer encounter risk? The above questions served as guides in the review of a large number of primary sources such

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as documents, letters, newspapers articles, and testimonies, as well as historiographic literature and deliberations on the topic by the scholars of Yad Vashem. The definition of rescue of Jews in this dissertation includes the following:

Rescue is a deliberate act taken by non-Jews in an effort to rescue or save a Jew, which involves a risk. By definition, risk is "expected loss"; the loss might be monetary, honorary, as well as potential loss of life. In Croatia, under the Ustashe regime, the assistance of Jews was considered treason (veleizdaja), punishable by death. Even in cases where rescue was requested by a government official and approved by the NDH Minister of the Interior, the rescue entailed a potential risk if and when such an official fell out of favor. Hence, risk was highly significant in all cases even when taken on behalf of the NDH government. It follows, therefore, that random or unintentional activities that resulted in the saving of life do not fall under the category of rescue as defined in this dissertation.

For the purpose of this dissertation, rescue is deemed to have taken place even in cases where monetary reward was received. The reason for this decision is that, in most cases, the amount of money received by the rescuer was not substantial enough to outweigh personal risk. Furthermore, the data demonstrates that, when sending individuals on rescue missions, many local Jewish organizations insisted upon payment, thus making the rescue a binding business transaction. In addition, many Jews wished to give payment in return for the risks taken on their behalf.[22]

Furthermore, it was important to take into consideration the fact that *one person* rarely rescued *one survivor*; some survivors had as many as twenty different rescuers. Which person was the rescuer—the first person, the last one, or all of them? This question

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[22] Kritic, Frano, *Dita,* Osijek: Komputerska odrada i tisak, Gradska tiskara Naklada primjeraka, 21.

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may help to clarify the fact that only ninety-eight of the "Righteous Among the Nations" awards were given to Croatian individuals, and only thirty-four to Bosnian-Herzegovian rescuers. Often the survivors themselves had difficulty in deciding whether one single individual or entity was responsible for their rescue. Since the board members at Yad Vashem requested only one name, the survivor had to choose one rescuer, out of several—perhaps the one that had left the greatest impression and most vivid memory.

For example, Albert Maestro from Sarajevo was captured by the Ustashe in 1941 and sent to Jasenovac concentration camp, from which he managed to escape with the help of many people. In 1945, he was invited to testify in front of the National Commission for the verification of crimes. Maestro described in great detail the atrocities that were committed in Jasenovac; these were still vivid in his mind. His task was to name the perpetrators and to expose their crimes against the Jews and other minorities. But, despite the hardships Maestro experienced in Jasenovac, he did not forget to thank the Croatian peasants of the Jasenovac region stating:

> On this occasion I wish to declare that the civilian population of the villages Jasenovac and Krapje at every opportunity, helped us with food and, by so doing, they ran the risk of being deported to the death camps....The road that led from Jasenovac to the village of Mlaka passed at that time through the camp. The peasants at every opportunity inconspicuously dropped pieces of bread and dried meat and they consoled us with nice thoughts and kind words. In the name of the few of us that managed to survive Jasenovac and in the name of many of those that are no longer with us, I thank them for their kind words and for the food they gave us which at times quenched our hunger, and thus our lives were prolonged until the opportunity for escape presented itself and, with their help, we managed to save our lives. [23]

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[23] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235-45, box 10, Jasenovac. Testimonies given to the National Commission for the Verification of Crimes Committed by the Forces of Occupation and their Assistants that had been appointed to investigate crimes committed against the Jewish People. (Thereafter *National Commission)*

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Initially, it seemed that Maestro might have exaggerated the help given by the peasants who treated the inmates as human beings and who, by dropping a few morsels of bread, saved both his life and the lives of other Jews. But later, after reviewing many such cases, I understood that, along the way, there were nearly always many rescuers; each did his share. The Croat peasants formed a link in a long chain of rescuers that Maestro encountered over four long years. As Maestro testified, in those days, every bit of humanity and morsel of food went a long way and may have made a difference between life and death.[24] Maestro and his colleagues in the Jasenovac concentration camp were by no means the only ones that received help from a large number of individuals.

There are many stories similar to those described above. But in the face of the enormous tragedy that befell the Jews of NDH, many who returned home mourned only their losses; understandably, telling the story of their rescue was not always a high priority. For example, Ljerka Auferber, originally from Osijek, told me how she was hunted by the Ustashe and, when they were just about to grab her, a manager from her father's former business picked her up in his car and drove away without stopping for six hours.[25] He brought her to Ilidza, a small village near Sarajevo, where he had many relatives. The manager's family members and neighbors cared for Ljerka and, after considerable deliberations, placed her in the home of a young couple of her own age. For one year, this couple fed and catered to all her needs, even to the extent of surrendering their bedroom. Yet, after the war, Ljerka was so absorbed in settling her own life that she never thanked

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[24] HDA, ZKRZ, GUZ 2235/10-45 Zemaljska Komisija NR Hrvatske Za Utvrdivanje Zlocina Okupatora I Nhihovih Pomagaca, Zagreb: Jasenovac, Zapisnici svejedoka, Alberta Maestra.

[25] Auferber, Ljerka, interview 20.2. 2003, Zagreb.

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the couple for saving her; she never registered their names with Yad Vashem, and now they are dead, she regrets that she did not register them in time.

Such incidents of "forgetfulness" were frequent since many survivors also felt guilty about their own survival. Also, they needed to get on with their lives; the war had taken away four years of their lives and, because of so much loss, they had little energy to dwell on the past. On the other hand, there was also a great urge to expose the atrocities of World War II— for the whole world to know and remember. Historians in Croatia and in other countries of former Yugoslavia were busy writing thousands of books, articles and monographs; focusing on the machinery of murder, they paid scant attention to other subjects, seeming oblivious to the fact that rescue was a key part of the Holocaust.

However, stories and testimonies, such as the one presented by Mr. Milislav Ercegovic of Dubrovnik,[26] remind us that rescue involved great risk, pain and suffering, not only for the rescuer but also for the rescuer's family. Milislav Ercegovic was a child when his father, Miho, and brother, Velimir, were engaged in the rescue of Jewish refugees fleeing from the inland territories to Dubrovnik on the Dalmatian coast. Whenever Emanuel Tolentino, the secretary of the Jewish community of Dubrovnik, needed help with new refugees, he turned to his Catholic friend Miho Ercegovic for advice and assistance. At age eighty-five, Milislav Ercegovic testified, with tears covering his face, about the underground activities that went on in their store:

> ... You know my father kept seven Jewish refugees hidden in his bookstore and he found shelter and accommodation for scores of others. For his seditious

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[26] Dubrovnik is an ancient city on the Adriatic Coast; during World War II it was under the Ustashe administrative rule and Italian military control in an area designated as Zone II. In this region out of 81 original Jewish citizens only 23 survived. It was also an area where many Jewish refugees flocked from the inland territories.

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> activities, he was imprisoned several times and was sentenced to serve time in a prison in Sarajevo. Rescue of Jews was an all-consuming passion of his, but he failed to take note of the fear and anxiety experienced by his own five children and our mother. He failed to consider what would happen to us if he was put to death?[27]

His father and brother received the "Righteous Among the Nations" award from Yad Vashem for their rescue activities. But there are hundreds, if not thousands, of such stories that fell into oblivion. Although, in recent years, some progress has been made to correct the omissions in the historiographic literature on rescue, much more research needs to be done in the area of the rescue of Jews by non-Jews in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Perpetrators, Bystanders, Victims and Survivors

While considering the definition of rescue, it became apparent that rescue cannot be discussed in isolation; associated subjects must be explored in order to understand the hardships involved in rescue during World War II in NDH. Questions such as why rescue was needed in the first place are not trivial— obviously there were perpetrators. But who were the perpetrators? What were their motivations? Who provided the rescue and why? Why, despite the rescue efforts of so many individuals from the local population, humanitarian organizations within the country and abroad, as well as the rescue efforts made by the Italian Army and the Partisans, did such a small percentage of Jews survive?

As discussed above, Nazi Germany and the Ustashe introduced and ensured that racial laws were implemented and that anti-Semitic propaganda was encouraged. However, Pavelic introduced one significant change in the original document in which a Jew was

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[27] Ercegovic, Milislav, interview, May 27, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

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defined. He introduced a paragraph empowering the head of state, i.e. himself [Pavelic], to bestow the title of "Honorary Aryan" on non-Aryans. Thus, the notion of Aryan, in Croatia, was no longer based on objective criteria - three Jewish grandparents -but on personal whim. The Nazis objected to the change introduced by Pavelic to the German definition of a Jew; the new definition not only stripped the Jews of their civil rights, it provided arbitrary, subjective opportunities for corrupt practices.[28]

The perpetrators, Nazi Germany and the Ustashe, both Croats and Muslims, strove to create the perception that the execution of Jews and their rescuers was legally justified because of their subversive conduct towards the regime. The Ustashe, who came to power on April 10, 1941, accepted the Nazi ideology regarding the Jewish Question and the Final Solution. They were ready to utilize the mechanisms and the tools developed by the Third Reich for the implementation of measures against the Jews. Individuals who were caught assisting Jews were executed for treason. The arbitrary rule of terror of the new totalitarian regime in Croatia affected adversely the entire population of NDH; but the effort to annihilate the entire population was experienced only by Jews.

Those that administered the punishment and inflicted the pain are defined as the *Perpetrators,* or *Executioners*. Dr. Ante Pavelic, the head (Poglavnik), and his Ustashe followers took over control of that portion of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina that was allocated to them by the Axis Powers on April 10 1941; from that moment, they mercilessly attacked the Jews. Ante Pavelic arrived in Croatia on April 15 1941 following 12 years of exile in Italy with a small force of 250 to 300 hard-core Ustashe supporters. Pavelic's first objective was to deal promptly and decisively with the Jews and the Serbs;

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[28] Arendt, Hannah, *Eichmann in Jerusalem,* New York, Published by the Penguin Group, 183-184.

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for this, he needed to mobilize the necessary manpower. His second goal was to defend the territories of his newly formed state from the forces that might strive to keep Yugoslavia united. Although the Partisans and the Chetniks had not yet been formed into fighting units, it was inevitable that neither the Communists nor the Royalists would accept foreign rule and the dismemberment of their country without a fight.[29]

The Nazis aimed to create perpetrators out of the occupied citizens so that they would willingly commit acts that had hitherto been regarded as crimes. To this end, the Nazis and the Ustashe government used various methods: the philosophy of divide and rule, the distinction between "them" and "us," the philosophy of the "inferior race." For example, in Yugoslavia and in particular in Sarajevo, long before the start of World War II, the Nazi planners had met clandestinely with the local leadership. They set up their mass propaganda machine via newspapers, cultural events, churches and mosques in order to convert the otherwise law-abiding citizens into perpetrators. Haj Amin el Hussein, better known as the Mufti of Jerusalem, sent Muslim clerics from Palestine to Bosnia to promote and spread anti-Jewish propaganda.[30] Similarly, representatives from Hitler's regime were sent to all the locations in Croatia in which the Volksdeutsche, Croatian citizens of German ancestry, were residing with the objective of harnessing their energies to the cause of the

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[29] Peric, Ivo, *A History of the Croats*, Zagreb: Center of Technology Transfer (CTT), 1998, 213-219.

[30] Redzic, Enver, *Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Second World War,* Sarajevo: Ex Libris Zlatko Hasanbegovic, 1998. 164-169. Redzic totally ignored the Jews of Bosnia who in Sarajevo constituted 10 percent of the population; they are not even mentioned in his book. Also see HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45 box 10, Dr. Samuel Pinto in his monograph written on behalf of the National Crime Commission. See further discussion in Chapter IV, Sarajevo section on preparations for World War II.

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fatherland.[31] In Chapter 4, the role of the Volksdeutsche and the Muslim Ustashe as perpetrators is discussed in detail.

Raul Hilberg argues that the perpetrators aimed to silence the general public by concealing the places where genocide took place. It was mandatory that the general population be kept in ignorance so that the perpetrators could accomplish the bureaucratic plan of annihilation without obstruction.[32] The totalitarian system needed to reduce the masses to a state of subdued apathy, oblivious to the events that were taking place around them. In their speeches, parades and newspapers, the Nazi leadership aimed to convince the public that the "elimination" of certain groups from within was for the common good. When their rationalizations were not accepted and people started to join the Partisans, the government used force to instill fear and terror in the rest of the population. Those caught in seditious activities against the government were treated harshly, often punished by death. The bodies of dissidents were hung from lampposts for all to see, so that all were reminded of the consequences of disobedience.

In Croatia, the daily newspaper, *"Hrvatska Straza,"* (Croat Police) and other newspapers published the names of those who were executed for alleged crimes against the government. For example, on July 26 1941, a caption reads: "Ten Communists were shot"; on July 27, "Communists that attempted to escape from concentration camp were condemned to death"; August 8, another caption: "shot to death 87 Jews and

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[31] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 3335/2-45, box 10, Dr. Pinto Samuel, 12. For further discussion on the subject see Chapter 4, Sarajevo.

[32] Hilberg, Raul, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: the Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*, New York: Harper Perennial, Aaron Asher Books, 1992, 44-50.

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Communists."[33] And so it went on day after day. Despite strong and persistent internal and worldwide propaganda, world and civil war, food shortage and mass unemployment, the Ustashe succeeded in retaining about 15,000[34] individuals who were ready to undertake the Ustashe cause.

Rescue Categories of Jews in NDH

The central objective of this dissertation is to explore the issue of rescue and to identify all the different ways in which Jews survived. It is interesting to note that many of the testimonies of rescuers and survivors, as well as the documents collected in the archives, suggest distinct categories of survival. The first category of survivors I identified was composed of Jewish physicians: 169 individual physicians and their immediate family members— wife or husband, children, father and mother. All these physicians were "rescued" because many Aryan physicians respected the medical talent of the Jewish doctors and were determined to rescue them; the Aryan doctors did this by sending the Jewish doctors out of sight to remote areas of Bosnia, with the convenient excuse that they were needed to combat the epidemic of endemic syphilis among the Muslims. Some of the Jewish physicians also served in the home-defense units of the army (Domobranstvo).

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[33] Hrvatska Straza, (Croatian Police) Razne vijesti (various news).

[34] Nazor, Ante and Ladic, Zoran, *History of Croats*, Zagreb: Multigraf d.o.o, 2003, 358. Based on the report of the representative Herbert Troll-Obergfell to the Foreign Ministry in Berlin: "In Zagreb on 10 August 1941. On August 9, 1941 Ante Pavelic, Poglavnik, reached a ruling on dismissing the so-called "wild Ustashe" who committed atrocious crimes. In contrast to the version of the Croatian side, which sees the rebellion exclusively as a result of the Serbs' conduct, the German military and reasonable Croatian circles agree that the uprising movement was significantly influenced by the unrestrained and bloody crimes of the Ustashe. See also HDA, Hans Helm file; report of the German representative in Zagreb. See also Peric, Ivo, *A History of the Croats*, 213-219.

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While the epidemic of endemic syphilis had existed before World War II among the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was now represented as an urgent problem, requiring immediate attention. Since there was a scarcity of Aryan physicians and a desire to rescue the Jewish physicians, Dr Ante Vuletic, a Croat physician, suggested to the NDH Minister of Health, Dr. Petric, who respected Jewish physicians, that they be sent to Bosnia to cure syphilis, rather than being sent to concentration camps. The highest echelon of the NDH government accepted the idea. The physicians and most members of their immediate families survived as long as they remained under the contract of the NDH government. However, from 1942 onwards, many of these physicians left their "safe haven" and joined the Partisans.[35] Some lost their lives in battle or succumbed to various diseases; nevertheless, because they escaped the early deportations, their survival rate was much higher than that of the general Jewish population. A detailed account and discussion of the rescue of Jewish physicians is provided in Chapter 5.

Similarly, the research results suggest that many Jewish businessmen and skilled professionals were also saved and rescued. Among the documents in my possession, there were over 500 documents that dealt with companies and businesses formerly owned by Jews.[36] A large number of the trustees/commissioners appointed to Jewish businesses as well as the new owners requested the immediate release of former employees from the various concentration camps.[37] The scarcity of professionals in Croatia, where

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[35] For further discussion, primary and secondary sources see Chapter 5.

[36] The numbers of documents or names of survivors are not finite, there is much more to be found and verified.

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approximately 76 percent of the population were peasants, required skilled personnel to run the formerly Jewish owned companies.[38] Jewish experts, skilled professionals and administrators were rescued and returned to their previous posts in order to restore the businesses to their former level of profitability and productivity.

Another category discussed in detail covers the issue of mixed marriages. Due to the unrelenting efforts made by the Archbishop of Zagreb, Dr. Stepinac, there were many documents requesting special consideration for those involved in mixed marriages. Stepinac argued that the government had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the church. Another set of documents dealt with "special recommendations" given to Jews by the highest echelon in the NDH regime, the Catholic Church, and also by "Business and Cultural" entities. Smaller categories included foreign citizens, WWI heroes, converts to Christianity and Islam, and letters of recommendation written in support of specific Jews by their friends and neighbors. Special recommendations, successful releases, and the humanity of neighbors towards their fellow Jews—are considered and discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

All the above categories deal with forms of rescue of Jews that took place under the NDH regime. Some Jews took advantage of the "new lease of life" granted to them, and left immediately for the Italian Zones of occupation, or to join the Partisans, or any place abroad where they had a much better chance of survival. Unfortunately, those who had no opportunity to leave or who believed that their release was permanent became victims of the regime. Towards the second part of 1942, Nazi Germany took the leading role in the

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[37] Appendix 5.1.0 composed of documents pertaining to "Companies." The documents by and large are letters sent by both the appointed commissioners and the employees to the NDH Interior Ministry.

[38] Matkovic, Hrvoje, *Povjest Jugoslavije, Hrvatski pogled,* P.I.P, Zagreb: 1998, 137.

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deportation of the last remnants of the Jews. The Germans were dedicated zealots and they managed to capture almost all of the Jews that had remained in the territories under Nazi and Ustashe control.

During 1942, German and Italian negotiations on the fate of the Jews in the Italian occupied territories of Croatia continued for several months. The Nazi regime attempted, through diplomatic means, to gain control over the Jews for the sole purpose of deportation to concentration camps. The Italian Army saw no sense in going through such an excruciating ordeal of transferring thousands of Jews across vast territories just to be murdered. In 1943, the Italian Army recognized that they were responsible for the Jews in the occupied territories and that they must take concrete steps to protect them. Due to their ingenuity and vigilance, the Italian Army rounded up all the Jews and situated them in two locations: one, on the Island of Korcula and the surrounding islands where 700 to 1,000 refugees were concentrated, and, two, on the Island of Rab where some 3,500 Jews were placed in a camp and protected from the Ustashe and the Nazis.[39]

With reference to the humanity of the Italian clergy and ordinary citizens who cooperated with individuals across country and religious lines, the story of the rescued children known as "The Children of Villa Emma" in the Nonantola region of Modena is highly relevant.[40] The rescue of these children was achieved through the participation of

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[39] Poliakov, Leon-Sabille, Jacques, *Jews Under Italian Occupation,* Paris: Editions Du Centre, (English edition 1955), p. 146. See also Steinberg, Jonathan, *All or Nothing,* The Axis and the Holocaust 1941-1943, New York: Routledge, 2002, 56-60.

[40] Ithai, Josef, "The Children of Villa Emma, Rescue of the Last Youth Aliyah Before the Second World War," in *The Italian Refuge, Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust*, ed., Ivo Herzer, Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1989. Also: Stille, Alexander, *"Benevolence and Betrayal."* New York, Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1991.

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Italian Catholic priests, Croatian Jewish teachers, individual civilians and DELASEM, an Organization for Jewish Refugee Aid. The decisive and coordinated efforts taken by all parties saved the lives of 120 Jewish children.[41] After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, their protectors accompanied "the children" on a difficult hike across the mountains to the Swiss border. Detailed discussion of the negotiations between the Germans and the Italians and the eventual fate of approximately 5,000 refugees is presented in Chapter 7.[42]

In September 1943, several days after the capitulation of Italy, ZAVNOH (Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia)[43] rescued the Jews stranded on the islands of Korcula and Rab. Some were evacuated to southern Italy. However, the majority of the Jews in formerly held Italian territories were transferred to the freed Partisan-held territories. Thanks to the fast action and reaction of the Partisans, more than 5,000 Jews

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[41] DELASEM, Delegazione Assistenza Emigranti, Daniel Carpi, Jerusalem: (Yad Vashem Studies, V, XII, 1977), 112.

[42] Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Edition 1985, 717.

[43] Peric, Ivo, *A History of the Croats, Zagreb*, Zagreb: Center for Technology Transfer (ctt), 1998, 218-219. The Executive Committee of ZAVNOH made a decision on September 20, 1943, ratified by the second assembly of the ZAVNOH at Plaski, that the Croatian territories ceded to Italy by the Rapallo and Rome Accords should be reunited with Croatia. The mentioned accords were declared null and void. The decision was communicated to the great allied powers - the U.S.A, Great Britain and the USSR. and on May 9, 1944 the Federal State of Croatia was declared. Thus under the conditions of the war two Croatian states existed side by side – the NDH headed by Ante Pavelic and the Federal State of Croatia led by Vladimir Nazor, writer and the President of ZAVNOH.

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were rescued; most of them survived to see the end of World War II.[44] Further discussion of the rescue of Jews by the Croat Partisans is discussed in Chapter 8.

Brief Review of the Historiographic literature

Since the end of World War II, rescue has emerged as a subject that is inseparable from Holocaust research. Numerous discussions focus on questions as to why and how non-Jews helped Jews escape death. The study of heroic acts of rescue and of rescuers was highlighted with the establishment of the Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority by the Israeli Knesset (parliament) and was made law on August 28, 1953. The need for a program that recognized those that had helped to rescue the Jews under extremely difficult conditions was summarized by Mordecai Paldiel, director of the "Righteous Among the Nations" program at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. He states:

> 'We have an obligation, indeed, to ourselves and to posterity to remember this terrible event as a lesson and a warning, lest it happen again. At the same time, however awesome the unspeakable crimes committed by the Nazis, we dare not allow this to lead us to hopelessness and despair; to unwittingly profess a negative philosophy of life - that is, that the world is governed by the law of the jungle - this thinking goes against the basic foundation of our Jewish heritage which is grounded in the biblical message of man having been created in the divine image...To help us maintain this image of man, the Holocaust has provided us with examples of human behavior at its most elevated best; of men and women, within German-occupied Europe and from all walks of life, who were prepared to risk their lives to save Jews from the Nazis.[45]

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[44] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa, "Destiny of Jewish Survivors from the Rab, concentration camp 1943-1945", *Voice*, Zagreb: Voice of the Jewish Communities in Croatia, Autumn 1998, 67-71.

[45] Paldiel, Mordecai, in his address at "Congregation B'nai Israel of Boca Raton," Boca Raton, November 27, 1998.

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While Yad Vashem recognized that the search for the Holocaust Righteous was crucial and needed to continue, the realization soon emerged that the topic of "rescue" had to be broadened to include not only the actions of a few unique individuals. Alex Bein also recognized that the subject of the Holocaust is complex and, as he put it, the Jews must "secure the future of our past."[46] The momentum that gathered during the 1960's and 70's in Holocaust studies resulted in ambitious large-scale works that utilized psychological and sociological models. The sociological studies attempted to identify variables that would constitute a litmus test for the identification of those countries most likely to victimize Jews. The socio-psychological studies attempted to identify, and probe into, the nature of altruism in both individuals and societies.

Although these works were useful, many historians such as Yehuda Bauer, Robert Moore, and Jonathan Steinberg acknowledge that generalizations can be dangerous. Yehuda Bauer stated that we have focused on what may be called "factography," probing collectively various aspects of Holocaust history without giving sufficient attention to the uniqueness of each country. In Bauer's assessment, this approach concealed more than it revealed.[47] His work, and that of historians with a similar point of view, became the impetus for a new trend in Holocaust research methods.

In most cases the methodology utilized by Bauer and others focused on killing as the central issue; their methodology however can be utilized in the study of "rescue." When rescue is the subject under discussion, crucial questions are: how was rescue executed;

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[46] Bein, Alex, State Archive, "On the Future of Our Past," Lecture at the Third Congress of Jewish Studies, 27.7.1961, published in Jerusalem: 1963.

[47] Bauer Yehuda, "The Third International Historical Conference" Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Publications 1975-1977 Contents of Yad Vashem Studies, Vol. XI, 7-36.

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when, why, and by who was it performed? What was the response of the Germans and the Ustashe? What were the reactions of the countries under German occupation? What was the reaction of the so-called free world and of the Jews in the free world? These questions guided my research. Methodologies that paid attention to detail and to the novelty of each situation may have prompted historians to examine central issues such as annihilation and rescue as well as smaller issues such as those of the perpetrators, bystanders, victims and survivors—all subjects distinct from the whole spectrum of issues involved during World War II.

Historians such as Philip Friedman, who has written widely on the activities of the Judenrat, argue that to understand the array of issues involved in a topic as complex as the Holocaust, it is essential to become fully immersed in the subject, while striking a balance so as to avoid either oversimplification or overburdening because of too many details.[48] Bob Moore's methodological approach is somewhat similar to that of Friedman but differs in that he offers a practical framework for the study of rescue. This framework has three parts: first, Moore considers the actions of rescuers and bystanders within the context of the social history of the countries concerned rather than in isolation; second, he makes a comparison of these countries, regions and localities; finally, he investigates the "occupation" of each country from a broader historical perspective—the situation before the war as well as during the war period.[49]

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[48] Friedman, Philip, "Jewish Self-Government in the Nazi period, ("Judenrat"). Preliminary and Methodological Problems of the Research on the Jewish Catastrophe in the Nazi Period," Jerusalem: *Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance,* ed, Shaul Esh, Yad Vashem, 1958, 95-131,

[49] Moore, Bob, ed., "The Rescue of Jews in German Occupied Western Europe" *Resistance in Western Europe*, New York: Berg, 2000.

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Bob Moore's approach can be applied to countries such as Albania, Bulgaria, and Denmark. For example, in Albania, the rescue of the Jews was attributed to an ancient custom called "Bessa," the custom of giving shelter and protection to those in need, including refugees.[50] The Bulgarian success story of rescue was linked to the unity and political cohesiveness of the king and his people who defied German orders to hand over the Bulgarian Jews.[51] A strong government, led by a strong monarch, shielded the Jews from extermination despite the constant pressure exerted by Nazi Germany for the surrender of the Jewish population. In Denmark, all Jews were considered neighbors and human beings, deserving shelter from enemy invasion.[52]

While both topics - Holocaust and rescue - necessitate the understanding of issues that involve social, economic, ethical, psychological and historical perspectives, Raul Hilberg[53] and Lucy Dawidowicz[54] suggest that not all the events of World War II were rooted in the past. There were significant discrepancies in the success of rescues in the

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[50] Sarner, Harvey, Sarner, *Rescue in Albania: One Hundred Percent of Jews in Albania Rescued from the Holocaust*, Cathedral City, California: Brunswick Press, 1997.

[51] This subject was discussed at an international symposium in the Bulgarian capital Sofia on the 1st of February 1995. The event (in memoriam of the late member of the Bulgarian Parliament, Ilko Eskenazi) was sponsored by Sofia University, the American University in Bulgaria, the "St. Cyril and Methodius" and "Augustin Peitchinov" Endowments.

[52] Museum of Jewish Heritage, NYC, *Conference on Rescue of European Jews, March 11, 2004.* Dr. Leo Goldberger presented the topic of the rescue of Jews in Denmark during World War II under the title "Denmark's Good Deed.

[53] Hilberg, Raul, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Holmes & Meier, New York, 1985.

[54] Dawidowicz, Lucy S., *The War Against the Jews*, 1933-1945 (New York, 1975).

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Balkan countries, which resulted primarily from differences in the way these countries were controlled by Germany.

Independently, the historians Hilberg and Dawidowicz reached the following three hypotheses: first, the degree of assimilation had no significant bearing on the fate of the Jews; for example, well-integrated Hungarian Jews suffered great losses, whereas the unassimilated Bulgarian Jews survived. Second, the presence or absence of local anti-Semitic traditions made little difference to survival.[55] For example, Yugoslav Jews experienced a relatively low level of anti-Semitism in the years prior to the war, yet they incurred heavy losses. And half of the Romanian Jews survived although, prior to World War II, Rumania had a tradition of violent anti-Jewish prejudice.[56] Third, and most importantly, the level of Nazi involvement in the internal affairs of the country made the crucial difference to the rate of Jewish survival.

The methodological models described above served as guidelines and, when appropriate, they were applied to the situation in Croatia. However, unlike many European countries, the South Slavs had been divided for centuries due to their occupation by Ottoman and Habsburg and their spheres of influence. The South Slavs shared a brief and turbulent common history of twenty-three years from 1918 to 1941.

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[55] Dawidowicz, Lucy S., *The War Against the Jews*, Rumania, 383-386, Croatia 392-393.

[56] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235-2/45, box 10 report of the NDH Ambassador to Rumania to the Minister of Foreign Affairs states that strong pressure from the Vatican and the United States put a halt on the deportation of Jews in Romania. Apparently, the failure of Germany to complete the occupation of Russia weakened the German position in that country.

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The consequences of their unhappy union under the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were greatly exploited by the Axis Powers who split the population into several warring camps.

Methodological Approaches to the subject of Perpetrators, Bystanders, Victims and Survivors

Contemporary historiographical literature demonstrates a considerable degree of compartmentalization. For example, in his book *Hitler's Willing Executioners, Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust,* Daniel Jonah Goldhagen focuses exclusively on the Germans, claiming that only antisemitic [preferred spelling by the author]German forces performed genocide at the Eastern front during World War II.[57] With broad-brush strokes, Goldhagen states that his explanation is new to scholarly studies of the perpetrators of the Holocaust. He states:

> ...ordinary Germans were animated by antisemitism, by a particular type of antisemitism that led them to conclude that the Jews ought to die. The perpetrators' belief, their particular brand of antisemitism, though obviously not the perpetrators' actions and must be at the center of any explanation of them. Simply put, the perpetrators, having consulted their own convictions and morality and having judged the mass annihilation of Jews to be right, did not want to say, no.[58]

While Goldhagen may be correct in assuming that the German perpetrators were unique, there were nevertheless Volksdeutsche in every country throughout Europe; there were also others who were fast learners such as the Ustashe in Croatia. It seems, however, that "eliminationist anti-Semitism" was shared at the outset by only a small minority, and,

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[57] Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, *Hitler's Willing Executioners, Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996, 8-9.

[58] Friedlander, Saul, Nazi *Germany and the Jews, The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939,* New York: Vol. I, Harper-Collins Publishers, Inc, 1997, 395.

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in the Third Reich, by a segment of the party and its leaders, but "not by the majority of the population."[59]

In her book *Between Dignity and Despair,* Marion Kaplan demonstrates little patience with those historians who argue about the correct methodological approach that was taken by the Nazis in the process of the annihilation of Jews. For example, Kaplan sees no reason to ponder over whether the approach was" intentionalist or functionalist." For Kaplan, the issue and focus is on the "hapless Jewish victims"; she draws on individual stories of those who were trying to cope with anti-Semitic policies and decrees against the backdrop of the masses of bystanders who did little to alleviate the plight of victimized Jews.[60]

When addressing the situation of bystanders, victims and survivors, it is imperative to turn to the work of Elie Wiesel who has agonized over the ability of the bystanders to stand watching at the window in silence as the Jews were dragged out of their apartments. Wiesel also suffered greatly over the victims' refusal to testify and to expose the atrocities committed by the perpetrators. He argues that, only when a victim exposes the acts committed by the perpetrators, can he or she transform into a survivor.[61]

In Chapter 4 of this dissertation, the attempt is made to demonstrate that, even among survivors who cooperated and gave testimonies, not all can be categorized as true

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[59] Friedlander, Saul, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939,* New York: Vol. I, Harper-Collins Publishers, Inc., 1997, 335.

[60] Kaplan, Marion, *Between Dignity and Despair, Jewish Life in Nazi Germany,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 4-5.

[61] Wiesel, Elie, *From the Kingdom of Memory, Reminiscences,* New York: Reed Business Information, 1990.

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survivors; some remained victimized by the trauma of the war and by their memories. It can be argued that survivors take comfort in the sanctuary of their mind where memories of family and friends and other times and places are kept alive. It seems that some so-called survivors are unwilling or unable to surrender this corner to strangers; as long as they live, it remains for them a place into which they can retreat to find peace and solace.

In summary, Raul Hilberg focuses on both the perpetrators who played a specific role in the implementation and execution of anti-Jewish measures, and on the bystanders and victims in all the countries of German occupation. However, Hilberg's greatest concern is the role played by nations.[62] Goldhagen and Kaplan, on the other hand, focus on the role of individuals. From the extensive historiographic literature utilized in this dissertation the works of Dawidowicz, Hilberg, Kaplan, Yehuda Bauer, and Ivo Goldstein have been singled out because of their unique treatment of the "role players," i.e. perpetrators, bystanders, rescuers, victims, and survivors in the drama of Second World War.

In Chapter 4, in which I discuss the Jews of Sarajevo, the policies of the Ustashe are central; nevertheless, the surroundings—the attitudes, reactions and fate of the perpetrators, the bystanders and the victims—form an integral part of the unfolding World War II drama. The unique predicament of the citizens of Yugoslavia is also discussed in Chapter 4 since Sarajevo serves as a prototype for both annihilation and rescue. In the chapter on Sarajevo, the main objectives are: first, to clarify the context of the war period and, second, the nature and interaction of the perpetrators, bystanders and the victims as this impacted the "rescue" of the Jews in NDH. Since, little has been studied from the perspective of the perpetrators,

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[62] Hilberg, Raul, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: the Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*, New York: Harper Perennial, Aaron Asher Books, 1992, 75-86.

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victims, bystanders and rescuers within an integral framework, this topic remains a major challenge for future historians.

The bystanders are classified into three groups: one—the largest group—is composed of those who were oblivious to what was happening to the Jews; they had their own problems and their own battles to fight— food rationing, unemployment, fear and anxiety of the unknown. The second group of bystanders is composed of observers who neither took action nor did they perform acts of rescue. However, they did not collaborate with the government. They recognized that what the government was doing was wrong. Thus, when put to the test and through their silence, they assisted the rescue process.

Slavko Goldstein, the coauthor of the book *Holocaust in Zagreb*, told me the story of his rescue. Immediately upon the arrival of the Ustashe at Karlovac, in Croatia, both his parents were sent to a detention center in Zagreb and his younger brother to his grandparents in Tuzla, Bosnia. A boy of thirteen, he remained alone. Eventually the family's Catholic Aryan maid gave him shelter in her village. The entire village of Banski Kovacevac knew about his whereabouts and, despite frequent searches in the village, 300 people kept quiet and did not report the incident to the Ustashe. Although the villagers were not active in the sense of giving the boy shelter, they were nevertheless *benevolent bystanders.* Without playing an active role, they took sides.[63] Slavko was not the only child or teenager to be rescued by a whole village or neighborhood.

Many citizens of Croatia recognized that the NDH government was morally wrong, but they felt scared and powerless. Some were "bystanders" who, at times, rushed to report apparently "subversive" acts against the government. This behavior may have resulted

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[63] Goldstein, Slavko, interview, August 19, 2003, Zagreb.

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from respect for authority, fear of punishment, or the need for money and approval. Others, however, served as regular collaborators and are described as "*malevolent bystanders.*"

Thus, in discussing the topic of rescue and survival, I make a second assumption: although every story is unique, there is a common denominator to all survivors' stories—all received help. Some survivors owed their lives to neighbors, to relatives, to individual Catholic prelates, to industrial and business entities, to the Italian Army, to the Partisans, to humanitarian organizations national and international—or to some combination of the above. In order to arrive at a coherent story of rescue and survival, it is imperative that historians delve into many anecdotal accounts, archival documents, as well as historiographic literature. Based on the testimonies and archival material, I have classified the bystanders into three distinct groups according to the roles they played: *benevolent bystanders, malevolent bystanders* and *indifferent bystanders.*

In order to understand the issues involved in the rescue of Jews under NDH, it is necessary to familiarize oneself with the political and social agenda that the Ustashe government sought to implement in collaboration with Nazi Germany. The daily newspapers of the war years were invaluable in that they conveyed the feel of the country and the mood of its people. I read several publications from 1941-1945, such as "Hrvatski Narod," "Gospodarstvo," "Hrvatski List," "Hrvatska Gruda', and other daily and weekly newspapers. It was essential, I believed, to review as many of these publications as possible since the tone and emphasis added important nuances to my analysis. Also of great interest to historians like myself, who are interested in the rescue of Jews, were those articles and documents that revealed the attitude of the general population. Many editorials, articles and cartoons demonstrated, on the one hand, the policy of the government and, on the other

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hand, the hardships, concerns and fears of citizens living under the Ustashe regime during the war. These were of particular interest since they had a direct impact on rescue.

In the Croatian National Archive (HDA), I focused on correspondence-documents that were either sent to, or received from, the Ustashe administration.[64] It was easy to recognize these documents since they were marked with the big "U" (Ustasha) symbol. The subject matter of these documents covered a number of requests: for example, release from concentrations camps, how to obtain Aryan rights, work permits and so on. Documents also included responses and judgments concerning these petitions. Documents that pertained to the individuals I had the privilege to interview were also of great interest. Suddenly their stories were corroborated and grounded in factual recorded reality. The stories of Dr. Gruner, Dr. Steiner, Zora Dirnbach, Zlata Romano, Eliezer Kaveson-Hadas and many others came to life.

Additional sources of information included diaries and anthologies of letters, speeches, and manuscripts. The most useful statements were the testimonies accumulated by the National Commission for the Verification of Crimes Committed by the Forces of Occupation and their Assistants against the Jews. Among the secondary sources, I found a vast amount of literature that pertained specifically to the atrocities committed against the Jews and the Serbs during the NDH regime. There are also a number of significant works on the Holocaust in Yugoslavia that incorporate some aspects of rescue—such as the works of Jasa Romano, in particular, his book *The Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945,* Victims of Genocide and Freedom Fighters. Since Romano personally experienced the evacuation of the Jews by the Partisans from the Italian concentration camp on the Island of Rab, he

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[64] HDA, RUR 252 contains 16 large boxes; each box contained approx. 50 files and in each file 1 to 10 pages.

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focuses on this period. He also writes extensively on the contribution of Jewish medical personnel to the war effort.[65]

As early as 1954, in their book *Jews under the Italian Occupation*, Léon Poliakov and Jacques Sabille brought to the attention of the world the story of the rescue of the Jews in Croatia during World War II. Daniel Carpi also writes extensively— see his articles "The Negotiations Regarding the Transfer of Jewish Children from Croatia to Turkey and Eretz Israel in the Year 1943," and "The Rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of Occupied Croatia, Rescue Attempts During the Holocaust." These two articles, which include a large number of primary sources, enhance our understanding and knowledge of why the Italians, though allies of the Germans, refused to subscribe to the ideology of the Final Solution.

Menahem Shelah, in a number of publications including *The Holocaust in Yugoslavia, The Yugoslav Connection-Aliyah B, 1938-1948, Blood Account,* and *The Rescue of Jews by the Italians, 1941-1943*, contributes a great deal to our understanding of the reasons for the Holocaust in Yugoslavia. Last but not least, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Holocaust in Zagreb) by Ivo and Slavko Goldstein provides an analysis of the ideological and political factors that led to the annihilation of the Jews of Zagreb. Backed by large number of testimonies, the authors demonstrate the stages of the destruction of the Jewish community and its people. Consequently, a small section is dedicated to the subject of rescue. However, to the best of my knowledge, there are no scholarly works that exclusively and systematically address the issue of rescue in the Croatian and Yugoslav historiographic literature.

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[65] Romano, Jasa, *The Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945* created an extensive database of all the Jews who served in the Partisans. He singled out the physicians by identifying their areas of expertise.

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Even though this dissertation utilizes survivor' testimonies in conjunction with archival documents, daily newspapers, and written testimonies collated by the National Commission for the verification of crimes, I am aware of the limitations of information rendered after sixty years have passed. Oral history does not automatically yield accurate renditions of past events. But, by the same token, written sources also carry political, social and personal biases. Even historical analyses, published by professional historians who uphold the highest standards of historical investigation, fall short of that elusive goal—the complete and objective account of events.

Thus, it appears that though historiographical literature is important, nevertheless only primary sources provide the kind of information needed to answer questions on the rescue and survival of Jews in NDH. A review of the media helped assess the degree and the extent of the media's ability to mould public opinion. While all sources are invaluable, I still believe that the testimonies I obtained personally from survivors, both rescuers and rescued, are irreplaceable.[66] As Alexander Stille and Marion Kaplan suggest, there is great value in a collection of individual stories, perhaps as an antidote to broad generalizations. The complexity of individual experience, "with all its rough, solid three-dimensionality, can be a useful touch-stone for the abstract, linear timeline of historical events."[67]

There is no doubt that pieces of the puzzle will always be missing; information has been destroyed, there were unrecorded and secret sessions, policy-making decisions that rest on the hand shake and the unspoken word must be assumed. However, in writing this

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[66] In this dissertation the *survivors' testimonies* will be reintroduced as their circumstances and rescue experiences changed in the course of the four-year war.

[67] Stile, Alexander, *Benevolence and Betrayal, Five Italian Jewish Families Under Fascism*, New York: First Picador Edition, April 2003.

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dissertation, following the establishment of categories of classification, the methodology was thematic and straightforward. Clarification occurred when commonality of individual cases of rescue was identified, such as in the case of the doctors, the companies and other individuals. My approach remained close to individual experiences, while attempting to give to the work a sense of the wide political, socioeconomic and geographic diversity of the time.

Most of the research was conducted during the academic year 2002 and 2003, primarily in Zagreb where a plethora of documents were found. Some missing pieces of information were added during my visits to other cities in Croatia such Osijek, Vukovar, and Dubrovnik. In addition I explored the archives in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.[68] My fluency in both Croatian and Hebrew and adequate understanding of Italian were useful tools in this research.

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[68] The Archival information found in the *Holocaust Museum* in Washington D.C., is identical to the information available in the Croatian National Archives (HDA) and to one in Yard Vase Archive, the source of all the archival documentation is (HDA).

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CHAPTER TWO

THE INTERWAR PERIOD 1918-1941

Map 2.1.1

Kingdom of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Monte Negro 1918-1941



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Section 2.1: The Unification of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes

In the Peace Treaty signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, the principles of the last great assembly of European Powers the sovereignty and independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania were recognized. However, as stated below, if Serbia intended to be recognized by the national community, it had to accept and recognize the religious rights of the minorities:

> Lord Salisbury recognizes the independence of Serbia, but is of the opinion that it would be desirable to stipulate in the Principality the great principle of religious liberty..." Mr. Waddington believes that it is important to take advantage of this solemn opportunity to cause the principles of religious liberty to be affirmed by the representatives of Europe. His Excellency adds that Serbia, who claims to enter the European family on the same basis as other States, must previously recognize the principles, which are the basis of social organization in all States of Europe and accept them as a necessary condition of the favour which she asks for.... Prince Bismarck, associating himself with the French proposal, declares that the assent of Germany is always assured to any motion favourable to religious liberty.... Prince Bismarck, after having summed up the results of the vote, declares that Germany admits the independence of Serbia, but on condition that religious Drafting Committee, when they formulate this decision, will affirm the connection established by the Conference between the Proclamation of Serbian independence and the recognition of religious liberty." [1]

The issues that faced the South Slavs in the interwar period not only concerned religious liberty, as assumed by the "Great Powers," but those of national integrity and sovereignty of each nation state in the region. The problems that faced the South Slavs

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[1] "Treaty of Peace between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan and Poland." The document was signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919. Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty and deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the Signatory Powers.

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during the twenty-three years of their unification are crucial to our understanding of how and why events turned so disastrously against the Jews following the occupation by Nazi Germany. It is crucial to consider, if only briefly, the ideological, sociological, political and psychological roots of the events that affected the whole Balkan Peninsula.

Whereas the Adriatic South Slavs feared Italian domination, the Northern Croats feared that large tracts of their territories would be handed over to Serbia. The Croats were the second largest minority in the region with a long history of struggle for self-determination. In the weeks preceding unification, the Croats believed they could realize their nationalistic agenda within the Yugoslav Federation with minimal interference from the central government.[2] Thus, the leaders of these regions formed the London-based Yugoslav Committee in order to promote the creation of a South Slav State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS).[3] The unification declaration promised equal recognition of the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, of the three national names and flags, and the three dominant religions. However, the declaration did not indicate whether the new state was to exist under a centralized government or as a federation.

Nikola Pasic, the president of the Serbian government, advocated a centralized state so as to consolidate the monarchy's international position while the Croats pressed for a

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[2] Djilas, Aleksa, *The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919-1953*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991. While there is quite a large general literature on the formation of the Yugoslav nation state, the more specific issues surrounding nationalism in Yugoslavia before and after it achieved statehood are still being debated and researched. In historiographic literature, it is imperative to review both the Serb and the Croat versions so as to arrive at a position between the two.

[3] Nazor, Ante and Ladic, Zoran, *History of the Croatian*, Illustrated Chronology, Zagreb: Multigraf, 2003, 325-376.

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federation. Historians, among them Aleksa Djilas, argue that the Serbian desire to form a centralized government was motivated by the following reasons:

> The Serbian military, civil service, monarchy, and many politicians identified with the larger state, but their Yugoslavism was largely influenced by Serbian traditions, historical memories, and loyalties. Most Serbs accepted the new state primarily because they perceived it as a Serbian creation, led by the Serbian monarchy, in which the Serbs were finally united. But the Serbs never became Yugoslavs in the sense of developing a new national consciousness, either political or cultural.[4]

The objective of the Croats was to secure their culture, religious heritage and territorial rights as a means of protecting national integrity from being "obliterated" by either Serbia or Italy. On October 29, 1918, the Sabor (Parliament) in Zagreb annulled the union of Croatia and Hungary and gave their National Council supreme authority. In November, the elected representatives signed an agreement in Geneva that provided for a joint provisional government but which, at the same time, recognized the jurisdiction of Serbia and the National Council over the areas under their respective control until a constituent assembly could be convened. The leading Croat party – the Croatian Peasant Party (CPP) – was strongly nationalistic and opposed to Serbian aspirations and intentions.[5]

While the partners in the unification debated the format and content of the unification agreement, the Italian forces seized parts of Dalmatia. This prompted the

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[4] Djilas, Aleksa, *The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919-1953*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991.

[5] Matkovic, Hrvoje, Zagreb: *Povjest Jugoslavije, Hrvatki Pogled*, Naklada Pavcic, 1998, 22-24. Matkovic provides a brief survey of the acts taken to achieve the realization of "greater Serbia." He reviews the work on language and the alphabet by the writer Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic (1787-1864). Matkovic also describes the thought and ideology that were introduced into the legal system by Ilija Garasanin (1812-1874) in which Garasanin was preparing the ground for the time when the people of the South Slavs would evolve into Serbia.

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National Council to seal an agreement with Serbia, despite the objections of the Croatian Peasant Party (CPP) who maintained that, if Croatia did not obtain guarantees of regional autonomy, the agreement would be void.[6] It appears, however, that the objections of the CPP were not taken seriously since only Stjepan Radic, the head of the CPP, voted against the agreement for centralization. On December 1, 1918, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SHS) was proclaimed, combining the prewar kingdoms of Montenegro and Serbia and the South Slav parts of Austria-Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Vojvodina.

The centrist intellectuals, Serbs and Croats as well as the Communists, strongly advocated unification. These intellectuals had been members of the pro-Yugoslav "revolutionary youth" before 1914, and they believed that the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were by nature three tribes (plemena) of one people. The Communist party (CPY) emphasized centralization as a means to combat the influence of religion as a divisive force, while Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy promoted nationalistic issues more for their own benefit than that of the local people.[7]

The Jewish intellectuals, who recognized the disadvantages of regional nationalism, joined in with those who advocated unification of the South Slavs headed by a centralized government. The formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, into Yugoslavia was of particular importance for the furtherance of Jewish communities in the region. Under the sovereignty of the new Kingdom, the Jews flourished both individually and as a

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[6] Op. cit, Djilas, 59-60.

[7] Ibid, Djilas, 61-65.

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community. The establishment of the "Federation of Jewish Religious Communities," which played a major role in securing for its members the equal rights that were granted to other minorities of Yugoslavia, was of crucial importance.[8]

After Unification the Croats Felt "Betrayed and Cheated"

All that was feared by the intellectuals came to pass when nationalism was refueled and each party to the conflict pulled hard to protect its vested interests. The level of Croatian discontent grew to dangerous proportions, as expressed in the "Memorandum" that was written as a petition for the "Croatian Right for Self-Determination." This document was sent to the League of Nations on behalf of Croatia and her citizens; the signatories included 250,000 American, Canadian, South American, and Western European citizens of Croatian ancestry.[9] The document enumerates in detail the ideals and aspirations of the Croatian people based on the principles expressed by Woodrow Wilson's address at Mount Vernon on, July 4, 1918.[10] When their aspirations were not met, the American citizens of Croatian ancestry sent on January 7, 1935 their "Protest to

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[8] Romano, Jasa, *Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945 Victims of Genocide and Freedom Fighters*, The Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, Belgrade 1980, 10-12.

[9] "*Memorandum*" sent to the League of Nations by the Croatian National Council Youngstown, Ohio, United States of America. Stamped as received by the League of Nations March 9, 1935.

[10] HDA, File sent to Yad Vashem with the material of Cardinal Stepinac. Stamped by the League of Nations as received on April 5, 1935. "...The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned. And not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery."

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the League of Nations" against the Yugoslav Monarchy who had inflicted undue pain and suffering on the Croatian People. The protest stated:

> The State of Croatia, to which, with other nations, was guaranteed by the American President, Woodrow Wilson, in the Peace Treaty of 1918, the right to determine its own destiny, was by the false and wicked representations of the Serbian Regent, Alexander, and the secret wicked diplomacy undermining and subverting the intention and desire of the said national guarantee, forced, without consent or voice, into a so-called State of Yugoslavia, by which it became a province thereof, together with the Serbs and Slovenes, and subject to the government of the Serbs, whereby it lost its national sovereignty, which it had previously enjoyed for over one thousand years.[11]

The objective of this "Memorandum" was to present a logical and systematic overview of the history of the Croats as an independent people from 1102 to 1918. When, in 1918, the Croats entered into the union of the South Slavs, they did so as a completely independent and free people. The Memorandum delineates, on the one hand, their aspirations on the eve of the unification and, on the other hand, the consequences of that unification. Their aspirations were to achieve the united front of the South Slavs, but with the retention of Croatian Statehood. The Memorandum enumerates the intrigues in the Geneva protocols, the beginning of terrorism, and the Croats' refusal to accept the arrangement of December 1, 1918.

The Croats also describe how the pledge for national independence was broken, and the Constitution adopted was contrary to the parliamentary provisions. According to the Croat position, the consequences of the union were inequality in rights and privileges that eventuated in a monarchical dictatorship that existed in clear violation of the original

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[11] HDA, Manifesto: By order of the Second Croatian National Congress, in Chicago Illinois, United States of North America, the 30th day of November, 1935.

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pact. The grievances of the Croats came to a head following the murder of Stjepan Radic, the Croatian Peasant Party leader, and the injuries to other members of the Parliament in Belgrade. The Croats argued that, instead of obtaining better security, they suffered annihilation and the betrayal of Croatian interests in all spheres of life, particularly in the economic sphere.[12]

Most Croats attributed their predicament to the manipulation and exploitation of the economy by the government. It has been suggested that the failure was structurally unavoidable, and shows how the governance of Yugoslavia always depended on coercion.[13] By manipulative acts, the "Memorandum" states, the Croatian Treasury was "robbed" of more than two-thirds of its savings.[14] The Croatian citizens also believed that the rate of taxation was not only unfair and exorbitant but also ruinous. The Croatian Representatives also accused Serbia of encouraging the relocation of business enterprises to Serbia; the Belgrade authorities refused to issue business licenses to Croatian firms unless their headquarters were relocated from Croatia to Serbia. In January 1929, fearing anarchy, King Alexander decided to dissolve the parliament, suspend the constitution, ban political parties, and declare a temporary royal dictatorship.[15]

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[12] HDA, The "*Memorandum*" contains 24 pages, it was signed and sent to the League of Nations and to all other free governments on September 20, 1935.

[13] Banac, Ivo. *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1988, 214, 226.

[14] "*Memorandum, National Council Youngstown, Ohio,"* United States of America, October 5, 1933, sent to the League of Nations under "the terrible cost of liberation."

[15] Macek, Vladko, *In the Struggle for Freedom,* New York; 1957, 113,117. In his book Macek revealed that, on his deathbed, Stjepan Radic rejected the Yugoslav idea and supported the formation of independent Croatian state. This was also the account given in the Memorandum submitted to the League of Nations in 1933 by the Croatians spread around the world.

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First Signs of Deep Discontent Leading to anti-Semitic Propaganda

In 1931, the world economic crisis hit Yugoslavia very hard. Foreign trade plummeted, and the trade deficit rose. The exhaustion of credit sources to the South Slavs brought unemployment; mines closed, bankruptcies increased, and severe weather conditions brought rural starvation.[16] It is quite possible that many Croat workers were not told, or failed to comprehend, that the economic crisis was not necessarily a consequence of the exploitative measures taken by the Belgrade government, but was generated by many international and global factors. Employment of Croat workers was also a critical issue, particularly when Croatian government employees in Zagreb were replaced by Serbian manpower.[17] The discontent of the Croatians was exhibited in the steady increase in the membership of the Republican Peasant Party CPP.[18] The majority of the Croatian people wanted a way out of the union with Serbia, but the intellectuals still hoped to sustain it. It is interesting to note that both sides of the Croatian conflict gravitated towards authoritarian regimes: one to the right wing ideologies of the highly nationalistic CPP, including some fascist elements, and, two, towards the left wing ideology of Communism and "brotherhood of all working men."[19]

As these irreconcilable differences arose among the Serbs and the majority of the Croatian people, there seemed to be no solution. Among the Serbs, anti-Croat propaganda

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[16] Dodan, Sime, *Ekonomska Politika Jugoslavije*, Zagreb: "Political Economy of Yugoslavia", 1970, 50-51

[17] Ibid, Dodan, 55-56.

[18] HDA, Memorandum, under the "Murder in the Parliament."

[19] *Zidov,* 8.12.1936, *Dr. Macek "O antisemitizmu"* (editorial).

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emanated from all directions; and, from all sorts of ultra-nationalistic circles, there were also calls for action against the Croats. Among the Croats, similar slogans were heard, particularly from the imprisoned rebels (ustashe) who were peasants from the poor mountain regions of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. They hated the Serbs with a passion and wished for their ruination.[20]

In Croatia, the prison population and the peasants recognized Ante Pavelic as their leader since he expressed his determination to free the country from bondage to the Serbs. Among the discontented peasants, proto-fascist sentiment sprouted on the fertile ground of hatred.[21] Even though many peasants considered Pavelic to be their leader, nevertheless an Ustasha comprehensive ideology did not exist in Croatia prior to the beginning of World War II.[22] In the Ustashe newspaper "Vjesnik Hrvatskih Revolucionaraca" (Ustashe Herald of Croatian Revolutionaries), editorials were dedicated to igniting hatred against the Belgrade regime and the Serbs. From their inception, the Ustashe declared that they would use violence to achieve freedom from Serbia. Ante Pavelic, who signed his letters as Poglavnik (The Leader), stated:" The dagger, revolver, machine gun and bomb, those are the bells that will ring the dawn and the Resurrection of the Independent State of Croatia."[23]

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[20] Krizman, Bogdan, *Ante Pavelic i Ustashe,* Zagreb: 1983 564-573. Krizman provides a list of all the Ustashe in exile including the social composition of the movement. From those that were exiled to Italy in 1930 70 percent declared that they were peasants, only 5 percent were middle class professionals.1983, 564-573

[21] Djilas Aleksa, *The Contested Country, Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution,* 110-127.

[22] Goldstein, Ivo and Goldstein, Slavko, *Holocaust in Zagreb*, 68-69.

[23] "Vjesnik hrvatskih revolucionaraca" (News-Croatian Revolution), 02/1931.

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From the brief discussion above, it seems that after 1929 the Croats began to flock towards radical, nationalist movements and to the leader Dr. Ante Pavelic, an extremist who had been supported by the fascist Italian leader Benito Mussolini. Ante Pavelic's conception of the Jews was as an economic power within Croatia. He stated: "all financial businesses and all trade are in Jewish hands" and Communism and Judaism must "work together against the national liberation of Croatia."[24] By and large, the Croats were preoccupied with their plans of freeing themselves from the clutches of Serbia. The Jews were newcomers to the region and, while there may have been resentment towards foreigners particularly against those coming from Hungary, there was no legacy of anti-Semitism.[25]

Section 2.2: Yugoslav Jews in the Interwar 1918-1941

The Unification of the Jews in Yugoslavia

As demonstrated in the previous section, the South Slavs nation did not share a common history. Their destiny had been divided for centuries between Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires; thus, they had absorbed a variety of influences through which

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[24] Kolanovic, Josip, *Holocaust in Croatia, Documentation and Research Perspectives*, Zagreb: Hrvatski Drzavni Arhiv, 161.

[25] Goldstein, Ivo, "Anti-Semitism in Croatia," ed. Kraus Ognjen, *Antisemitism, Holocaust, Anti-Fascism*, 32. In his article Ivo Goldstein argues, there was not the slightest indication of anti-Semitism in the early outlook of the Ustashe. He provides three possible reasons for the lack of anti-Semitic propaganda: first, the Ustashe had to confront their main enemy, the Belgrade regime. Second, the Ustashe lacked the intellectual capabilities to develop a comprehensive ideology. Third, one of the leading organizers of the Ustashe cells was a Jew, Vladimir Singer. Moreover, several Jews helped the Ustashe movement financially and ideologically in their fight against the centralist Serbian government.

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each ethnic and religious group developed its distinct identity and tradition. In the course of centuries, this varied process of development, resulted in extreme nationalism.[26] Just as Yugoslavia was diversified and formed a heterogeneous society, so also did its Jewish population. Major internal differences existed in the composition and make-up of the Jewish communities, primarily because of their different geographic and cultural origins. With the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, the Jews, as in the past, were considered a religious minority. The new state, Yugoslavia, was compelled to sign a "minorities-treaty" at the Peace Conference held in Versaille, where it guaranteed all its inhabitants full protection of life and liberty "without distinction as to birth, nationality, language, race or religion." In 1919, the South Slavs Jews were legally emancipated and for the first time, in their history in the region, they enjoyed full civil equality.[27]

However, the new government in Belgrade was oblivious to the differences and estrangement of the Jewish émigrés and requested that they present one united national representative body. While the Jews encountered great difficulties in reconciling their internal differences and in working together as one group, they nevertheless recognized that 1919 was a year of supreme importance.[28] But it was not until 1929 that they were legally

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[26] Andric, Ivo, *The Bridge Over the Drina*, London: The Harvill Press, London edi., 1995. See also Auty, Phyllis, *Yugoslavia,* London: Walker University of California Press, 1949. Banac, I., *The National Question in Yugoslavia, Origins, History, Politics,* Ithaca, Cornell University, 1984. Feidenreich, H. P., *The Jews of Yugoslavia. A Quest for Community,* Philadelphia 1979. Wolff, Robert Lee, *The Balkans in Our Time*: *History of Yugoslavia* New York: Cambridge University, Press, 1966. Tomasevich, Jozo, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

[27] Nazor, Ante, and Ladic, Zoran, *History of Croatians. Illustrated Chronology*, Zagreb: Multigraf, 2003, 332-335.

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recognized as a "Religious Jewish Community." The statute provided the individual Jewish communities with the legal right to levy taxes from their members. The rabbis were paid by the government while the Federation of the Jewish Communities became the body that represented all the Jews in the country. There were also about 40 different women's associations throughout the country that, from 1924, sent representatives to Belgrade. The Chief Rabbinate of Yugoslavia was established in 1923, and it was headed by Rabbi Dr. Yitzhak Alkali from Sarajevo.

From the internal Jewish point of view, it meant that, for the first time, the traditional Sephardic communities of Serbia, Bosnia, and Macedonia came into direct contact with the large, and mostly assimilated, Ashkenazic Jewish communities of Croatia and Vojvodina.[29] The task of unification was by no means easy since Jewish communal life was fragmented into some 112 self-governing communities with variations in their religious practices and their affiliation with Zionist organizations.[30]

Although, at times, the heterogeneity of the Jewish communities brought about animosity and harsh accusations, nevertheless the Jews of Yugoslavia achieved a surprisingly high degree of unity on the national level. One explanation for their unity is that Sephardi and Ashkenazi shared a common purpose: both wanted to establish a positive and constructive relationship with the government in Belgrade as well as with each individual state government. The productive relationship of the Jews with the Belgrade

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[28] Svob, Melita, *Zidovi u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb: Zidovskih Opcina Zagreb, 1997, 168-170.

[29] "Statistika Jevrejstva Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca" (KSHS), *Jevrejski Almanah*, (O.S.), 1929-30, 225.

[30] Romano, Jasa, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Zrtve Genocida* I Ucesnici Natodnooslobodilackog Rata, 14. There are discrapancies among the historians as to the exact number of the Jewish communities some write 103, 105, 107 but they are close in range.

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government opened up new opportunities for advancement in all spheres of life economic, social, and cultural. But, most importantly, all the Jewish communities were free to conduct their respective religious, social and cultural lives without major interference from the government.

The most notable aspect of Jewish life during the interwar period was the remarkable progress made by Jews in all branches of society and culture. For example, the Jewish population of Yugoslavia was less than one half of one percent (0.46%) of the total population; yet in vocational schools they reached 4.6% of the membership. The Jews accounted for 2.75% of those in high school and 16% of those in Medical and Law faculties.[31] Upon completion of their studies, the doors opened for participation in the areas of their expertise— social, economic, cultural, educational, and scientific.

At times, however, Jewish progress caused dissension among other minorities— primarily Croats and Muslims. As early as 1920, some 340 medical students at the University of Zagreb signed a petition demanding the introduction of "numerus clausus" which would be applied primarily to Jews. The Yugoslav government vigorously rejected the petition. Similar requests were made in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[32] The students demanded that the government curtail Jewish enrollment in schools of higher education by establishing a quota system so as to give other ethnic groups and minorities the opportunity for advancement.[33]

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[31] *Zidov*, Statistika, 41/1940.

[32] Jasa Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Zrtve Genocida I Ucesnici* Natodnooslobodilackog Rata, 573.

[33] " Hrvatski dnevninik," 10/6/1940.

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Chart 2.2.1[34]:

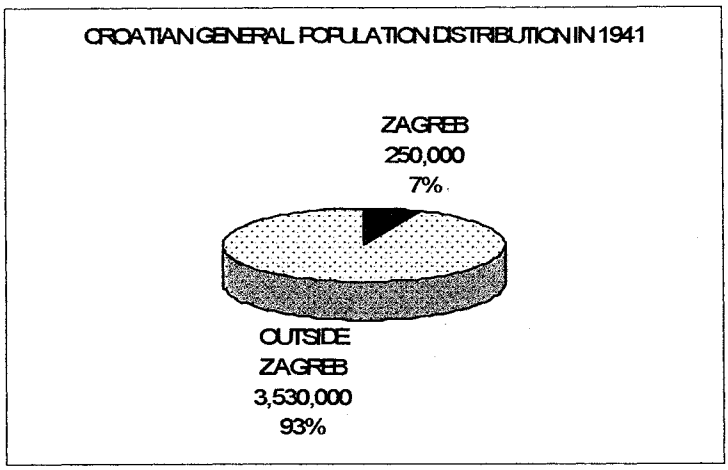
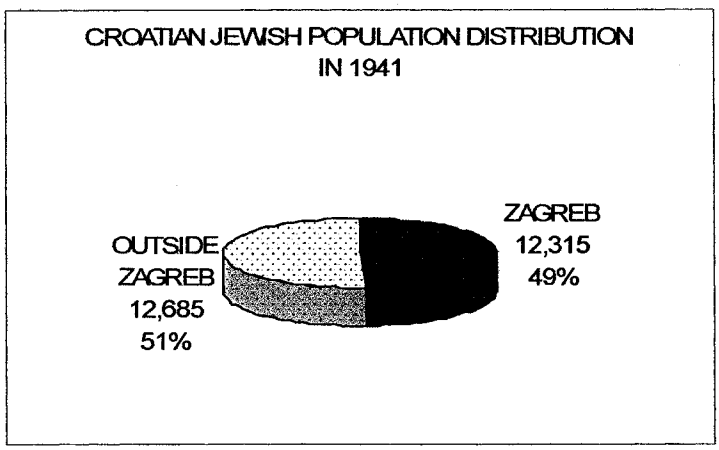


Chart 2.2.2



The increase in Jewish population between the censuses taken by the Yugoslav government in 1921 and the poll taken in 1924 by the National Federation of Rabbis demonstrates that the population grew by 10.2% in three years from 64,753 to 73,266.[35] This rapid growth can be attributed to natural growth and also to the increase in the rate of

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[34] Source: "Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca" (KSHS), *Jevrejski Almanah*, (O.S.), 1929-30, Croatian General Population Distribution 1941

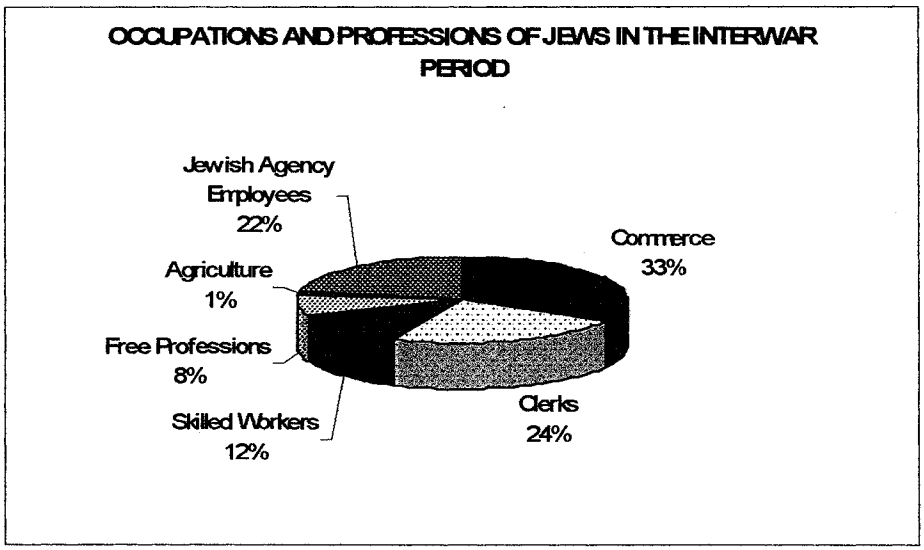
[35] Op.cit., 574.

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immigration. For example, in 1857, in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, the Jews numbered 625 (2.3%) and by 1941 their number had risen to 12,315 (4.8%).

Thus, in a period of 64 years the Jewish population of Zagreb grew almost twenty fold.[36] A similar rate of growth occurred in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, and in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1939, there were 17,370 Jewish households with 35,854 male and 35,488 female members. By 1941, the population had grown and numbered 82,224.[37]

Chart 2.2.3[38]



[36] Loker, Zvi, ed., *Pinkas Hakehillot, Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities, Yugoslavia*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes Remembrance Authority, 1988, 127.

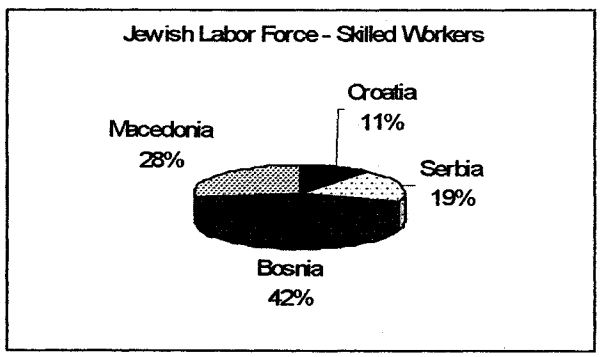
[37] Romano, Jasa, *The Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945, (Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945),* 14. Bosnia-Hercegovina 14,500, Serbia 12,500, Croatia, Slavonija, Srem 25,000 Backa, Baranja 16,000, Banat 4,200 Slavonia, Medimurje 1,000, Kosovo 550 Sandzak, Dalmatia, Crna Gora 730, Macedonia 7,762; Total 82,242.

[38] Perera, David, "Jevrejski Almanah, 1968-70 (Jewish Almanac), Belgrade: Savez Jevrejskih Opcina, The numerical distribution: Gov. Employees 571 (0.8%), Commerce and Business 6,835 (9.5%), Skilled Workers 2,288 (3.1%), Physicians 528 (0.7%), Lawyers 381(o.5%), Pharmacists 101 (0.08%), Veterinarians 50 (0.05), Engineers 145 (0.02%), Laborers 3,548 (4.9%), Pupils 6,713 (9.4%), University students 709 (0.9%)

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It is interesting to note that the Jewish communities, the Zionist Organization, and the Jewish centers of Yugoslavia employed approximately half of the total Jewish labor force. Only a few Jews were employed by the army and by the government administration of the Kingdom. Review of the historical employment data demonstrates that there were considerable differences in employment practices between the various Jewish communities. In Croatia, Vojvodina and Macedonia, the percentage of people involved in business was the highest; however, because of harsh economic conditions in the 1930s, business was in steady decline in Macedonia. In Serbia, the number of Jewish businesses was similar to the national average. In Bosnia, the number of Jewish businesses was considerably lower than that of other Jewish communities, although higher than the national average. The Jewish overall success in business and trade most often invited jealousy.

Chart 2.2.4.[39]



[39] Perera, David, *Jevrejski Almanah*, 1968-70.(Jewish Almanac), Savez Jevrejskih Opcina, Beograd. (Data in charts 2.4 and 2.5)

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Chart 2.2.5



The treaty signed at the Peace Conference in Paris on September 10, 1918 guaranteed equal rights to all minorities, including the Jews. All inhabitants of the state were guaranteed full protection of life and liberty, "without distinction as to birth, nationality, language, race or religion." These provisions were reiterated in the constitutions of 1921 and 1931.[40] The proclamation of equal rights filled the Jews with joy and hope. But, with the expansion of their rights, and their penetration into various fields such as banking and commerce at far greater percentages than their number within the local population, the danger of anti-Semitic sentiments began to loom.[41] Provisions had also been made to allow minorities to create, control, and direct their own charitable, social, cultural, and educational organizations.

The government subsidized the teaching of children in one of three secondary languages— Yiddish, Ladino and Hebrew. All other extra curricular activities, selected by the individual religious communities, were financed out of the membership of the communities. As a religious minority, the Jews were also entitled to receive annual state

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[40] Dr. Gavro Schwarz, *Povijest zagrebacke zidovske opcine od osnutka do 50-tih godina 19. vijeka*, (Jews and Minorities Rights), Zagreb: Stamparija Gaj, 1939, 372-373.

[41] *Spomenica* 50, 39-42.

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subsidies for the support of their clergy and religious institutions.[42] Although the government did not support private Jewish schools, the state did provide funds for four years' public school education for Jewish children. This included religious education, with tutors assigned to each religion. Religion in public schools was a compulsory subject for all pupils at both elementary and secondary levels.

Mladen Chaldarovic spent his childhood in Bijeljina, a heterogeneous town, in Bosnia near the Serbian border, with a small, but intellectually inclined and well integrated, Jewish population. In our interview he related his experiences of growing up during the interwar period. Of particular interest were Chaldarovic's stories about religious holidays; Catholic, Orthodox Protestant, Muslim, and Jewish children would visit the prayer house of a particular religion where they received explanations about the holiday and how it was to be celebrated. The educational system aimed to familiarize children with other religions and also, perhaps, to demonstrate that many prayers and celebrations were universal.[43] Although the authorities did not object to children attending private Jewish schools from kindergarten through fourth grade, those that continued their education were required to register in public schools.[44]

State laws also exempted those minorities that formed more than ten percent of the population from having to attend to official business, e.g. in courts and schools, on

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[42] The Law applicable to all the people of the South Slavs in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929 regulated the *Union of the Jewish Communities.*

[43] Chaldarovic, Mladen, interview and unpublished manuscript about Bijeljina, a town in Bosnia-Herzegovina with a total population, on the eve of World War II, of 14,000 and Jewish population of 220 families, Zagreb, October 15, 2002.

[44] Alexander Licht Fond, Zagreb: ZOZ, Jewish Community Zagreb, 1930

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Saturdays and Jewish holidays.[45] Since the Jews of Sarajevo fell into this category, their religious holidays also became legal holidays.[46] In other places where the Jewish population was smaller than ten percent of the total population, State laws applied to all citizens equally. In these cases, only school children, civil servants and government employees, including the military, were exempt from going to school or work on Jewish holidays. The religious minority status provided the Jews with the leeway to be active members of the society, without having to disregard their own religious observances.

The Jews were not alone in their protest against the visible signs of anti-Semitic propaganda; the intellectuals, and those who embraced the new ideology of Communism, supported them. In fact, in matters concerning the Jews, the entire Yugoslav population was divided: on the one side were the intellectuals and the Communists who held no animosity towards the Jews and, on the other side, the ultra-nationalists. The rest of the Yugoslav population was on a continuum between these two groups. Extreme nationalism was not only characteristic of Croatia; it existed also in Serbia and other parts of the country.

The nationalists and right wing media were openly hostile towards the Jews, reiterating and emphasizing the familiar Nazi slogans pertaining to the connection between the Bolsheviks, Polyglots and International Jewry.[47] These publications found a wide readership, especially inside Church circles, both Russian Orthodox and Catholic. In the

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[45] Ibid, Licht Fond, (correspondence).

[46] *Zidov*. IX, No.49, November 13, 1925, "Pitanje svetkovanja subote u Sarajevu", 5; ZOZ, Jewish Community Zagreb, Fond Ministarstvo Vjera (Tr1V) ,69,55-65-25, Letter from SJVO to Ministar Vjera, No.759, October 20,1925.

[47] *Nezavisnot,* 30/1938.

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Catholic Churches, however, an effort was made to resolve the Jewish problem by vigorous missionary campaigns within the Jewish communities.[48]

The Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia

The Sephardic Jews (Sephardim) were old residents in the region, having arrived some years following the expulsion from Spain in 1492. The Ashkenazic Jews (Ashkenazim) only began to arrive towards the end of the eighteenth century from Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany and other Central and East European countries. There were major differences between these two groups of Jews in their origins, language, traditions, and culture.

The Sephardim came to the Balkans in 1565 and settled in a place that is known today as Sarajevo. Initially, there was only a small community that paved the way for the many that followed who went on to establish the largest center of Jewish Sephardic life in the region.[49] These Jews brought with them from Spain their own language, religious rituals, culture and customs. The Sephardim spoke Ladino, a language that evolved from fourteenth century Castilian. This language was a mixture of Judeo-Spanish, Aramaic and Hebrew, and even included some Bosnian vocabulary. Since the Sephardim were set in

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[48] HDA, Ispostava Ustaskog Redarstvenog Povjerenistva Zidovski Odsjek, RUR 252, Inv. Br. 27309 ZO 383, 4.6.1941.The list of Conversions in the Catholic Churches in Zagreb shows that over 2,500 Jews were converted to Catholicism in 1938. The conversion records in the Jewish Community in Zagreb (ZOZ) list few converts to Catholicism in 1938 but over 2,000 converts in 1941. Was the Catholic Church aiming to protect the Jews by demonstrating that they converted long before the beginning of the war in Croatia or were the Jews informing the Jewish Community about their 1938?

[49] Yugoslav scholars have studied the early history of the Sephardic communities in Dubrovnik and Split extensively in such works as: Jorjo Tadic , *Jevreji u Dubrovniku do polovine'. XVII stoljeca* Sarajevo: La Benevolencia 1937.

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their ways and determined to keep to their own habits and customs, they separated off from others in their own communal organizations. In communities such as Sarajevo, the Jews were also segregated among themselves; in these larger Jewish centers, Sephardic communities were created according to their place of origin in Spain— Castile, Aragon, Catalonia— and Portugal.

By and large, the Sephardim adopted an air of superiority, believing that they were more advanced in Jewish learning than the Ashkenazim who originated from the Byzantine lands of Northern and Eastern Europe. The émigrés from Spain attempted to set the tone and the character of their own religious Jewish life. This habit continued even when numbers and religious learning did not merit such an attitude. In time, due to the failure of many small Jewish businesses and to the large number of children, the Sephardic Jewish communities suffered great hardship, becoming a mere shadow of their former glorious past.[50]

Unlike the Sephardim, the Ashkenazim were relative newcomers to the South Slav lands. Ivo Goldstein attributes the Ashkenazi migration to Northern Croatia to Joseph II and to his "Patent of Tolerance" decree of 1781, subsequently implemented in Croatia in 1783.[51] The religious and social freedom contained in this decree allowed the Jews to settle anywhere in Croatia where they expected to lead peaceful and productive lives.

From 1878, when Austro-Hungary occupied Northern Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the stream of new Ashkenazi immigrants increased exponentially. With the

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[50] Pinto, Samuel, "O pitanjima Zidova u BiH," *Zdiov*, I, # 3, October 15, 1917.

[51] Goldstein, Ivo, "Memory and Family in History" in Jasminka Domas, *Family,* (English version) by: Kroatisches Kultur- und Dokumentationszentrum, A-7000 Eisenstadt, J. Permayerstr, Vienna, 2002, 11. (Original publication was in Zagreb, published by Miroslav Salom Freiberger" Edition, Novi Liber, Zagreb.)

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declaration of equal rights by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to all the minorities and religious groups in 1921, many Croatian Jews responded favorably to the challenges of democratization by integrating into the cultural and intellectual life of the society. In his book *Holocaust in Zagreb*, Goldstein argues that the interwar period for the Jews of Zagreb was a "golden age."[52] A sizable number of Jews were in favor of identifying themselves as Croats: although their religion was Jewish, their nationality was Croatian. The Croatian Jews perceived Zionism as the cement that would keep them within the Jewish fold and also give them a sense of purpose and of belonging.[53] For many of them Zionism was the answer. In Croatia, in particular, Zionism provided the Jews with a sense of belonging to the Jewish People without necessarily having to be affiliated with the synagogues and religious life of the community.[54]

The Sarajevo Jewish Community and the Sephardi communal life in the city began in 1581 when the Turkish governor Siyavush-Pasha erected a special dwelling for them, bearing his name.[55] At his order, the Cifutana (Jewish area) was built with a synagogue next to it in that part of the town that was assigned the Jewish residential area.[56] The entire

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[52] Goldstein, Ivo and Goldstein, Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, Zagreb: Zidovska Opcina Zagreb and Novi Liber, 2001, 29.

[53] Zdenko Lowenthal, (Levental) *Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust*, Proceedings of the Conference on Mnifestation of Jewish Resistance, Jerusalem: April 7-11, 1968, 302.

[54] Goldstein, Ivo, "*Memory and Family in History*" in Jasminka Domas, *Family*, 14.

[55] See Chapter 4, Sarajevo Jews 1941-1945. The Jewish Community of Sarajevo will serve as a prototype for the life and the destruction of the Jews of Yugoslavia.

[56] See definition in Chapter 4, Sarajevo background.

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quarter was also called *Sijavus pasina daira, Velika Avlija* (the great court) and *Kortiz.*[57] The inhabitants of the quarter were free to come and go as they chose, unlike Jews in the ghettos of Poland. Moreover, the Jews were not the only group that was assigned a specific residential area; all minorities lived in their own area; governing and controlling their own internal affairs.[58] From the time of their arrival in the Balkans, with the exclusion of a few restrictions, the Jewish court (Bet Din) administered justice in civil lawsuits. In criminal cases, however, the Jews were tried in state-courts. At all times, they swore "by God who revealed the Torah to Moses."[59]

While they preserved their Spanish heritage, the Sephardim became strongly influenced by the oriental and Ottoman environment. Like all other citizens, the Jews lived in one-story houses built around large courtyards and furnished in Turkish fashion. Although in Turkey the "fez," a head cover for men was outlawed, in Bosnia they wore Ottoman garb. The men wore the "fez" for men and "tokado" for women, and they ate eastern foods. However, the life of the Sephardic community at the end of the nineteenth

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[57] Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej (JIM) „Spanski Jevreji Jugnoslovenskih Zemalja," savez jevrejskih opstina Jugoslavije, Beograd, 8-9. (Today, in the former place of the El Kal grande , the large synagogue building, one can find the Jewish Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.)

[58] Kamhi, Haim. "400-TA godisnjica Jevrejske Opstine u .Sarajevu."(400th anniversary of the Jewish Community in Sarajevo.) Jevrejski Almanah, SJOJ,1961-1962, 15-24.

[59] Pinto, Avram, "Jevreji Sarajeva I Bosne I Hercegovine," Sarajevo 1987; *Spomenica – 400*, godina od dolaska Jevreja u BiH'" Sarajevo: 1966. Two centuries after the Sarajevo community was established the Sephardic community of Travnik came into being. Not long after, the communities in Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Zenica, Bihac, Visegrad, Mostar and Brcko were establishe. There were also Sephardic communities in Serbia, Macedonia and Albania.

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and beginning of the twentieth centuries changed radically due to the annexation of Bosnia by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[60]

The popularity of Sarajevo increased when, in 1765, the center of Sephardi learning moved from Belgrade to Sarajevo where David Pardo, a renowned rabbi, established a yeshiva that was the pride of the Sephardi Jews. In addition to this school in which the rabbis were educated, there were also lower Jewish schools, Batei Midrashim and Talmud-Torah schools (meldar). In the meldars, one could find congregations of little boys learning by rote to recite prayers both in Hebrew and Ladino. The facilities were poorly lit and the air was heavy.[61] In places where the Sephardim resided, these schools continued to exist until the beginning of World War II. Among those was the Secondary Theological Institute in Sarajevo, founded in 1928 by the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia. Some of the most learned and famous rabbis in Yugoslavia were educated in Sarajevo. The Sarajevo schools contributed to the survival of the Jewish religion and heritage.[62] The Alliance Israelite Universalle played an important role in the education of Jewish children in the Jewish communities. The children that were educated in public schools were in fact those that brought to their homes the Serbo-Croatian language and the knowledge of the secular literary tradition.

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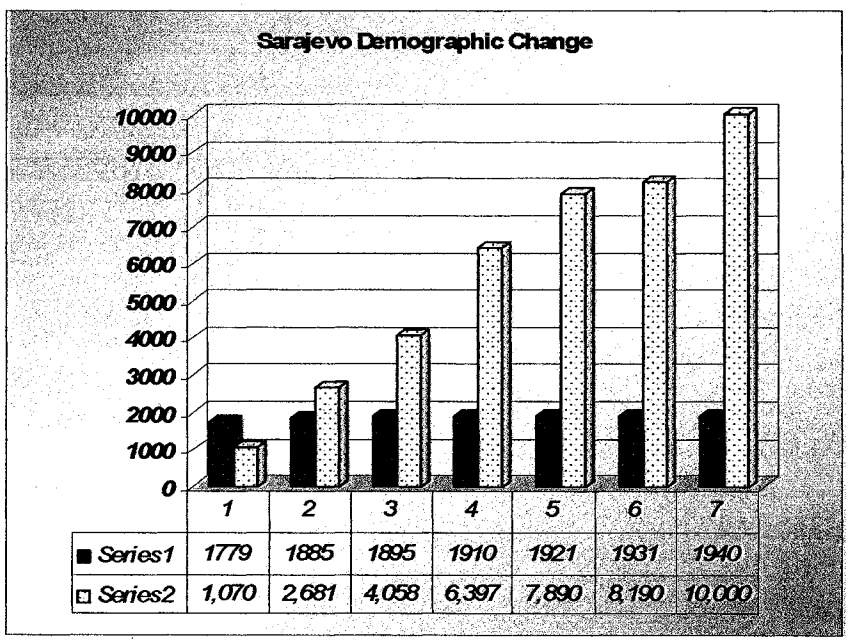
[60]All the reforms that took place in Bosnia were also implemented in Serbia, though probably with lesser bureaucratic delays than in Sarajevo since it was the Capital of Yugoslavia.

[61] Maestro, Jakov, "Nas stari Marldar," Sarajevo: *Spomenica La Benevolencia*, 1924, 103-105.

[62] *Jevreski Almanah*, Belgrade: (Jewish Almanach) N.S. 1960-1962, 88-89.

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Chart 2.2.6[63]



It was only in the mid-nineteenth century that girls began to attend school. Opportunities for girls and women in the Sephardic culture were limited; but starting in the twentieth century, several trades were open to women and the worked as seamstresses, hairdressers, teachers, secretaries and sales girls in stores. The Jewish Women's Society also established schools, primarily trade schools, where children of poorer families were enrolled and learned a trade.[64]

In Sarajevo, the Sephardim aimed at rejuvenating and revitalizing their Spanish heritage; to achieve thus, they established their own printing presses. They developed publishing houses, issued their own journals, and took part in the cultural life of the

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[63] Loker, Zvi, ed. *Pinkas Hakehillot, Yugoslavia,* Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes Remembrance Authority, 1988, 201. (in Hebrew)

[64] Dr. Levi, Moric, "Fragment iz zivota Sefarada" Sarajevo: *Spomenica La Benevolencija*, 1924, 16-24.

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surrounding environment. They translated old monographs, wrote original works, and developed theaters as their favorite form of expression. The appearance of a new Sephardic literature can be explained as an attempt to reinvigorate their roots by aiming to establish the permanence and continuity of the Sephardic culture. The Sephardim had a rich literary heritage that included romances, stories, ballads, proverbs, sayings, love songs (kantikas), laments (indecas) and popular romances. Since many young people did not converse among themselves in Ladino, efforts were made to collate and consolidate the centuries-old oral and written traditions, on one hand, as well as to make a leap towards establishing a new Sephardic culture, without forgoing the old literature on the other.[65]

As discussed earlier, although the global interests of all the Jewish communities were handled in Belgrade, the individual communities handled all the practical matters of daily living. While the various Jewish communities varied in size and level of education, they had similar basic structures. The charitable Jewish Women's Society organized cultural activities; in Sarajevo, for example, "La Benevolencia," an educational-cultural society, was formed; also "La lira," an organization that was dedicated to the promotion of secular and synagogue music and "Matatiija," a cultural society, aimed to provide a suitable setting in which young people could meet and socialize.

Humanitarian and educational societies such as "La Gloria" and the Hebrew language school, "Safa berura" (clear language), did not limit their activities to a narrow

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[65] Petrov,Vidakovic, *Krinka, Kultura Spanskih Jevreja na Jugoslavenskom tlu* Sarajevo, 1968. (A current research conducted by Prof. Muhamed Nezirovic at the University of Sarajevo, Sarajevo National Archive, suggests that on the Eve of World War II there were between 75 and 80 different religious, welfare, social, and cultural Jewish organizations).

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curriculum; the organizers channeled their energies into many activities. These societies had contact with the collectors of romances, ballads and proverbs who, at the beginning of the twentieth century, traveled and visited Jewish Sephardic communities in the Mediterranean and in Europe.

The Sephardic publications were filled with advertisements for different performances where short theatrical acts on folklore subjects were presented to the public. Jewish holidays provided an opportunity for publishing texts on the tradition of the holidays and the various ways that they could be celebrated. Concerts, balls and dances were organized to keep Jewish young people together. In addition, various women's organizations and societies awarded scholarships to students, financed historical research works, published different collections of literary scholarship, and granted many awards and diplomas to the graduates of their programs.[66]

In Sarajevo, the magazine "La alnorada" informed its readers of the happenings in the Jewish world. "Jevrejski Zivot" (the Jewish Life) and "Sefardski svet" (Sephardi World) were publications for social and cultural affairs. "Zidovska svijest" (Jewish Consciousness) was a cultural political weekly. In the period between the two World Wars, "Jevrejski Almanah" (Jewish Almanac) and Jevrejski narodni kalendar (the Jewish calendar) were established.[67] A regular publication of great interest was the "Jevrejski glas," (Jewish Voice), a weekly publication covering questions about Jewish life and

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[66] Pinto, Avram, *Jevreji Sarajeva I Bosne I Hercegovine*," Sarajevo: 1987; *Spomenica – 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u BiH,* Sarajevo: Jevrejska Opcina Sarajevo,1966.

[67] *Jevrejski Zivot*(Jewish Life), *Sefardski svet*(Sephardi People), Zidovska svijest" (Jewish Consciousness), *Jevrejski Almanah* (Jewish Almanac), *Jevrejski narodni kalendar* (Jewish People's Calendar), *Jevrejski glas*," (Jewish voice).

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cultural heritage. In 1941, all Jewish publications and cultural activities were banned. The Sarajevo Jewish Community will be revisited in Chapter 4, where the focus is the slow, but persistent, process or erosion and estrangement of Jews from the general society which came to a head on the eve of World War II.

Formation of National Jewish Organization

Due to the unification of the South Slavs under a single ruler, Yugoslav Jewry was under pressure to establish a formal organization and a central representative body over all its communities. The idea of a communal federation of Jews was by no means novel; in fact, it originated in 1897.[68] But, only after the unification of the South Slavs, did the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Kingdom request that a representative Jewish body be established. With the combined efforts and leadership of Dr. Hugo Spitzer from Osijek and Dr. Friedrich Pops from Belgrade, the Federation of Jewish Religious Communities was established.[69]

In April 1919, the Jewish leaders in Belgrade summoned representatives from the larger Jewish communities to a conference: the representatives included the Zionist Federation and the Political Committee of Jews of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, the representatives of Novi Sad and the Zagreb communal executive rejected the invitation

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[68] David Levi-Dale, ed., *Spomenica SJO Jugoslavije*, "Osnivanje Saveza," in 1919-1969, Belgrade: Srbo- stampa, 1969, 23-26. Kraus, Ognjen,"Hugo Spitzer, An Osijek Personality, Voice, ZOZ no. 3 Autumn 2000, 80.

[69] Nikola Tolnauer, "*Dr. Hugo Spitzer,*" *Zidov*, vol.6, No. 4-5 (January 20,1922), 1; "Dr. Hugo Spitzer," Ibid., vol.18, no.33 (August 17,1934); "Spomenica SJOJ, 187-89.

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because not all political issues had been resolved in time.[70] Consequently, the Belgrade Planning Conference consisted of two delegates from three communities - Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Osijek.[71] The resolution of the first meeting stated that it was mandatory that one entity should be created to represent all the Jewish communities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The focus of this entity was the religious, social, cultural, and political life of the Jewish people.[72]

The founding Congress convened on July 1, 1919; 51 of the 112 communities participated in the deliberations. Although Zagreb now decided to join, the supremacy of the Belgrade representatives was immediately recognized. The delegates voted unanimously to create a federation. Thus, due to the unrelenting efforts of Dr. Friedrich Pops, the president of the Belgrade Ashkenazic community, and Dr. Hugo Spitzer, president of the Jewish Community in Osijek, the Federation of Jewish Religious Communities" was born. Some orthodox Jews from Vojvodina decided to form their own association and, in 1929, the authorities recognized this split.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs formally ratified the statutes of the Federation on August 1921. The first meeting following ratification took place in November 1921.[73]

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[70] Dr. Fridrih Pops, sezdesetgodisnjak "Zidov" Vol.18. no. 48 (November 30,1934), 2; David A. Alkalaj, "Dr Fridrih Pops," Vesnik, vol.2, no. 15 (Mrarch 1, 1940), 2-3.

[71] Freidenreich, Harriet, P., *The Jews of Yugoslavia, A Quest for Community*, 98-99.

[72] Levinger, Josef, "Yehudey Malchut Yugoslavia, Outline of the Community, 1918-1941 (The Jews in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1918-1941), in Shelah Menahem, *Toldot Hashoha b Yugoslavia,* (The History of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia), Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990, 11.

[73] Ibid, 6.

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Dr. Hugo Spitzer, the first President of the Federation, declared that a new chapter in the history of Yugoslav Jewry had begun. He also stated that the Federation would not curb the autonomy of the communities; on the contrary, the objectives of each community would be supported. The central committee of the Federation consisted of thirty members who met regularly three times a year. Thus, the day-to-day operations of the Jewish communities were conducted through the local communal administrators. Dr. Spitzer also reassured the membership that the Federation was not a political entity and that it would not get involved in the political activities of the various Zionist organizations. At the same time, Dr. Spitzer also stated that, if issues arose that might infringe upon civil liberties and on equal rights for all Jews, the Federation would involve itself in the relevant political issues.[74]

The first task of the Federation was to define the membership. Who would belong to this entity? It was decided that the membership would encompass all those who professed the Jewish religion and lived in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Members would have the right and the freedom to profess their religion in public. By 1923, the tasks of the Federation had increased and become manifold. One of the first serious matters addressed by members of the Federation was the role of a global organization. Should the Federation oversee religious matters only, or should it be concerned with other aspects of Jewish life? Another question was the role of the Chief Rabbi at the local community level? Finally, it was decided that the Federation should consider and incorporate the opinions, needs and issues that were raised by the younger generation.

Questions, debates, small group discussions eventually resulted in the Federation adopting a new form. The Federation was perceived as a corporation with full rights,

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[74] *Spomenica, 1919-1969,* Savez Jevrejskih Opstina Yugoslavije, Brograd: 1969, 222.

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privileges and responsibilities. Its tasks became broader, involving the administration not only of religious matters but also of cultural affairs. Thus, the Federation both represented the individual communities and also provided religious and ethnic unity. As such, it was free to express the Jewish law. The rights of the Federation expressed solidarity with the Yishuv in Eretz Israel, and the Executive Board supported efforts to advance the level of Hebraism. In light of these many decisions, the Jewish youth showed great interest in the activities of the Federation; this translated into young people taking an active role in the various programs and in their being elected to serve as members of the Executive Board. Their presence was to become more and more influential.

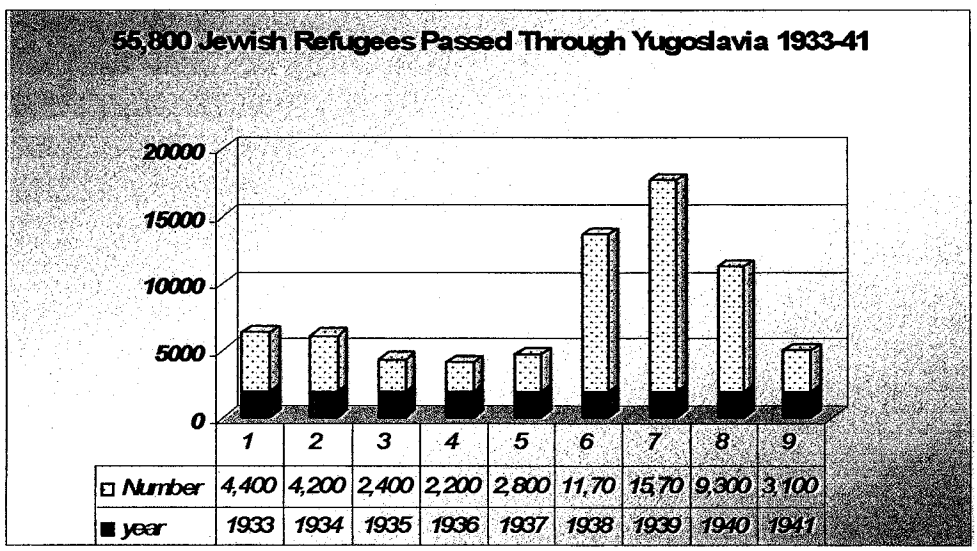
In 1923, the Federation took the important decision to establish a foundation in order to set up a Theological Institute in Sarajevo. The Institute opened in the academic year 1928/1929. Dr. Moric Levi, the Sarajevo Chief Rabbi, was appointed its first President. Educational and cultural activities consumed the energies of the board and, as a result, new textbooks on Jewish history were introduced.

The Federation also conceived the grand plan to build a Jewish Museum, but this was not accomplished before the Second World War. The Jews of Yugoslavia and the Federation were put to their greatest test when thousands of refugees fled the countries terrorized by Nazi Germany's "Final Solution." While the Jews of Yugoslavia enjoyed six more years of relative freedom than the occupied countries, they also experienced the tragic impact and consequences of Hitler's brutalities through listening to the stories of thousands of immigrants from Germany, Austria, Romania, and Slovakia that flocked to their land. From 1933-1941, a community of approximately 82,200 Jews in Yugoslavia cared for and supported more than 55,800 emigrants that arrived in, or passed through, Yugoslavia. Most

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of the refugees were transient; initially most of them were from Germany but, throughout these years they started to arrive from other European countries that were occupied by Nazi Germany. They came via land and sea in the cited below numbers:[75]

Chart 2.2.7[76]



The funds given by the wealthy also helped to feed those who stayed in Yugoslavia. In time, the influx of refugees became so large that, in order to keep the finances straight, the Federation of the Jewish Communities established a central committee that was exclusively responsible for the funds and donations that poured in from all over the world.[77]

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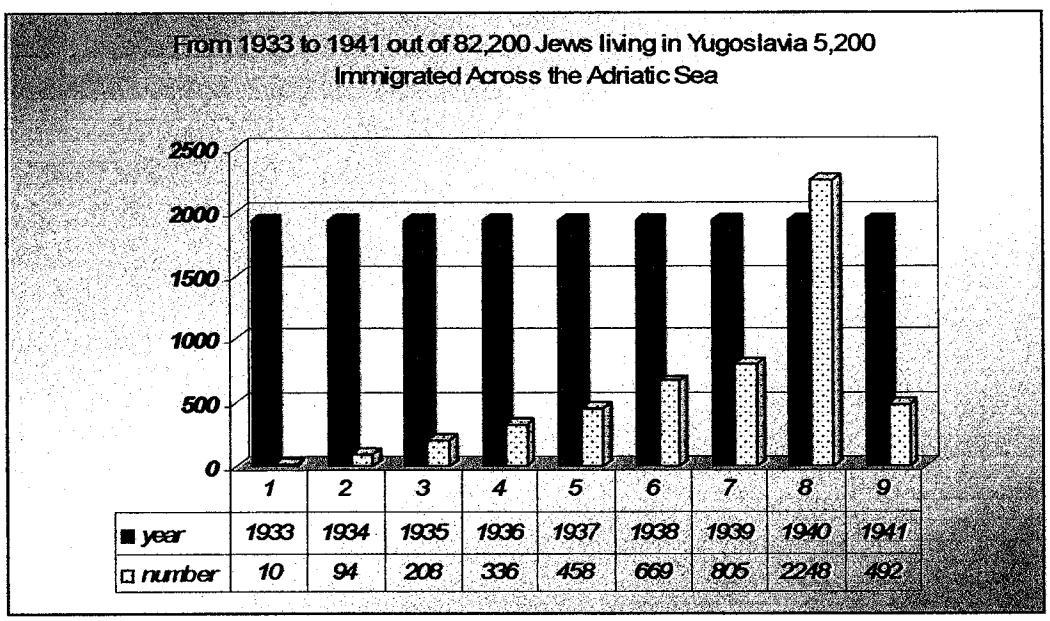
[75] Shelah, Menahem, *The Yugoslav Connection, Illegal Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938-1948*, Am Oved Publishers Ltd., Tel-Aviv, 1994, 202.

[76] Loker Zvi, *Pinkas Hakehillot*, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 1988, 147. (Data for Charts 2:3 and 2:4). The total number mentioned above does not include the Jews who during the war escaped to Hungary or other regions in the neighborhood of Croatia. From among the Jews of Yugoslavia, 4,480 left mostly to Palestine and a smaller number to other countries. The number of transient refugees in Chart 2.5 does not include the Youth Aliya children that passed through Yugoslavia.

[77] Lipa, Ruth, "Jews of Yugoslavia in the Help of Jewish Refugees 1933-1941" in pages of "Research conducted over the period of the Holocaust," (Dapim Lheker Hashoha G, 5454, 234. See also Loker, Zvi, Pinkas Hakehillot Yugoslavia: The Jews of Yugoslavia

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Chart 2.2.8



The assistance and care that was given to the emigrants, such as finding dwelling places, taking care of their needs, and providing the necessary documents was left entirely to the Federation of Jewish Communities. The Jews of Yugoslavia also responded with great generosity to the call to make contributions to assists those Jews fleeing from other European countries. Hundreds of volunteers from the larger Jewish communities of Yugoslavia as well as the staff of the Federation worked tirelessly to provide shelter and basic needs for those remaining in the country. Those who chose to stay in Yugoslavia experienced the same bitter destiny as the local population.[78]

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contributed most to the accommodation of the refugees while the American Joint and other humanitarian organization provided lower amounts. The Yugoslav institutions in total contributed 41,575,000 or 66% while Joint's total contribution amounted to 21,650,000 or 34 percent. The Yugoslav Jewish Federation did its best to help the refugees with considerable financial aid received from DELASEM, the American JOINT and HICEM. From the funds received transit visas were purchased for 4,480 people including children; most were en route to Palestine. (Broader discussion on the International Humanitarian organization Chapter 7.)

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By 1938 the tension of war was in the air. The Federation was feverishly writing appeal letters to the British Government to enable Jewish refugees, flocking to the shores of Palestine, to establish a "Home" for the Jewish people in Eretz Israel (Land of Israel). Considering, in retrospect, all the activities in which the Jews of Yugoslavia were involved, one can wonder why they made no contingency plans for their own escape? Did they truly believe that they would escape Hitler's long arm? Was the Federation in total denial of what was going on in Europe? Did the leadership collectively or individually decide that there was nothing left for them to do since there was no open route to escape? Most probably, questions asked with hindsight may have crossed the minds of the Jewish leadership. In face of the strict immigration laws imposed by most west European nations, there was little they could do for the future, except hope.

Since they could make no contingency plans for survival, the Federation was preoccupied with the present. One of the most pressing issues was the high rate of conversion to Catholicism. They were unsure how to react and what approach to take to prevent the erosion of their communities.[79] As much as the Jewish authorities feared the conversion and exit of thousands of Jews from the fold of Judaism, they feared also the poor image the Jews incurred by doing so.[80] The "*Gazette,*" the official magazine of the

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[78] Loker, Zvi, *Pinkas Hakehillot*, The Holocaust Heroes' Remembrance Authority, Jerusalem: 1988, 147. The source of the data was derived from a report prepared by Aleks Klein, secretary of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, 1944.

[79] HDA, RUR 252, Converts to Catholicism 1933-1941 recorded 969, Inv. # 27309-ZO 383, June 4, 1941. HDA, RUR 252, Converts to Islam, 27273- ZO 314, April 4, 1941, recorded 16. The Zagreb Jewish Community ZOZ Converts to Roman Catholicism recorded 4,197 Inv.# ZOZ 20471-3-3 to 1196 to 1-3-2 . Approximately the same number was recorded in the Ustashe Office for Law and Order RUR 252,
Inv. # 30072 box # 300.

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Federation, attempted to correct the poor image of Jews as portrayed in the Croatian press in relation to the issue of conversion. The "*Gazette*" attributed the actions of these converts to fear, whereas the Zagreb papers— e.g. "Smotra slavenske politike"— characterized the Jews as traitors to their own religion. Jews were portrayed as predominately self-centered and, as such, of no value to the Jewish religion, which they betrayed at the first sign of hardship.[81]

In November 1938, the seventh and last Congress of the Jewish Federation before World War II was held under a cloud of fear and anxiety. Nevertheless, they maintained an optimistic vision of the future. Even in this hour of imminent danger, the Congress laid down class plans and curricula for religious education. In 1939, particular attention was given to cultural activities and to issues of social welfare. The Federation granted scholarships to six students attending institutions of higher learning. The Congress also gave serious consideration to the learning of the Hebrew language as a means of furthering Jewish cultural values. Great festivities were also planned for twenty-five students, the first generation to graduate from the Middle Theological Institute. These activities and the resolutions of the Congress stand in stark contrast to the situation that was facing them; the Jews of Yugoslavia hoped for miracles.

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[80] *Nezavisnot,* # 30, 1938. (Judaism is an international organization one that lacks, nor they could exhibit a love and feelings towards the people among whom they live.

[81] *Zidov,* 9.12.1938, # 49.

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The Voice of the Intellectuals in the Interwar Period

With the end of World War I, Jewish youths began to search for universal causes that would improve the lot of mankind, as well as ways in which they could be useful members of society. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was a movement that appealed to them, despite its ban by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. All during the 1920s, the number of Jewish members in the Communist party continued to grow. By 1929, their objective in joining was to offset, in some measure, the impact of the monarchic dictatorship. By 1932, the Communist Party succeeded in consolidating its ranks and in revitalizing the revolutionary movement of both the working classes and the progressive youth movements. In the monograph "The Jews of Sarajevo," Esad Cengic describes the important role the Jews of Sarajevo played in the Communist Party. He refers specifically to the intellectuals who were educated abroad: in Zagreb, Belgrade, Prague, and Vienna. Dr. Marcel Steiner, Kalmi Baruh, Isak Samakovlija, Daniel Ozmo, Oskar Danon, Jahiel Finci and Sujica Salom are frequently mentioned in discussions of the KPJ (Communist Party of Yugoslavia) leadership.[82]

Romano states that a large number of Jewish workers and university students joined the movement. Reasons for joining the Communist Party were: economic hardship, and the failure of capitalism which gave rise to Nazi ideology and other fascist organizations. The Communist Party was in harmony with the aspirations of a great number of Jews who believed that, given sufficient numerical strength, the Party would be empowered to prevent the spread of unemployment, anti-Semitism and Nazism. Thirty nine young

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[82] Cengic, Esad, "Sarajevski Jevreji" *Zbornik 4* Studije, Arhivska i Memoarska Grada o Jevrejima Jugoslavije, Belgrade 1979, 226.

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Jewish men joined the Spanish Republican army. For their seditious activities, the State sent 41 Jews to long term hard labor, 56 were sent to prison. Fifty three Jews from all over Yugoslavia, both men and women, held leadership positions within the party. Many of the Jewish intellectuals, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, believed that only the Communists had the moral integrity to defeat fascism.[83] With this conception in mind, the Communist Party was no longer a party of intellectuals; Jewish young workers and university students alike joined the movement in droves.[84] Thus, extreme economic conditions contributed to the unification of workers and students under the banner of communism.[85] Disillusion with the capitalistic system was one of the reasons for the success of the Communist Party. Communism, in Yugoslavia, had become a movement that served as a counter reaction to the rise of the Nazi ideology.[86]

The battle was waged to prevent not only the spread of fascist ideology, anti-Semitism and unemployment, but also the achievement of a just solution to the ever-pressing spread of "nationalism" in both Serbia and Croatia. Yugoslav Jews were given important positions of responsibility in the Communist Party. The number of Jews participating in the "Liberation War" emanated from the priority the Party gave to the

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[83] Romano, Jasa, Jews *of Yugoslavia 1941-1945, Victims of Genocide and Freedom Fighters, Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia*, Belgrade: 1980, 574. More than 20 Jews participated in the Hungarian Revolution in 1919 and in larger number took part in the October Revolution. A considerable number of Yugoslav Jews joined the Yugoslav Socialist Students' Club formed in 1919.

[84] Loker, Zvi, *Pinkas Hakehillot*, 215.

[85] Jasa Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Zrtve Genocida I Ucesnici Narodnooslobodilackog*, 7-10.

[86] Levinger Josef, *History of the Holocaust, Yugoslavia*, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 1990, 31. See Jasa Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Zrtve Genocida I Ucesnici Narodnooslobodilackog*, 1980, 15.

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problems of working people, as well as to the fight against Nazi bigots who attempted to divide the population according to religion, race, and color.[87] Among the students of the two universities in Zagreb and Belgrade, there were 40 Communist revolutionary leaders 9 of them were Jewish.[88] Even when the King banned all political parties and forbade all Communist activities, the number of Jewish members in the Communist Party continued to grow.[89] It seems that as the Jewish youth continued to promote Communist revolutionary ideologies, they also compromised any position they held in society that stood for the status quo.

Other movements also ignited the revolutionary spirit of Jewish youths. Some Jewish organizations assimilated the spirit of Zionism, adjusting it to their own brand of "Social Zionism."[90] Zionist revolutionary ideology had been introduced in 1902 by Croat students studying in Vienna; Zionism gained momentum in the 1920s when guides from both eastern European countries and Palestine came to Yugoslavia to introduce two youth movements the "Hashomer Hatzair" and "Tehelet Lavan." The mission of these guides

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[87] Eva Nahir is well known in the historiographic literature as one of the leading young Communist at that time. In my interview with her in Israel, Eva Nahir described the spirit of those days. The Communist ideology seemed like a "dream come true." They only needed to join the movement that promised the Jews "entry into the human race." Interview conducted in her Kibbutz Shaar Hamakim, Israel, August 23, 2003.

[88] Romano, Jasa, *Jews of Yugoslavia, 1942-1945, Victims of Genocide and Freedom Fighters*, Federation of Jewish communities in Yugoslavia, 15-54.

[89] Ibid, Romano, 573-574.

[90] Loker, Zvi, *Pinkas Hakehillot*, 132-133.

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was to arouse in the Yugoslav Jewish communities the spirit and desire to create a new Jewish homeland.[91]

But by 1940, the Jews began to experience feelings of betrayal as the Yugoslav government sided more and more closely with the policies of the Third Reich. This facilitated the spread of fascist ideology throughout the country.[92] Four hundred and fifty thousand Volksdeutsche (Croatian citizens of German origin) residents were immediately mobilized to join Hitler's propaganda machinery and to spread the anti-Semitic ideology.[93] In 1940, the unity government of Cvetkovic, (Serb) and Macek (Croat) enacted two anti-Jewish decrees: one prohibited Jews from being engaged in the production and wholesale of certain foodstuffs and, two, "numerus clauses" were introduced against Jews in universities.

Despite the mounting danger the Jews faced from different strata of the society, frictions between Ashkenazi and Sephardi youths were openly displayed in weekly publications. The drama of Jewish existence and the philosophical and existential chasm between the Zagreb intellectuals and those of the Sarajevo community was lethal. The two most important magazines were *Zidov* (Jew) and *Jevrejski Glas* (The Jewish Voice). The weekly, *Zidov*, appeared on the Zagreb newsstands every Friday without interruption from 1917 to 1941. Initially, the main editorials expressed "the voice of the Jewish

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[91] Lowenthal, (Levental) Zdenko, *Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust,* Proceeds of the Conference on Manifestation of Jewish Resistance, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1971, 301-310.

[92] ZOZ, (Zidovska Opcina Zagreb, Jewish Community Zagreb), the list was taken from the report prepared in 1944 by Aleks Klein the secretary of ZOZ for the main humanitarian organizations.

[93] Mitrovic, R., "The Fate of Jews in Areas Where German Minorities Groups (Volksdeutsche) Took Over the Power in April 1941," JIM, *Zbornik 2, Studije i Grada o ucescu Jevreja u Natodnooslobodilackom Ratu,* 265.

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community of Yugoslavia." In time, the tone and the focus of interest changed to the *Voice* of the Federation of Yugoslav Zionists. The second weekly, *Jevrejski Glas* (The Jewish Voice), was published in Sarajevo from 1928 to 1941. The original objective of this weekly was to blend Zionist education and training in preparation for emigration to Eretz-Israel; but the newspaper also cited activities that aimed to improve conditions of life of Jews in the Diaspora.[94]

Although both *Zidov*,[95] and *Jevrejski Glas*,[96] fought against social injustices committed against the Jews, the campaigns of the two weeklies differed in both content and emphasis. An example of these differing values can be found in an editorial entitled "Defense against anti-Semitism or Building up the Land of Israel?" by Ivo Hochsinger in the March 27 1936 issue of *Zidov* (Jew).

> Building the Land of Israel is the great constructive goal facing our generation, whereas defense against anti-Semitism – with various degrees of success – [should aim at] halting its spread among the people in the midst of whom the Jews live.[97]

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[94] Loker, Zvi, *Pinkas Hakehillot, Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia,* 215.

[95] *Zidov*, (JEW) edited by Dr. J. Rosenberg, A. Gross, A. Singer, S. Spitzer, and Zeev Gluck.

[96] *Jevrejski glas* (The Jewish Voice) edited by Dr. Braco Poljokan.

[97] There were three major Jewish papers in Yugoslavia that were published interruptedly until the beginning of World War II. *Zidov* (JEW) from 1917-1941, *Jevrejski Glas* (The Jewish Voice), which was published in Sarajevo continuously from 1928 to 1941, was the outcome of an experiment to blend Zionist education and training in preparation for emigration to Eretz-Israel with activities aimed at improving the conditions of life of Jews in the Diaspora. *Zidovska Svest* was greatly involved in fighting bigots and anti-Semites.

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In contrast the "*Jevrejski Glas*" (The Jewish Voice) the Sarajevo weekly, focused on the here and now, launching its ideological campaign against Nazism, exposing its lies and injustices while emphasizing the equal status of the Jewish minority among other national minorities in Yugoslavia – Serbs, Croats, and Slovens.[98] Equal status, the newspaper argued, was not granted as a charity but rather as a matter of Jewish right. As early as the 1920s, *Jevrejski glas* (The Jewish Voice) had denounced anti-Semitic phenomena, attributing them to blind hatred of the Jews. Thus, for the Sephardic Jews, there were two alternatives: one in the Diaspora and the other in Erez Israel. Both seemed equally acceptable.

While the Jews were loyal citizens of Yugoslavia, they experienced considerable unease resulting, on the one hand, from the emergence of right wing ideologies and, on the other, from the ever-growing number of editorials in the Jewish media advancing Zionism. Jews from all strata of the Jewish society began to express interest in the activities of the "Zionist International Movement." It is puzzling that, in light of so much interest and the preparations made for an aliyah to Erez Israel (immigration to Palestine), so very few Zagreb Jews actually immigrated? In retrospect, in the historiographic literature, some historians raise the question whether the ideology of Zionism in Yugoslavia was simply a subject of common interest among the intellectuals? Was this just a subject that the intellectuals chose to debate among themselves or was it also an existential choice? It seems that, for the majority of Sarajevo intellectuals, exodus was a secondary issue; assuring the permanence of the Sephardic culture was their mission and goal. Contrary to the opinion of the Zagreb intellectuals, the Sephardi intellectuals believed that Zionism was

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[98] *Zidov*, 26.03.1936.

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a fad that would soon become an ideology of the past.[99] For the Zagreb intellectuals there were many changes; with maturity, many ardent Zionists from Zagreb left the movement to continue with their academic studies, some turning to a more bourgeois way of life.

In his discussions of the topic of Zionism in Yugoslavia at Yad Vashem, the physician and historian, Zdenko Lowenthal (Levental) who lived in Zagreb during this period, argues that historians should not generalize when discussing the effect of the Zionist movement on the youth of Yugoslavia. He contends that, although the efforts of Zionist progressive organizations did not result in mass immigration to *Erez Israel* (Land of Israel), nevertheless the movement gave the young men and women a sense of belonging. Furthermore, the ideology "never entirely vanished from their hearts and minds and from their way of thought and action." This long-term influence, Levental suggests, had a strong impact on their orientation and reactions both as individuals and as leaders during the period of the Holocaust and Jewish Resistance.[100]

The strife and divisiveness among the intellectuals was an aspect of Jewish life that, needless to say, did not go unnoticed by the world around them. The Nazi and the Ustashe were aware of their internal struggles and tried to take advantage of their disunity.[101] The Federation *Gazette*, the magazine published by the Jewish Federation, attempted to soften editorial controversies and to reduce the tensions created by the Sephardi and Ashkenazi

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[99] Dohanj, Y., *Zidov*, 4.7.1922, "Povjerljivi raspis."

[100] Zdenko Lowenthal, (Levental) *Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust,* Proceedings of the Conference on Manifestation of Jewish Resistance, Jerusalem April 7-11, 1968, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1971, 301.

[101] *Zidovska svest*, Michael Levi, January 20, 1920.

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intellectuals by emphasizing the more positive aspects that were expressed and resolved in their articles.

On the eve of World War II, the Jewish intellectuals of Yugoslavia were involved in numerous social and humanitarian causes: Zionism, Communism, Socialism, and Nationalism. The documents clearly point out that in the process of "chasing so many causes," they lost much of their focus. While many of these activities placed the Jews at the forefront of progress, there was also serious concern among some Jewish religious leaders that the young Jews were "chasing the wind" through their support of every cause but their own.[102] Contemporary historians and historians of the time have debated whether the lack of unity and preparation contributed to so many Jews being detained immediately following the invasion of Nazi Germany? It seems that the Jews lost the opportunity to prepare for the eventualities of war, but the topic of escape requires further exploration. The question still remains unanswered: how many options were open to them, if any?

Although there was a relatively low level of anti-Semitism between the early 1920's and mid 1930s, there were visible signs that changes were on the horizon. Already in 1922, Stjepan Radic, the head of the Croatian Peasant Party, declared that "the Jews are a foreign element in the tissue of the Croatian agrarian community" and that the true test would be their unconditional support of the Croatian national interests. The call for unconditional support of the interests of Croatia entailed indirect opposition to the Serbian Crown.[103] For example, the request of Radic that the Jews should demonstrate a higher level of loyalty to Croatia than to the King could have easily been considered anti-Semitic since this was not

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[102] *Zidov,* 3.3. 1922, Handler, Z., "Protiv ideje jevrejske strankne", (Against the idea of the Jewish Party).

[103] *Zidov,* 4.4.1922, Y. Dohanj, Povjerljivi Zapis.

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requested of all Croats or other ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, while Croatian anti-Jewish sentiments had existed, many people, including some of the clergy, opposed these outbursts. For example, in an article in the Catholic newspaper (Katolicki list, 1938), Andrija Zivkovic condemns anti-Semitism on the grounds that, in life, there are values that over-ride nationalism; if unrecognized, these can lead to the destruction sense of justice and moral values of a society.[104]

From 1933, most anti-Semitic propaganda infiltrated from Germany. Many of those that disseminated the hate literature came from the five hundred thousand Volksdeutsche (Croats from German origin) that lived throughout the territories of Yugoslavia.[105] The Jewish media responded immediately and strongly to the first visible signs of anti-Semitic propaganda. The Jewish press pointed out that all the anti-Semitic editorials held ideological views similar to those of Nazi Germany and that the Ustashe blindly followed their propaganda. Yet, as contradictory as it may seem, the Jewish editorials sent mixed signals to their readers in that they claimed that, apart from a few anti-Semitic remarks, there were no serious acts against the Jews. Editors and writers even rationalized that the anti-Semitic propaganda was written to satisfy Hitler's loyalists and functionaries in Yugoslavia.[106]

Due to the Nazi influence in Belgrade, major changes took place, the government became disenchanted with the West, particularly with the French and the Italians who had failed to provide economic assistance when Yugoslavia was collapsing under pressure of

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[104] *Nova rijec*, Zagreb 21. 4. 1938

[105] *Zidov*, 33/1936.

[106] HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, # 306 box 15, 3722.

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financial debts. The regime began to gravitate towards Nazi Germany. The most likely explanation for this change of direction was that Germany was the only country that was in a position to provide both economic aid and some sense of strength and security. Resulting from the pressure of the Third Reich in 1940, the Belgrade governments of Milan Stojadinovic and its successor, Cvetkovic-Macek began to introduce anti-Jewish measures.[107] Croat historians among them Josip Kolanovic, the head of the Croatian National Archive, have suggested that in Croatia, prior to April 10, 1941, one cannot really speak about anti-Semitism. Kolanovic's argument is based on the observation that anti-Semitism was not even mentioned in the newspaper "Croatian People" founded in 1939 by Mile Budak, a known Ustasha.[108]

Ivo Goldstein, Croatian historian, suggests that anti-Semitism in Croatia was no different to that manifested in most European Christian societies before the rise of Hitler; only at times did it carry a specifically local flavor. Goldstein refers to the fact that, from the late nineteenth century to the early part of the twentieth century, Croatian Jews were "first generation immigrants" who barely spoke Croatian; their primary languages were German and Hungarian. Since Croatia and Hungary were enemies, many Croats associated the Jews with their enemies.[109] The Jews were called names and thought of as gangsters and thieves; a common slogan was, "for all the looting Jews, we search

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[107] Romano, Jasa, *Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945*, 12.

[108] HDA, Kolanovic, Josip, "Holocaust in Croatia – Documentation and research perspectives" 160-161.

[109] Goldstein, Ivo "Anti-Semitism in Croatia," in. Kraus, Ognjen, edi. *Anti-Semitism Holocaust Anti-Fascism*, Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997, 28-30.

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hangers"[110] Thus, although many Jews sided with the Croatian Peasant Party, they were mistrusted by the masses. The Croatian daily newspaper *Hrvatski dnevnik* reported a statement made by Stjepan Radic:

> In Croatia the Jewish question of worthwhile Jews for the state does not exist. This is only a Serbian problem." Serbs have their own Jews who stood by them and are worthwhile for the country. While we, through twenty years, stood in opposition and definitely we will not pronounce anyone worthy of the country who has served the government in Belgrade.[111]

While Radic was aware that among the Jews there were loyal Croats; nevertheless he chose to condemn all Jews as unworthy citizens of Croatia, knowing that such statements would be injurious and would prompt anti-Semitic propaganda. It is important to note, however, that Radic's successor Dr. Vladko Macek, the head of the Peasant Party, stated in 1938 that "anti-Semitism was an unusual and ridiculous phenomenon...there is no Jewish danger anywhere and that anti-Semitism cannot exist among Croats."[112] It is also important to note that on New Year's Eve mass in 1938, the Archbishop of Zagreb, Dr. Alojzije Stepinac, condemned racism.[113]

According to the testimonies of survivors, March 25, 1941, was a very dark day. On this day, Yugoslavia signed the pact of friendship with Germany. Jewish families were sitting in disbelief and in mourning that their country had betrayed them, leaving them at the mercy of Nazi Germany. But only two days later, on March 27, 1941, the Yugoslav

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[110] *Zagrbacka senzacija*, god. 1, broj 1-5, Zagreb, kolovoz (Aug.), 1936.

[111] *Hrvatski dnevnik*, 10/10, 1940.

[112] *Zidov*, 18/1938, Narodne novine, 04/24/1938.

[113] *Zidov*, 1/1939.

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Army and the Serbian political parties, including the Communist Party and many Yugoslav people from different regions of the country, rejected the signed pact with extraordinary determination. They declared it null and void. [114]

The reply from Germany followed on April 6, 1941. German planes attacked Yugoslavia. On April 15 1941, the Germans captured the entire Yugoslav High Command at Pale near Sarajevo, at which point the King and his government fled to London. Two days later on April 17, Yugoslavia signed an unconditional surrender. On that very same day, the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia ceased to exist.

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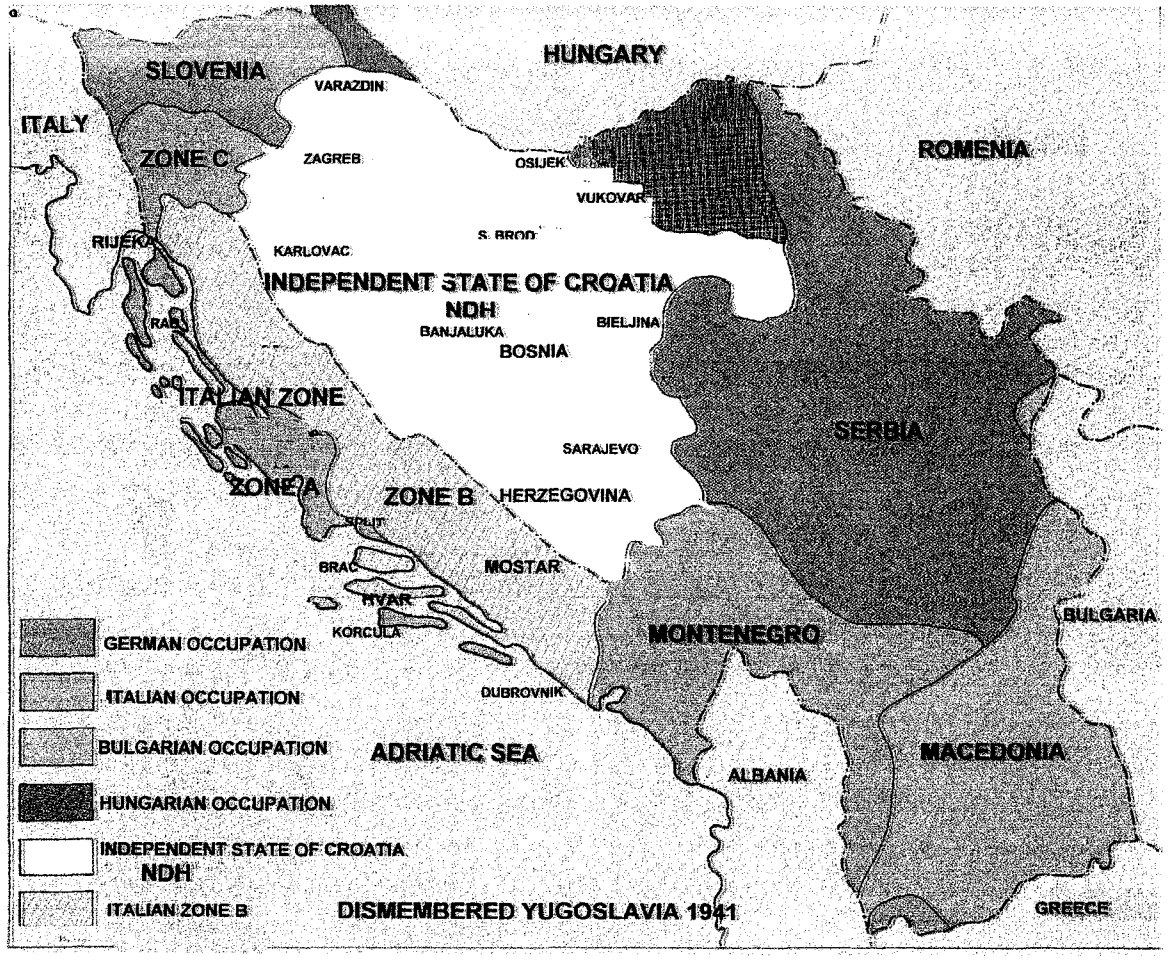
[114] Romano, Jasa, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945, Zrtve genocida I ucesnici Narodnooslobodilackog rata*, 307-572.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA, (NDH) 1941-1945

Map 3.1: Dismembered Yugoslavia, April 1941



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The Jews on the Eve of World War II

The 1940 victories of Hitler in Europe and the Balkans led him to place relentless pressure on Yugoslavia to sign the Tripartite Pact and align themselves with the Axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan. Following negotiations over several months and the realization that Yugoslavia had neither the military nor the economic foundation to sustain a prolonged military offensive, against the Axis an agreement was reached. On March 25 1941 the Yugoslav Prince Regent Pavel Karadjordhevic succumbed to German demands, despite pro-Western public opinion in Belgrade. He agreed to sign the protocol of adherence to the Tripartite Pact.[1] In return, Hitler guaranteed that Germany would not force Yugoslavia to provide military assistance, it would not move its army into Yugoslav territory nor would it violate Yugoslav sovereignty.[2]

Cvetkovic, the prime minister of Yugoslavia, and Cincar Markovic, the foreign minister, departed for Vienna to sign the agreement that Yugoslavia would join the Axis powers. Immediately upon the conclusion of this agreement, Von Ribbentrop, the foreign minister of Germany, and Ciano, the foreign minister of Italy, gave the guarantees of their governments to the foreign minister of Yugoslavia that they would respect the sovereignty and integrity of Yugoslavia.[3] But the Yugoslav government

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[1] Krizman, Bogdan, Vanjska politika jugoslavenske drzave, Zagreb: 1975, 166-169.

[2] Shelah, Menahem, Ph.D. Dissertation, *The Murder of the Croatian Jews by the Germans and their Helpers During the Second World War,* Tel-Aviv University, Israel, 1980,Tel-Aviv University, Israel 1980, 21-25, (written in Hebrew).

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failed to realize the extent of anti-German and pro-Allied feeling within the army and in Serbian public opinion. On the eve of the signing of the agreement, the Army coup d'etat toppled Prince Paul's government and repudiated the intended agreement with Hitler.[4] In wild demonstration of the Communist Party, the people shouted slogans such as: "Better war than a pact" and "Better grave than servitude."[5]

On March 27 1941, the Serbian military officers overthrew the government and declared the sixteen-year-old prince, King Petar II, the rightful king of Yugoslavia. He formed a new cabinet under General Dusan Simovic. Anti-German euphoria swept Belgrade; Yugoslav, British, French, and United States flags flew; and crowds shouted anti-Tripartite slogans.[6] The demonstrations, however, unnerved the new government, who now affirmed Yugoslav loyalty to the Tripartite Pact because of the country's perilous position. But this declaration of friendship did not convince Hitler.[7] On April 5 1941, an agreement of friendship was signed in Moscow between the kingdom of Yugoslavia and the USSR. The pact with USSR was a hindrance since the Yugoslav Central Committee of the Communist Party (CK KPJ) and the Central Committee of the

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[3] Nazor, Ante AND Ladic, Zoran, History of Croatians, Multigraf, Zagreb 2003, 350.

[4] Matkovic, Hrvoje. *Povjest Jugoslavije, Hrvatski Pogled,* Zagreb: Naklada, P.I.P Pavicic, 1998, 235-237.

[5] Matkovic, Ibid, 240.

[6] Novak, Zdenka, *When Heaven's Vault Cracked, Zagreb Memories*, Cambridge: England, Merlin Books Ltd., St. Ives, 1995. (Quotes Churchill, Winston S., The "*Grand Alliance,"* Vol.3, 162. Both Serbs and many of the Croats had strong affinity to the West.

[7] Ibid, Matkovic, 242.

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Communist Party of Croatia were unable to fight the German forces because of the agreement the USSR had made with Germany.[8]

On April 6 1941, the Luftwaffe bombed Belgrade, killing twenty thousand people. Hitler had retaliated swiftly and brutally. Belgrade was virtually destroyed, and, on April 17, the Yugoslav army collapsed. The king and his government fled to Palestine and then to London and the remaining resistance forces surrendered unconditionally.[9] On April 18 1941, all was over for the union of the South Slavs. German forces spread throughout the country.

One of the first initiatives of Germany and Italy was to partition Yugoslavia. Bulgaria obtained Macedonia; Hungary obtained a part of the eastern province of Banat; Germany annexed Serbia, (it was under German military control with a local puppet government as auxiliary support); Slovenia was divided between Germany and Italy, as were parts of Croatia, particularly the Dalmatian Coast. The rest of Croatia, including Bosnia-Herzegovina, became an independent state of Croatia— "Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska" (NDH), under the control of the fascist Ustashe. Italy annexed parts of Dalmatia coast and a few Adriatic islands.[10]

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[8] Op. cit, Nazor and Ladic, 350. (The Military Committee was founded under leadership of J. Broz Tito. KPJ had some 8000 members at the time; fifty percent of the membership was from Croatia).

[9] Department of Commerce, Economics & Statistics Division January 1994, National Trade Data Bank (NTDB) CD-ROM, Su Doc C1.88: 994/1/V.2, processed 02/16/1994 by RCM (UM-St. Louis Libraries) AAHB0147, via the Internet.

[10] Ciano Galeazzo, *Diary 1937-1943*, New York: Enigma Books, 2002, 417-418. (By 1940, Pavelic HDA relinquished control over parts of Dalmatia to the Italians in exchange for their agreement to support the establishment of an independent Croatia.) See also Peric, Ivo, A History of the Croats, Zagreb: Center for Technology Transfer

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During the early stages of the German occupation, guerilla activities were brutally suppressed. The objective was total elimination of the uprising. The Germans drew up plans that were designed to destroy the guerillas: under one formula, 100 hostages were to be executed for every German that was killed, 50 executed for each German wounded; under another formula, the whole male population of a Serb village was massacred.[11] However, Germany's ruthless approach backfired because the Serbian rebels fled to the hills and began an armed resistance, not only out of national pride but also out of fear of their lives. Another element in the dramatic early days of World War II occurred when, in the fall of 1941, the exiled royal government made contact with the organized remnants of the royal army under Colonel Draza Mihailovic.[12]

While the armed forces of NDH consisted of volunteer Ustashe Croats, Bosnian Muslims and conscription forces, the Chetniks were composed of Serb royalists, and Tito's Communist Army, which was multiethnic, being a conglomerate of various nation states. Tito's army was about 44 percent Serb, 30 percent Croat, 10 percent Slovene; the reminder was made up of Montenegrins and Muslims. From the Partisan brigades, the majority were Croatian and Bosnian: out of 96 brigades 38 were Croatian, 23 Bosnian and Herzegovinian and 17 Slovenian. Thus, there were two distinct groups of Partisans, those affiliated with the Communist Party and those who were freedom fighters who had little to do with Communism. Drawing on these statistics, it appears that the war was

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(ctt), 1998, 218. From 1943 there were two Croatian nations, one led by Tito and the other by Pavelic.

[11] Shelah, Menahem, (unpublished PhD Dissertation), Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, Israel, 25.

[12] Matkovic, Hrvoje, *Povjest Jugoslavije 1918-1991*, (Croatian Perspective), 258-256.

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fought with greatest intensity on the territory of NDH, while Serbia and Montenegro were for the most part pacified and kept under German control.[13] The Chetniks were initially most visible in the Serbian territories.

Croatian anti-Fascist ideology was already strong before the war and became even stronger after war was declared. Croatian intellectuals, who held anti-Nazi ideology, were aware that much more than territorial rights was at stake; they were in danger of losing their freedom of thought and the principles of democracy. They joined the antifascist resistance movement in ever increasing numbers. Young Communists of all religions and ethnic groups joined the antifascist resistance movement under the leadership of Josip Broz, known as Tito. The massacre of Serbs in NDH also led to spontaneous acts of resistance among the Croats. Within weeks of the onset of war, the Croats together with local Serbs formed an anti-Fascist movement that immediately became engaged in armed partisan rebellion. The first partisan unit in Croatia, and in the whole of Yugoslavia, was formed in Sisak, Croatia on June 22 1941.[14]

While the Chetniks and Partisans fought each other, their main enemies were the forces of occupation—i.e. Germany, Italy and the Ustashe. The Ustashe were Hitler's allies and at times the Italian Army joined them; from within this alliance, they fought the forces of liberation—the Partisans, and the Chetniks. The ultimate objective of each one of these three warring parties—the Communist Partisans, the Chetniks and the Ustashe—

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[13] Op. cit, Matkovic, 246-250. (Draza Mihailovic, a 48-year old Serb, a decorated veteran of the Balkan Wars and World War I. In the interwar period he served in various posts and was an insignificant figure: however, he was loyal to Serbian and royalist interest).

[14] Ivo Peric, *History of the Croats,* 211-215.

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was to rule the country after the war was over according to the spirit of each party's philosophy and ideology.

Although this subject is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it enables us to understand the unique drama of World War II in Yugoslavia. The old rivalries of the interwar period were ignited. Thus, unlike those countries that joined the axis—Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, the citizens of the dismembered Yugoslavia fought each other in one of the most treacherous of civil wars. This civil war ran in parallel to the battles against the forces of occupation, i.e., Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Thus, for example, in one assimilated family with three children, a scenario was possible in which each child was a participant in the war yet each wore one of the three possible uniforms: that of a Partisan, a Chetnik, or an Ustasha.

In April 1941 the Jews Faced Two Existential Choices: To Flee or to Stay

Before the German attack on Yugoslavia, more and more information had infiltrated about the inhuman measures taken against the Jews in Germany and Austria. The dangers of Nazi German occupation was also made clear by the many European refugees who passed through Yugoslavia on their way to countries across the Atlantic. Despite the visible danger looming on the horizon, the editors of the Jewish papers in the fall of 1938 and even as late as spring of 1939 suggested that Yugoslavia was one of the few Eastern and Central European countries in which anti-Semitism was not a serious issue.[15] Historians studying the interwar period in Yugoslavia must have wondered why the Jews of Yugoslav had so much difficulty in comprehending that they

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[15] *Zidov*, 37/1938, 8-15/1939.

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were in mortal danger. The leaders of the Jewish Federation often suggested that the young intellectuals who controlled the Jewish media were so preoccupied with their internal "squabbles" that they failed to pay attention to the new developments occurring abroad and in their own country.[16]

Were the Yugoslav Jews engaged in wishful thinking by believing that nothing could happen to them? Was their reaction a consequence of eternal optimism, or was it a sad realization that the world at large was unwilling to accept Jewish refugees from Europe? In his book *Holocaust in Zagreb,* Ivo Goldstein suggests that a logical reason existed for believing that far-reaching consequences of life-threatening proportions would not be an outcome of World War II in Yugoslavia. He states:

> There was nothing in previous Croatian history to indicate that such crime might be committed. It is true that there were anti-Semitic pamphlets and incidents. Parties with anti-Semitic tendencies, in their ideologies and programs, in Croatia in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century used it mostly to gain political power. But anti-Semitism has never reached the kind of extreme forms of pogroms and murders that were seen, for example, in Poland and Russia.[17]

On the eve of World War II, many Jews believed that once Hitler became involved with Russia, the likelihood of his reaching them was slim. Also, as indicated previously a large number of Croatian Jews converted to Catholicism, believing that by declaring themselves to be Aryan, escape was unnecessary. Zdenka Steiner Novak, an author and a Holocaust survivor, writes that many Jews, among them her industrialist father, refused to consider even the possibility of escape, she writes:

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[16] Cengic, Esad, "Sarajevski Jevreji" *Zbornik 4*" Studije, Arhivska i Memoarska Grada o Jevrejima Beograd: Jugoslavije, 1979, 226.

[17] Goldstein, Ivo, and Goldstein, Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, (Holocaust in Zagreb), 2001, 78-88.

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> From today's perspective, it is clear to me that our fatal mistake was that of not taking Hitler seriously. During all those years he announced his plans to the world, shouting so loudly that heaven and hell could shake, yet we did not hear or did not want to hear. When it did happen it seemed so unexpected, like whirlwind destroying everything in its way with violent blows.[18]

Zdenka is preoccupied with the thought of how different everything might be if her parents, younger sister, and husband could have escaped death in the concentration camps. Zdenka's father was a board member of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, a wealthy industrialist with bank accounts in England and the United States, and orchards in Palestine. On his last business trip to the United States, his associates begged him to leave Croatia, warning him of the possible danger and promising to arrange for him and his family entrance visas to the United States. Lavoslav Steiner refused to heed their warnings; he and his family decided to remain in Croatia. Even in Croatia, Zdenka recalled, "some good Christian friends wanted to provide him with false papers, as if we belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, but my father refused it; he never would have denied his Jewishness."[19] It seems that even those who had the financial means and opportunity to escape did not believe that their destiny in Croatia could be as bad as that experienced in other parts of Europe. For those who had not experienced the legacy of anti-Semitism it was difficult, if not impossible, to make a conscious decision to leave a home and a business that had taken a lifetime to build and, above all, to leave a greatly appreciated way of life and a beloved country.

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[18] Novak, Zdenka, *When Heaven's Vault Cracked, Zagreb Memories,* 31.

[19] Ibid, Novak, 34.

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The poor people who had little or nothing to lose, believed that, since they were poor, no harm would or could come to them; after all, anti-Semitic propaganda was directed primarily against the rich Jews. Zuzi Jelenik, a survivor and an author, told me during our interview that she and her husband were among the first to leave Zagreb and to escape to the Italian Zone. But she felt terrible about leaving behind her helpless mute and deaf parents. Zuzi returned to Zagreb, after she had secured from an Italian officer all the necessary papers to enter Zagreb and to leave the city with her parents and reenter the Italian Zone. Before leaving Zagreb for the second time, she urged her two brothers to join her and their parents. Their answer was: "we are poor, no harm can come to us, the Ustashe are only after the "big fish." With great sorrow, she told me that both brothers lost their lives.[20]

The Jewish leadership also believed that the best way to survive was to stay put, to listen to instructions given by the authorities, and to keep a low profile until all was over. Michael (Misho) Montiljo was a twelve-year-old boy when the Germans entered Sarajevo. He remembers clearly that, when the people of their community asked the Rabbi if they should attempt to flee, his answer was: "Stay where you are, it is possible that they may send you to a labor camp and even rough you up a bit. But you would live and return to your homes."[21] The comforting words of the rabbi sounded more reliable and reassuring than all the stories they had heard from the many immigrants that passed through their city on the way to Turkey, Palestine, South America, and other places. In the common memory of the Sarajevo community, there was nothing to prepare them for

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[20] Jelenik, Zuzi, interview, January 23, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

[21] Montiljo, Michael, interview, January 15, 2003Zagreb, Croatia.

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life-threatening situations. The Jews believed that Yugoslavia and Sarajevo were different from other countries and cities in Europe. It was beyond their imagination that Nazi Germany and the Croat Ustashe planned to systematically annihilate all the Jews of Yugoslavia.[22]

Some of those who had the means were independent of communal influences and understood that the "benign anti-Semitism" of the past was no guarantee of survival under the new regime. They left as soon as possible. Approximately 9,000 Jews took seriously the warnings of the European Jewish refugees who passed through their country; they understood that if Germany was to occupy Yugoslavia, the wisest decision was to escape to the nearest Italian Zone. From the inception of World War II, rumors circulated that the Italians were unlike the Germans and that whoever succeeded in reaching their territories was likely to survive. While, with hindsight, Jewish survivors recognize that there is no such a thing as a benign anti-Semitism, nevertheless in the early days of the war, many Jews under NDH believed that the Nazi wrath would be of short duration. Even after the war began and some anti-Jewish measures were already in place, incidents occurred that gave the Jews some measure of hope that things would be different for the Jews under NDH.[23]

The following testimony was given by Branko Polic, a survivor and an editor of the periodical, "Novi Omanut." As soon as we met on February 22, 2003, Branko Polic asked me if I had seen or heard the documentary "The Stadium Incident." I responded

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[22] Goldstein, Ivo & Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, (Holocaust in Zagreb), 95.

[23] Ibid, Goldstein, 95.

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negatively. "Well," he said, let me tell you about an amazing episode at which I was present on May 26, 1941":

> All secondary school pupils were requested to participate in an event that had to take place in the Zagreb Stadium. When all the students were lined up suddenly a loud command was given "all Jews and Serbs step forward." No one moved, I [Branko] looked to my sides while whispering to those around me 'boys I am stepping forward; they urged me to stay and to ignore the command. When commands were repeated and became louder, I was just about ready to make my 'Jewish step forward', I was aware that unnecessary delays and indecisiveness could put my friends and myself in jeopardy. As I was about to step forward, something miraculous happened: all the children, Croats, Serbs, Muslim and Jews stepped forward as one, totally oblivious to police threats and possible brutalities.[24]

The incident of the stadium left a lasting impression on all present, affecting each one of them differently; for Branko, it was a ray of hope that was to accompany him through the adversities and hardships that were to follow; the knowledge that his friends did not betray him was always a comforting thought. Although Branko Polic and his family converted to Catholicism, (Branko in 1936 and his parents in 1938), they recognized that conversion was no guarantee of survival. His father had requested Aryan rights, but they failed to arrive. Thus, at an opportune moment when Vilko Kuhnel, the head of the Jewish Division in the Office of Public Order and Security, began to issue exit visas for Jews desiring to leave Zagreb, Branko and his family left with others who hoped to reach the Italian Zones on the Adriatic Coast.

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[24] Branko Polic, interview, February 22, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE JEWS OF SARAJEVO, 1941-1945

Section 4.1: Life in Sarajevo—Historical Sketch

In his novella, Ivo Andric, a master storyteller and Nobel Prize Laureate, has captured the spirit as well as the philosophy of the people of Sarajevo. He provides a key for understanding the main problems that have plagued the region—a region where each ethnic group has spoken but none has listened:

> A young doctor recounting his experiences in the Bosnia of the 1920s says, if you lie awake one whole night in Sarajevo, you learn to distinguish the voices of the Sarajevian night. With its rich and firm strokes the clock of the Catholic cathedral marks the hour of two. A long minute elapses; then you hear, a little feebler, but shrill, the voice of the Orthodox Church, which also sounds its two strokes. Then, a little more harsh and far away, there is the voice of the Beg Mosque clock; it sounds eleven strokes, eleven ghostly Turkish hours, counted after the strange division of time in those far-off regions. The Jews have no bell to toll their hours, and God alone knows what time it is for them, God alone knows the number indicated on the calendar of the Sephardims and the Ashkenazim. Thus, even in the deep of the night, when everybody sleeps, the world is divided; it is divided over the counting of the lost hours of a night that is coming to an end.[1]

In this dissertation, the city of Sarajevo will serve as a prototype for understanding the Jewish catastrophe in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). There are several important reasons for choosing the Sarajevo Jewish community. One, Sarajevo was one of the oldest Jewish communities in the region that had integrated into

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[1] Summary from Nobel Prize Lectures, Literature 1901-1967, (Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam.)

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the life of the city by incorporating both modernity and Jewish national aspirations, without abrogating religion and the Sephardi tradition and culture. Two, Sarajevo was the most esteemed Jewish community in Bosnia Herzegovina. In light of the significant contribution made by Sarajevo Jews to Jewish life in general and to Sephardic culture worldwide, no wonder that they were considered one of the most significant Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia. Other considerations also influenced the choice of Sarajevo as the focal point of study; it was a city with a rich history where people from all ethnic groups and religious affiliations lived side by side. Until the rise of Hitler to power and his mobilization of Croatians of German origin and Muslim clerics in the initiation of anti-Semitic propaganda, Jews lived in relative peace with their neighbors.

It was also important to select Sarajevo as a prototype since most of the sources of information about Sarajevo were destroyed on the second day the Nazis entered the city. Documents that might have given us a glimpse into what transpired there during the war years were shredded by the Ustashe perpetrators in 1944, presumably because they feared the consequences of their collaboration with the enemy. Considering all the losses that the Jews of Sarajevo suffered, the fact that little was published about them since the end of the war, and the failure of some current Bosnian historians to even mention the Jews of Sarajevo when writing the history of Bosnia during World War II, research into the archives seemed imperative. I approached the task with this goal in mind: to discover the truth of what happened and to keep the memory of this glorious Sarajevo Jewish community alive in peoples' memory.

In undertaking to write about the Jews of Sarajevo during World War II, my objective was to find out to whom and to what we could attribute the great catastrophe

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that befell the Jewish population of Sarajevo? Did the residents of Sarajevo succumb to foreign invaders and the forces of occupation? Why were Jews made the scapegoat for all the ills that befell the city and the province? Why did such a sizable portion of the city's population rejoice at the sight of the Nazi forces, while the Jews experienced agonizing anxiety, pain and fear? Why did seventy percent of the Sarajevo Jewish population lose their lives within a period of eight months? Why were the Jews unable to react when the Nazis and the Ustashe implemented the Racial Laws?[2] The Jews of Sarajevo were mentioned in Chapter 2 in the context of describing their internal life after the unification of the South Slavs. In this section, discussion focuses on the social and political life of the Jews in Sarajevo, with the objective of providing sufficient background data for understanding the events that led to their rapid extermination during the last eight months in 1941.

For over 400 years, Bosnia retained a distinct identity as a key province of the Islamic Ottoman Empire. A native aristocracy of Bosnian Muslims ruled the province in all but name and was ready to defend their autonomy by force. Since the Bosnian leaders shared in the prosperity and glory of the Ottoman Empire, they also shared in the slow decline that began in the sixteenth century. The decline of the Empire created tension in Sarajevo particularly when a large number of Bosnian Muslims, who lived abroad, flocked back to the city. At approximately the same time, in 1565, the foundation for a permanent Jewish settlement in Sarajevo was laid down. This resulted in litigation

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[2] The issue of denial persists in some of the historiographic literature in Bosnia. Contemporary historians such as Enver Redzic in his book "*Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Second World War*" Sarajevo: Ex Libris Zlatko Hasanbegovic, 1998. (Redzic fails to even mention the existence of the Jews in Sarajevo during World War II.)

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between Jews and Moslems.[3] As described in Chapter 2, the proceedings of the religious Moslem Court show that the Jewish quarter in Sarajevo was set up in the confined space of a courtyard (Chifut khan) as a self-chosen ghetto in the center of the city. In the course of time, the Jewish quarter moved to a new and spacious area, known as Bjelave.

The Ottoman Empire organized Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the same way that they organized the cities other places of their occupation, they created divisions according to religion and ethnicity. The three leading non-Muslim religions in Sarajevo were Greek Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Judaism. The people in these three religious communities were recognized as legitimate residents,[4] living in their designated communities.[5] The impact of this system continued to permeate the life of Sarajevo long after the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Each community had its own internal cultural and religious life that slowly began to erode even when most Sarajevo residents opted for the status quo.

By the seventeenth century, the Ottoman rule showed signs of weakness and corruption. Appointments to local offices led to frequent and serious upheavals throughout the nineteenth century. This state of permanent unrest prompted the Congress

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[3] Eventov, Yakir, *A History of Yugoslav Jews, From Ancient Time to the End of the 19th Century,* Tel-Aviv: Hitahdut Olej Yugoslavia in Israel, Davar, 1971. Three court decisions of that year are extant relating to litigations between Jews and Moslems, 204.

[4] Stillman, Norman, *Jews in Arab Lands, - History and Source Book,* Philadelphia: PA, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979 25-26. (The Pact of Umar was a writ of protection extended by Allah's community to their protégés (ahl al-dhimma or dhimmi). In return for the safeguarding of life and property and the right to worship unmolested according to their conscience, the citizens HDA to pay the jizya and the kharaj tax. They were to conduct themselves with the demeanor befitting a subject population).

[5] Ibid, Jews in most of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire lived independent communal lives. The communities themselves were subdivided according to ethnic groups. 90, 97.

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of Berlin to entrust Austria in 1878 with the occupation of Bosnia, and the pacification of this troublesome territory. Not surprisingly, a sizable number of devout Moslems chose to immigrate to Turkey; some even moved to Palestine settling not far from Gaza, thus reducing temporarily the tension in the city.[6]

The Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia had far-reaching objectives for their newly acquired territory. In their grandiose plans, they intended to convert overnight Bosnia-Herzegovina into a "model colony;" but they failed to consider the feelings and objectives of the people whose lives they intended to change. Technological innovations began to appear everywhere; railroads and industries were developed with government subsidies; new schools, public buildings, courts, parks and other icons of modernity appeared. Under the Austrian regime, Bosnian international trade flourished. The Sephardi Jews played a major role in trading.

The second most noticeable change was the influx of foreigners. Professionals from every sphere of life arrived to the city; architects, engineers, schoolteachers, professors, and bankers from all over Europe. In intellectual circles; both sexes enjoyed themselves in coffeehouses where up-to-date European ideologies were discussed. Together with the new regime, the Austrian army came equipped with soldiers, artisans, railway employees, and administrators. Among the new immigrants there were Ashkenazic Jews who changed forever the character of the old Jewish community just as the Austrian Catholics changed the make-up and architecture of the city.[7]

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[6] Op. cit, Eventov, 206.

[7] Goldstein, Ivo, "Memory and Family in History" in Domas, Jasminka, ed. *Family,* (This book is a translation of "Obitelj") Zagreb: Novi Liber and Kulturverein

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The building-boom in Sarajevo affected not only the commercial areas of the city but also the way of life. While all these changes were taking place, the Muslim Slavs surmised that there would be no room for a society like theirs in such a system. Thus they continued to advocate the Bosnian ideals of a multi-cultural society, working side-by-side, enjoying progress but without giving up their heritage and way of life.[8] Many Bosnian Jews who previously had cherished their culture and way of life since it successfully coexisted within the Ottoman system accepted this worldview.

With the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Empire recruited thousands of people from the neighboring countries; many others arrived on their own, anticipating prosperity in this part of the world. These people came with the objective of transforming Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina into an industrialized center, caring little for the many long-established traditions. Furthermore, these new immigrants had the interests of their own countries at heart; they made money in Sarajevo and sent it back to their places of origins. Unlike most other citizens of Sarajevo, the Jews had neither a country of their own nor a strong religious umbrella to shield them. Sarajevo was all they had known and cherished for four hundred years.[9]

Since the Austro-Hungarians were insensitive to the needs of the annexed population, the cultural divide between the Ottomans and the Austro-Hungarian authorities grew deep. Tension was bound to erupt. In order to avoid a major catastrophe

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"Miroslav Shalom Freiberger" (English Edition) Vienna: Kroatisches Kultur- und Dokumentationszentrum, 2002.

[8] *Spomenica 400, Sarajevo*, 1966, 63.

[9] Prstojevic, Miroslav, *Forgotten Sarajevo*, Ljubljana: Slovenia, Miroslav Prstojevic, Optima, 1992, 122-123.

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in 1908-1909, the Austro-Hungarian government decided to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina. But economic hardship continued to exist.

In the summer of 1914, a Serb nationalist youth named Gavrilo Princip assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne during a state visit to Sarajevo. The event bore unforeseen consequences that led to World War I. Despite the fact that the spark that ignited the war took place in Sarajevo, the city itself managed to escape destruction although many of its citizens were drafted to fight on the side of Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Isolation of the Jews, 1918 to 1941

1918-1921, Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Creation of Yugoslavia. With the end of World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the South Slavs became united into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS). Jews, like all other minorities, were granted equal rights and opportunities for growth.[10] The Jews, inspired by change, were the frontrunners, seizing every opportunity for higher education and advancement in business.[11] In 1921, an open rift between the Muslims and the Jews became visible.

Despite the notion of equal rights of all citizens of the kingdom, all the political parties retained a particular religious and ethnic character. In 1921, however, the "*Yugoslav Muslim Organization*" (JMO)[12] in Bosnia repeated its request to curtail the

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[10] For further discussions on the issue of *Equal Rights* see Chapter II, section 2.

[11] Janowsky, Oskar, I. *The Jews and Minority Rights*, New York Columbia Press, 1933, 155.

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Jewish monopoly over the commerce of Bosnia. The impact and influence of the Bosnian Muslims on the government in Belgrade was significant due to the persistent need for the Muslim vote in order to maintain a stable coalition.[13]

1929-1933, Collapse of the World Economy and its impact on the Jews of Sarajevo. The Jews of Belgrade and Zagreb continued to do well throughout the world economic crisis and they contributed to the economic progress of the country. The Yugoslav Minister of External Affairs, Vojislav Marinkovic, praised the Jews, stating:

> Our country does not suffer from the poison of anti-Semitism. On the contrary, we value and love the Jews. And this is not a coincidence. The historical predicament of our nation was similar to the development of the Jewish national identity. We experienced much suffering due to sacrifices for freedom; we have a full understanding for the Jews whose history knows pain and hardship....We value the loyalty the Jews have for their faith, we do not scorn the Jews of this account.[14]

However, the majority of the Jews in Sarajevo, particularly the Sephardic Jews who were mostly employees, were hit hard by unemployment and failing business ventures. The Muslims, Croats, Serbs and other ethnic groups in the city were similarly affected. [15] During the economic crisis of the 1930s, the wealthy Jews of Sarajevo assisted the poor. The need to support the local poor, as well as thousands of Jewish refugees fleeing from Austria and Germany after the rise of Hitler to power, led to the growth of

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[12] Levinger, Yossef, (contributor), *History of the Holocaust—Yugoslavia,* Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, 6.

[13] Redzic, Enver, Bosna i Hercegovina u Drugom Svejetskom Ratu, Sarajevo: Graficko izdavacka Kuca , d.d. , Printing and Puglishing House, 19.

[14] *Politika*, XXVI, # 7599, July 1, 1929. Interview with Jakob Landau, director of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency with Vojislav Marinkovic, Minister of External Affairs.

[15] *Spomenica 400*, 400 Godina od dolasak Jevreja u Bosni i Herzegovini, odbor za proslavu, Sarajevo, 70.

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many humanitarian organizations. The Jews from Sarajevo received help and funds both from Yugoslav Jews and from European and American humanitarian organizations.[16] In Sarajevo, due to the assistance of the wealthy, the impression was formed that all Jews were economically well off. The seeming financial success combined with academic achievements and success in schools of higher education resulted in jealousy and animosity towards the Jews.[17] Another possibly alienating factor in relationship between the Jews and their neighbors was the ever increasing number of Jewish youths involved in empowering the labor unions. Those among the Jews who joined this movement had an objective and a mission to improve the working conditions of the working class and to reduce tensions between business and labor. However, in the minds of many conservatives, the unions and communism were synonymous and posed a threat to their way of life. While the Jews were not the only ethnic group that supported the unions, they were singled out and attacked under the guise of spreading communism.[18]

1934-1939, The Spread of Nazi German ideology in the City of Sarajevo: From 1934 onwards, the Third Reich mobilized all Yugoslav citizens of German origin, the

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[16] *Jevrejski Zivot*, Sarajevo, 16.5. 1924. See also Chapter II section 2 an extensive discussion including facts and figures.

[17] Loker, Zvi, ed., *Pinkas Hakehillot, Yugoslavia,* Jerusalem: Yad Vashem The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, 200-205. Despite their small number, less than one percent of the total population, their contribution to the economy of the city was significant. The Jews excelled in trade and finances, they established 26 factories, 6 lumber facilities, and many smaller manufacturing enterprises in paper, steel, food, apparel. They also held approximately 20 percent of the wholesale trade in various food products. Many Jews also served as trade representatives within the country and abroad.

[18] Cengic, Esad. "Sarajevski Jevreji" *Zbornik 4*" Belgrade: Studije, Arhivska i Memoarska Grada o Jevrejima Jugoslavije, 1979, 223-240.

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Volksdeutsche, to serve their country of origin; there were numbered approximately 450,000[19] registered members, spread strategically throughout Yugoslavia.[20] In his monograph *Crimes, Committed Against the Jews of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Forces of Occupation and their Collaborators,*[21] Dr. Samuel Pinto argues that Nazi clandestine activities in Sarajevo began in the early months of 1934. At this time, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was unable to obtain credit from France and other allies, and was thus forced to turn to Germany.[22]

The objective of Nazi Germany in the region was to secure their position by informing the people that Germany was helping them to recover from the recession. However, their true motive was to secure this portion of the Balkans and to disseminate anti-Semitic propaganda. Pinto argues that because of hard economic conditions and political instability, Bosnia-Herzegovina was fertile ground for the rise of right wing fascist movements. Because of its heterogeneity and because it was the capital of one of the poorest regions in Yugoslavia, Sarajevo served as a nest for the breeding of the "fifth

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[19] Mitrovic, R., "Sudbina Jevreja u krajevima gde su Folksdojceri preuzeli vlast April 1941." (The Fate of the Jews in Areas where German Minority Groups (Volksdeutschers) Took over the Power in April 1941), Beograd: *Zbornik* 2, 265.

[20] Jankovic, M., *Rat Spijuna u Kraljevini Jugoslavije*, (The Spy War in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) Zagreb: 1982, 246.

[21] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10. Dr. Pinto Samuel, "*Zlocini Okupatora I Njihovih Pomagaca izvrseni Nad Jevrejima u Bosni i Herzegovini,*" (Crimes, by the Forces of Occupation and their Collaborators Committed Against the Jews of Bosnia-Herzegovina), Sarajevo 1952.

[22] In Chapter 2 an extensive discussion was given of the cumulative difficulties in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia resulting from both the consequences of World War I and the "Great Depression."

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column."[23] The Nazi fifth column in Sarajevo was exceptionally well organized and ready, several years in advance, for the eventuality of war. Thus, when the war started, each person knew exactly which role to play under the new conditions; within a day's notice, each was ready to assume his predetermined post.[24]

Magazines, such as *Svoj svome*" (Each to his own) dealt exclusively with the incitement of the population against the Jews, other papers, such as the *Katolicki List* (The Catholic Page) and *Glasnik sv. Ante* (Harbinger or herald of St. Ante), sporadically interjected anti-Semitic editorials. More sophisticated attacks were also mounted against the Jews in newspapers printed in Belgrade such as *The Balkan* and V*rme* (Time). In short captions, *Balkan* (The Balkan) drove a blow to the Jewish character; it stated: "the Jews of Sarajevo—the subject and the source of all the hardship and agony of the city"...."is there any chance to invent a fumigator with which to annihilate the Jewish scourge"?[25] In Sarajevo, more than anywhere else, these newspapers and editorials received visibility and recognition, and were regarded as maintaining the highest standard of reporting.[26]

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[23] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 3335/2-45, box 10. Dr. Pinto Samuel, 2-5. I was searching for an objective version based on primary sources. Pinto's work was published in 1952, possibly before the Communist government insisted on the presentation of an official version. From testimonies I learned that the government decided to place the entire blame on the Croats from Croatia, absolving the Croat Muslims from BiH of their contribution to the German and Ustashi success.

[24] Mitrovic, R., "The Fate of the Jews in Areas where German Minority Groups Volksdeutsche Took Over the Power in April 1941," Belgrade: *Zbornik 2*, 1973, 266.

[25] *Balkan*, 8.6. 1938.

[26] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 3335/2-45, box 10, Pinto, Samuel, "Zlocini Okupatiora i Njihovih Pomagaca Izvrseni nad Jevrejim u BiH", 9.

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Yugoslavia was a poor and underdeveloped country despite its wealth of natural resources such as water, forests, fisheries, and ore. The country was always dependent on the major powers. From its inception to 1935, Yugoslavia had close contacts with France. But from 1935 onwards, Yugoslavia drew ever closer to Nazi Germany.[27] As a sign of the strong Nazi influence in Sarajevo, a disturbing incident occurred as early as 1934, that distressed the Jews. A few Jewish opera singers, who were expelled from Germany and were on their way to Palestine, were invited to perform in the National Concert Hall. As the curtain rose, a youth group from one of the right wing parties rose and began attacking the singers by throwing eggs and rotten oranges.[28]

In 1938 when Hitler annexed Austria and began his conquest of other countries in the Balkan region, the seeds of hatred towards the Jews were unleashed.[29] The strongest sentiments were expressed by the Muslim Arab clerics that were sent from Palestine by the Mufti of Jerusalem[30] and by the Kultur-bund made up of Croat citizens of German ancestry.[31] In Sarajevo, in particular, these two groups strove to segregate the Jews from

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[27] Matkovic, Hrvoje. *Povjest Jugoslavije, Hrvatski Pogled*, 132.

[28] Loker, Zvi, ed. *Pinkas Hakehillot* –Yugoslavia, 216.

[29] Rotschild, Joseph, *East Central Europe between Two World Wars,* London: 1988, 250-267.

[30] Schechtman, Joseph, The Mufti and the Fuehrer: The Rise and Fall of Haj Amin el Husseini, New York, 1965. See also Lebel, Jennie, *Haj Amin and Berlin*, Technosdar, Ltd., Tel-Aviv: Israel, 1996, 128-145.

[31] HDA, Military file Volksdeutsche Activities: After a fairly long process of attempting to form an SS Division from the rather large Volksdeutsche community living outside of Germany, Gottlob Berger (As head of the SS recruiting office) managed to help secure the 7th Division of the SS. The 7th Division of the SS was formed from the Volksdeutsche living in the Serbian and Croatian areas of Yugoslavia through volunteers, and also through conscription. The 7th Division of the SS was designed for anti-partisan

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the community and to identify them as the foreign element in an otherwise harmonious society. And as soon as the forces of occupation entered the city, all the members of the "fifth column" revealed their true identities; they were the collaborators and helpers.[32]

The Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini, regularly sent Palestinian clerics to Sarajevo to incite the masses against the Jews.[33] The essence of their message was that, according to the Koran, Muhammad excluded the Jews from the community of the believers and that, in fact, Jews were inferior. In their sermons, the clerics "preached clerical darkness and fanaticism."[34] The centuries-old good neighborly relationships formed between Jews and Muslims in Bosnia began to unravel due to the anti-Jewish propaganda and the influence of foreign elements such as Nazi Germany and Haj Amin el Husseini. Furthermore, the Muslim leadership was eager to help the Germans in the execution of the Final Solution; they hoped to win praise for their assistance and

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warfare in the Balkan region. During on of such operations in October 1942 it was not successful. Soon after this action, the Division was transferred to the Zagreb-Karlovac area and took part in "Operation White" with other German units. Operation White was one of the many major anti-partisan operations in the Balkan Region aimed at destroying Tito's resistance movement. The 7th Division fought the Tito's Partisans in North of Sarajevo, and later, the Division was sent to Mostar. The Division saw service on the Dalmation Coast while disarming Italian soldiers in September 1943. After helping to disarm Italians, the 7th SS helped occupy the Brac, Hvar and Korcula Islands and the Peljesac Peninsula. In December, 1943, the 7th SS once more was in action against Tito's forces, and once more, the actions proved less-than-promising.

[32] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2335/2-45, box 10. Dr. Pinto Samuel, 12.

[33] Appendix 4.2.2" Bosnian Muslims' letter to Hitler addressed: "Unser Furhrer" (Our Leader) source: Lebel, Jennie, *Haj Amin and Berlin*, 25. (On July 26 1931 Haj Amin El Husseini organized a Muslim convention in Jerusalem in 1931 to which he invited the Muslim leaders from all over. At that conference 22 Muslim delegates from Yugoslavia attended; during this period Haj Amin formed strong relationships with some of the Bosnian delegates, a relationship that lasted throughout the war and also one that impacted the fate of the Jews of Sarajevo, 25.

[34] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2335/2-45, box 10. Dr. Pinto Samuel, 13.

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eventually to obtain an independent Muslim state in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[35] Their objective was also to prevent young Jews from immigrating to Palestine and interfering with Muslim life in that region.[36] The Croats wished to rid themselves of both Serbs and the Jews and to establish their own Croat-Catholic Lebensraum with the help of the Jewish and Serb's confiscated assets. The Volksdeutsche hoped to gain an added power as one of the important minorities in the Balkans. Each ethnic-religious group had different reasons for their desire to annihilate the Jews and to acquire their assets. The combined effort of these three entities the Ustashe Croats, Muslims and the Volksdeutsche was lethal.

To please the Germans, the Croats in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia mimicked their words. The first issue raised was that, because Jews were different, they could never become Croatian. In 1939, in many newspaper editorials, it was asserted that:

> ...The Jews were not Croats, and they could never become Croatian because by nationality they are Zionist, by race they are Semites, their religion is Israelite...and in essence, I am asking the peoples of the world, for how long are we going to kill each other for the interests of the Jews?....If we are to kill each other, let us first kill the Jews and, only afterwards, can we ask ourselves if there is a justifiable reason for our mutual killing?[37]

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[35] Lebel, Jennie, *Haj Amin and Berlin*, 25. On October 15, 1942 from Mostar a Muslim delegation departed for Rome to meet with Haj Amin, honored guest of Mussolini. The Bosnian Muslim delegation consisted of the grand mufti of Mostar, Omer Dzabic, Ibrahim Fejic, hadzi-Ahmed Karabeg, and Oman Sehic. The goal of the delegation was to convince Mussolini to sponsor a Fascist Protectorate for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[36] Shelah, Menahem, *History of the Holocaust, Yugoslavia,* Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990, 327.

[37] *Spomenica, 400 Godina of Dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, Beograd, 1566-1966, 211.

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Such propaganda attempted to legitimize racist anti-Semitism and to turn in time the "purity of Croatian blood" into a legal category. The process of isolating the Jews did not result from deep-seated anti-Semitic prejudice; it was delivered from abroad, through Nazi and Muslim propaganda. The Fascist Croats, the Ustashe, already initiated the steps that would eventually forbid marriages and extramarital relations between Aryans and Jews and disenfranchise those "subjects" that chose to work in Jewish homes.

In 1940, Italy reached an agreement with the Fascist Croatian leader, Ante Pavelic; in exchange for territories on the Dalmatian Coast, Italy would help the Croats achieve their objective of becoming an independent state. The Croats also agreed not to fight with the Kingdom of Yugoslavia against the Axis powers.[38] The economic hardships that plagued Yugoslavia also strengthened the hand of Nazi Germany in the region. The government was in constant search for sources of credit. Germany was the only European country that was financially willing, and solvent, to provide credit and capitalization for new business enterprises and the revitalization of the economy.[39]

The assistance did not come freely; many strings were attached. Anti-Jewish propaganda began to infiltrate in earnest in most of the local newspapers and magazines.[40] Consequently, either because of pressure from abroad or from internal pressure, on October 5, 1940 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia published two urgent measures directed exclusively against the Jewish minority. "Numerus clausus" was introduced where Jews

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[38] Ciano, Galeazzo, *Diary*, 1937-1943, (Foreign Minister of Italy 1938-1943).

[39] *Hrvatski dnevnik*, (Croatian Daily), 6.10.1940.

[40] *Hrvatski dnevnik*, (Croatian Daily), 10.10.1940.

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were barred from entering, based on merit, institutions of higher learning; their enrollment was to be proportional to their percentage of the general population.[41]

The Jews also lost the right to engage in the wholesale trade of certain food products.[42] Local newspapers attempted to justify these measures by claiming they had been imposed by forces from abroad. But many citizens of Yugoslavia did not look favorably upon these measures and several public protests took place. These protests already showed how the population would eventually divide—the liberals and the communists against the right wing fascist forces.[43]

Thus, despite the looming danger and the numerous signs of what was to come, the Jews of Yugoslavia in the interwar period enjoyed the equal status of all other religious groups. They were granted the privilege of conducting their internal affairs and of developing their national identities as Croats, Serbs and Bosnians. As indicated earlier, the Jews of Yugoslavia enjoyed the interwar period which many historians characterized as the "golden age" of the Jews. No wonder the Jews wished to savor the period as long as they could, even at the price of being unprepared for the future. Since they turned away from signs of danger, it seemed that the brightest period in their history came to an abrupt end when the Nazis invaded Yugoslavia. Like Zdenka, Steiner-Novak stated: "When it did happen it seemed so unexpected, like a whirlwind destroying everything in its way with violent blows."

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[41] *Hrvatski dnevnik*, (Croatian Daily), 6.10.1940.

[42] Levinger, Yossef, contrib., *History of the Holocaust, Yugoslavia,* Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 35.

[43] *Sluzbene Novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, (Business Newspaper of the Kingdom of Yugoslav), 15.10.1940.

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On April 10 1941, with the help of the Axis Powers, Croatia became the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), encompassing Bosnia-Herzegovina and a small part of Serbia. The Muslims were deemed to be Croats and "Honorary Aryans;" as such they were recruited to the Ustashe ranks. The Independent State of Croatia (NDH) then joined up with the forces of occupation against the forces of liberation.[44] The country, Yugoslavia, that had held so much promise at its inception was no more. The dreams and aspirations of the Jews were cutoff before there was time for them to be implemented.

Section 4.2: April 15 1941, The Nazi Troops Enter Sarajevo

The Annihilation of the Jews begins

The Nazis entered Sarajevo on April 15, 1941. At that time the Jewish population of Sarajevo numbered 10,000+ (10%) of the total population of the city. They divided into two groups; 9,000 Sephardim and 1,000 Ashkenazim. After the war, approximately 2,450 survived while 7,600 were annihilated. Esad Cengic, a contemporary historian, asks "how was this permitted to happen that, while the entire community of Sarajevo bore witness, massive deportations were carried out of Jews to prisons, detention centers?"[45] While survivors ask: "why did a sizable portion of the city's population rejoice at the sight of the Nazi forces while the Jews experienced agonizing anxiety and fear"? The answer lies in the preceding of years when the stage for the annihilation of

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[44] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 3335/2-45, box 10. Dr. Pinto Samuel, 6-12.

[45] Cengic, Esad, "Sarajevski Jevreji" (The Jews of Sarajevo), *Zbornik 4*, JIM, Beograd 1979, 223.

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the Jews was set. Unlike in Austria, Germany, and Poland, there were no ghettos, and no pogroms to speak of. Yet slowly, deliberately and persistently, anti-Semitic propaganda was published in the local newspapers and preached in some of the Catholic churches, in the Mosques and in cultural and sport clubs. Clandestinely, the Volksdeutsche prepared their uniforms and collected weapons to be ready when called for duty.[46]

On the day the Nazis infiltrated Sarajevo, thousands of collaborators emerged in their assigned places, with their identities unmasked, ready to serve their fatherland. All of a sudden, those who for years had led double lives - working clandestinely and camouflaged as poor unsuspecting employees in both private industry and government, appeared in German uniforms. Some were officers while others worked in an organization known as TOTD. These individuals were responsible for the swiftness with which the Jews were annihilated. For the Jews, it happened like all if a sudden, destroying everything in its path; there was not one day of respite, nor one hour in which to adjust and think over what course of action to take.[47]

Thus, by the time the occupation of Sarajevo took place, some city residents were ready to accept with joy the forces of occupation and to begin the atrocities against the Jews. While each ethnic group of perpetrators had its own reasons and motives for wanting to annihilate the Jews - economic, religious, and political—all coveted Jewish wealth. In fact, even before the German arrival, rumors were spread that, somewhere in the main Sephardic synagogue, the Jewish gold was hidden.[48] With gold and other

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[46] Arhiv Vojni-istorijskog instituta JNA, Nediceva Arhiva, box 10, # reg. 31/3.

[47] HDA, ZKRZ, GUZ, # 2235/2/3 45, box 10, 398-412.

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possible riches in mind, the local "mob" waited impatiently for the German arrival, lining the streets with Croat and German flags. With the entrance of the army, the crowds cheered with joy; not knowing the German language, they raised up high their right hands with their fingers spread, signaling their willingness to join the "fifth column." This was the sign the Nazis welcomed in their territories of occupation. The positive and welcoming attitude of the local population was reciprocated; the Nazi commander "winked" to the mob, letting them know that it was acceptable to embark on looting.[49]

On April 16 1941, the Nazi commanders executed a preconceived plan when they led the Sarajevians straight to King Peter Street and to the monumental structure of the Jewish Sephardic synagogue. This synagogue was the pride and joy of the Sephardic Jewish Community. It was built in Moroccan style, beautifully decorated with attention to every minute detail; it was inaugurated in 1931 with the hope that it would serve many future generations. Adjacent to the synagogue were the offices of the community. These offices contained a voluminous collection of documents, a rich library of ancient and irreplaceable books, and a small museum with many antiques and beautiful objects of art. It was all destroyed.[50] In his 1944 report, Judge Srechko Bujas, the appointed trustee over the Sephardic Jewish Community, wrote to the "National Commission for the investigation of Crimes" as follow:

> The Nazi Army, already on April 16, in the afternoon, was penetrating the city and, together with a crazed mob composed of ninety-nine percent Muslims, they demolished the great Sephardic synagogue. The incited the masses to look for allegedly

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[48] ZKRZ-GUZ 3335/2-45, box 10, Srechko Bujas testimony, 207.

[49] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2335/2-45, box 10. Dr. Pinto Samuel, 14.

[50] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2335/2-45, box 10. Dr. Pinto Samuel, 15.

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hidden wagons of foodstuff. Not finding the gold or hidden treasures, they nevertheless continued with the destruction. Not giving up, the mob resumed the process of destruction on the following day, carrying broken up benches to their homes, clerics' robes, and other items. All took place in front of the police agents who were supposed to restore law and order.[51]

The crowds looted and plundered until only the bare walls were left; even the wallpaper and the linoleum floors were gone. The Nazis, using guns to spray with bullets, demolished the large and precious chandelier that was beyond the reach of the looters. The Torah scrolls, the vast archival library containing four centuries of old documents and hundreds of ancient volumes of books were destroyed. The idea behind the destruction of the synagogue and the looting of religious objects was a well-planned act with the objective of demoralizing the Jewish population; of robbing them of their identity and the symbols that gave meaning and value to their lives.[52]

The records and testimonies submitted to the National Commission by both Judge Srechko Bujas and Dr. Samuel Pinto state that a relatively small segment of the population was composed of hard-core murderers. Another segment consisted of looters driven by greed; they wanted to get rich fast, rarely considering whether their actions were morally wrong. The large majority of the people, the bystanders, were paralyzed by fear and economic hardship.[53]

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[51] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2335/2-45, box 10, Srechko Bujas testimony, 208.

[52] *Spomenica 400*, "Godina Dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu," Sarajevo: 1961, 228-229. (It is likely that this historic material was taken to "Einsatzstab Rosenberg" who was collecting anything that could shed light on the Jewish religion.)

[53] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2335/2-45, box 10, Srechko Bujas testimony, 242.

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With the occupation of Sarajevo by Nazi Germany and the implementation of both Racial Laws and the ordinances of the "Protection of the Croat People," the Sarajevo population was drastically divided into identifiable groups. The *perpetrators* were the Gestapo, the SS and the Ustashe, at times in uniform to arouse fear and at other times masked in well-tailored suits wishing to put their victims at ease before delivering a blow. Also, when assessing the conditions under which the German genocide of Jews commenced, it should be recognized that the former government of Yugoslavia had already created the "concentration camps." In these camps, the Kingdom's government police had dealt severely with Communists and other dissidents. The already existing structures, constituted for genocide, allowed the Nazi and Ustashe task of the annihilation of the Jews to seem but a continuation of the political policy of terror introduced by the previous regime.[54]

There were three identifiable groups of bystanders. The *indifferent bystanders* were those who were oblivious to what was happening around them; they could barely cope with their own existence let alone with that of other people. The second group was composed of the *malevolent bystanders*, of those who for a small fee or for a little favor were willing to inform on their neighbors and former friends. The third group was composed of *rescuers*, those who helped provided shelter in their own homes or by searching for shelter in other peoples' homes. They brought food to the various detention centers and to the poor and disabled. They gave shelters, temporary or permanent, to children whose parents were either taken to concentration camps or joined the Partisans. An examples of the third kind of bystanders, rescuers, is given by

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[54] Cengic, Esad, *Sarajevski Jevreji*,(The Jews of Sarajevo), 228.

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Sharika Kaveson whose children, dressed as little Muslim children, were taken from the local detention center by a neighbor who had come to visit. A few days later, Sharika Kaveson, also dressed as a Muslim woman, hanging on the arm of former employer, escaped the detention center.[55]

Some people helped to obtain the necessary visas and forged papers; sometimes they even gave their own identities to escaping Jews. Ella Finci Koen told me that, when she was escaping, one of her classmates gave her, for a small fee, her student identification card. Many ordinary people who felt the trauma and pain of their Jewish neighbors and friends put their own lives in harms' way.[56]

The Jews were the *victims* of heinous crimes that were committed against them, but they were also the *victims* of the fear that the Nazi and Ustashe leadership intended to instill in them. Fear and terror dominated their thoughts, rendering them incapable of rational thought. Michael (Misho) Montiljo recalled the time when he was brought, aged twelve, to a large detention center. Hundreds of people were herded into one large room, but only two agents were placed to guard them with rifles. The twelve year old boy pointed to his mother, saying: "Look there are so many of us and only two of them, let's run we have an opening right in here." Misho heard his mother say "But the Ustashe will punish you, please do not do anything foolish." Despite his mother's warnings and concern, he escaped to freedom. He managed, without money and support from his

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[55] Stern-Kaveson, Sharika, interview October 10, 2003, Kibbutz Shaar Haamakim, Israel.

[56] Koen-Finci, Ela, interview August 12, 2003, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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parents and only a modicum of assistance from strangers, to reach Mostar in the Italian Zone.[57]

The non-Jewish trustee of the Jewish communities in Sarajevo believed that fear and humiliation prevented many from acting rationally and from getting their priorities clear; to escape Sarajevo as soon as possible. Thus, in the early months of the occupation, the trustees of the Jewish Communities, Judges Bujas and Milakovic, approached Dr. Djikovic, the head of the office for Law and Order in Sarajevo. The judges made an offer to purchase from the government permit visas to the Italian Zone for all the Jews of Sarajevo. They assured Djikovic that the Jews would leave all their assets in the city and, in addition, the government stood to earn 40,000 Kunas for each permit. Although their suggestions were officially dismissed, many of those who managed to escape were able to purchase government issued visas on the black market that fetched higher prices than those offered by the trustees Bujas and Milakovic.[58]

The perpetrators intended to kill all the Jews—men, women and children. In Sarajevo, the perpetrators were not concerned with gender issues because both men and women were mobilized for forced labor. The decision to take men first was a practical decision; more men were needed as free labor in the camps around the city. Furthermore, the Ustashe aimed to prevent Jewish men from joining the Partisans and from emigrating to Palestine. The work conditions were strenuous, particularly for older men who were

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[57] Michael (Misho) Montiljo, interview, November 09, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia.

[58] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, Testimony Srechko Bujas, 230-231. See also Shelah, Menahem, ed., "*The History of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia*, Jerusalem: (in Hebrew), Yad Vashem, 1990, 168.

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not used to manual labor. They worked for many hours and were fed once daily by the Jewish Community.

Women who saw their fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons living under these terrible conditions insisted that, whenever possible, their men folk should pack up and leave Sarajevo and other towns. But even when circumstances were favorable for escape, exit visas were purchased at great sacrifice: the question always arose how to bid goodbye a spouse, children and old parents? After considering these questions, many decided to stay and wait for new opportunities, which usually did not come.[59]

Frequently, women became *victims of circumstance,* staying behind as penniless caregivers of their elderly parents and children. Blanka Levi Auslander stated that her mother had several opportunities to flee Sarajevo with Blanka and her younger sister but, since she was responsible for the care of her elderly mother-in-law, she did not leave. Thus, the fate of many young women was determined not only by the circumstances of the moment, but also by the age-old tradition of honoring the elderly even at the expense of young children.[60]

In developing this discussion, it is important to note the following: one, in no other European country were the Jews confronted by four equally cruel perpetrators: Nazi Germany, the Volksdeutsche, the Croat and Muslim Ustashe and the Chetniks, (Serbs Royalists) who mercilessly attacked the Jews. Each group pursued its own

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[59] Danon, Jakica, interview, August 9, 2003 Sarajevo, Bosnia Herzegovina. Jakica recalled how the family scraped to purchase an exit visa for their father but he refused to leave until all his family was safe. He was never given a second chance.

[60] Blanka Levi-Auslander, in an interview with Jasminka Domas, for the "Shoa Foundation," Zagreb: Croatia, 1995.

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agenda and interests, but all hoped to win the war and to set their own brand of fascism. For the Jews the price was the implementation of the Final Solution.

Two, it is important to establish the motives of the Nazis in Sarajevo. Did their motives differ from those of the local population in the pursuit of the Final Solution? This question is essential to our understanding why, in Sarajevo, the Jews were attacked immediately upon the entrance of Nazi Germany into Sarajevo. The Germans were determined to implement the Final Solution in all places of their occupation, particularly in areas that were under their control such as Sarajevo.[61] The above observations and conclusions opened up a whole range of possibilities for further research, and for understanding the motives and the actions of the Sarajevian authorities and population towards the Jews.

Three, the vocabulary used by the perpetrators during the process of the annihilation of Jews is highly relevant because of its impact on the perceptions of many bystanders. For example, when "shipping off" Jews to the concentration camps, the Germans used euphemisms such as: "resettlement," "departure," "evacuation," "relocation," "redistribution" and other equally misleading terms. Marion Kaplan points out that the above terms may have given the bystanders the impression that "the Jews chose their departure and also their fate."[62] If indeed this was the case, some of the bystanders may have concluded that the Jews willingly left Sarajevo, a place where they were not wanted. Thus, some bystanders could have been under the erroneous

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[61] Hilberg, Raul, '*Perpetrators, Victims Bystanders: the Jewish catastrophe*, New York: HarperCollins books, 1992, 78.

[62] Kaplan, Marion, *Between Dignity and Despair,--Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 184.

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impression that the authorities had little to do with the departure of the Jews and that in fact the Jews, tired of the looting and confiscations, chose to leave the city.

Racial Laws, the Nature of the Decrees and their Effect, 1941-45

The basis for all the actions taken against the Jews in NDH was the German "Nuremberg Laws"[63] which legitimized racist anti-Semitism, and turned the "purity of Croatian blood" into a legal category. These laws also had far reaching consequences on all human relationships but particularly on marriages between Jews and Aryans; those that nevertheless chose such relationships were considered "race defilers." In fact the point being is that racist anti-Semitism had nothing to do with "race," but everything to do with religion. Furthermore, the issue of anti-Semitism did not arise because of the religion of the individual in question, but rather from the religion of his predecessors over the previous three generations. According to this argument, a person who converted to Catholicism or Islam in the late 1930's and early 1940's was still considered a Jew and a carrier of Jewish blood; as such, he would still bring to bear a "Jewish influence on his surroundings."[64] Hilberg argues, the Croatian authorities improved upon the original *Losener definition*:

> We need only recall the problems to which the original German definition gave rise to realize that the Croatian definition, with all its improvements, was drafted by expert hands....In a very short time the

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[63] On the occasion of the annual NSDAP congress in Nuremberg, new anti-Jewish laws, the so-called "Nuremberg Laws," were adopted unanimously by the Reichstag, on September 15.1935. These laws were the basis for the removal of the Jews from the social, political and economic life in Croatia.

[64] Hilberg, Raul, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1985, 28-31.

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> Croatian government also proceeded to enact all those measures which German bureaucrats had toiled over for eight years: the prohibition of intermarriage, against employing Aryan servants under forty-five, of raising the Croatian flag, the recalling of name changes adopted since December 1, 1918, the marking of Jewish stores and persons. By the end of August 1941, most Jewish enterprises worth 200,000 kunas had been aryanized.[65]

It seems that the decrees were a mere formality; they had barely been issued, let alone fully implemented, when the Jewish population was deported from the cities, principally from the urban centers of Zagreb, Sarajevo, Osijek and other large towns. Unlike other countries where Jews had a chance to absorb one decree before the next was published, in Sarajevo, as in other places in NDH, the decrees were enacted daily. The Jews had no time to adjust to the hostilities, or to suspend their beliefs that the Nazis might stop the deportations to labor camps and the confiscation of their properties. Within two months, the Jews were destitute and, within eleven months, most of them were murdered.

April 15, 1941, the Nazi German forces occupied Sarajevo, entering the city with great power in terms of both hardware and manpower. The Gestapo and the SS troops had a plan for immediate assault on the Jews.

April 16 1941, German troops, accompanied by Muslim supporters, destroyed the Jewish synagogue. The destruction of the Main Sephardic synagogue was a psychological and emotional shock to the Jewish Community. In one afternoon the Jews lost their recorded history and their documents that dated back to the time of their expulsion from Spain. The secretary of the congregation managed to salvage the

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[65] Hilberg, Raul, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 711.

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"Pinkas Hakehillot," the large registry books of births, marriages, and deaths. And the manager of the Municipal Sarajevo Museum, who happened to be a Muslim, salvaged the famous "Sarajevo Haggadah" written and decorated in the thirteenth century.[66] With shock, the Jews realized that the symbol of their identity had been destroyed and that some of their neighbors had taken part in the vandalism and plunder.

April 17, 1941 was one of the most difficult days for the Jews of Sarajevo; the Nazis robbed them of their citizenship and also of their right of protection under the law.

April 22 1941, in the first issue of a new daily newspaper "*Sarajevski Hrvatski List* # 89, the public was informed that three Muslim loyalists from Bosnia-Herzegovina had been invited to Zagreb on an official visit. The delegates were Dr. Dzafer Kulenovic, Minister in the former Yugoslavia, Prof. Hakija Hadzic and Dr. Atif Hadzihadic. These three individuals were chosen because of their anti-Semitic sentiment, which they soon proved, by inflicting pain and hardship on the Jews of Sarajevo.

April 24, 1941: The local daily newspaper, *Sarajevski list*, announced that the first item on the government agenda was the categorization of Jews as non-citizens, thereby denying them all legal protection.

April 27, 1941: In *Sarajevski Hrvatski Lit*" # 94," the chief of the police, Drago Gregoric, determined that:

i. Jews and Serbs are forbidden to wear Croat symbols.
ii. Jews and Serbs cannot exhibit the Croat flag on their stores and homes.
iii. Jews are not permitted to visit public places.

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[66] Deveris Korkut was recognized as the "Righteous Among the Nations Yad Vashem, Bosnia-Herzegovina file # 6323.

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April 30, 1941 the daily newspaper *Narodne Novine,* 30.4.1941 published the promulgation of the "Protection of the Croatian People" and the State Act of April 17, 1941.[67] These laid the foundation for the legitimacy of extreme methods of terror against the Jews. The State Act stated:

> Anyone who damages or has damaged in any way the honor of the Croatian people or their vital interests, or endangers in any way the existence of the Independent State of Croatia, or its ruling authorities, even if such an act is merely attempted, stands accused of the crime of grave treason (veleizdaja) and was liable to capital punishment."[68]

Protection under the law was granted exclusively to citizens of NDH. The Jews were no longer considered citizens. The Jews were dismissed from all government and civil service posts and Jewish children were forbidden to attend pubic schools.

In his short forward to the monograph *Let the documents speak,* Dr. Isak Levi, a victim of the early Ustashe regime, describes the general mood of the Jews:

> [The Jews] Once proud and dignified citizens, that for centuries lived in the midst of the peoples of this city, without sparing any effort, energy, knowledge and experience for the advancement and progress of their surroundings, overnight they became despised and outlawed. People with great human stature held in the highest esteem and recognition for their achievements in economy, business, sciences, literature and arts, suddenly became destitute, deprived of their livelihood. There was neither kind words to console them nor moral support that could shed even the smallest glimmer of light on their gloomy souls."[69]

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[67] *Narodne novine*, broj 16 ad 30. IV 1941.

[68] *Zbornik Zakoni, zakonske odredbe, naredbe itd. NDH I, Zagreb 1941*, 219. The most exhaustive and comprehensive bibliography on the subject, which includes the most important studies published since 1971, was compiled by L. Kopsa, "*O organizaciji ustaskog aparata vlasti na provotenju terora u tzv. NDH,*" in: Zbronik: Zagrebu NOB –I socijalistickoj revoluciji, Zagreb, 1971, 223-251.

[69] Dr. Pinto Avram & Dr. Pinto David, *Dokumenti o Stradanju Jevreja u Logorima NDH*, Sarajevo 1972.

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With the publication of the Racial Laws, the Sarajevo elite, in the local newspaper *Narodna novina* (Peoples' Newspaper), proclaimed their promise of immediate cooperation with Nazi Germany. In joining with the Croat Ustashe in the veneration of Nazi Germany, the Muslim leadership informed the Nazis of the position of the local Muslim population. The newspaper stated that the Mufti of Zagreb pledged his loyalty and that of his fellow Muslims to Marshal Slavko Kvaternik, the Head of the Armed Forces and the representative of the Poglavnik (Ante Pavelic).[70] The Mufti claimed to act on behalf of all Muslims. On April 24 1941, the "Sarajevski List" published part of a speech delivered by Ismet Muftic, the Mufti of Zagreb:

> ...The Muslim faces were covered with tears of joy because Bosnia-Herzegovina was included in the newly created NDH. The Muslim people are asked to greet the German Army as if they were their own brothers.[71]

The Racial Laws made it clear that the Germans vigorously pursued anti-Semitism and planned to segregate the Jews from the rest of the population by stressing the inferior origins of the Jewish population. For the Ustashe, anti-Semitism during World War II became a convenient tool, a means for the confiscation of Jewish wealth. Samuel Pinto writes:

> The newly created State and also its "loyal sons" needed in the first place money, and again money that was all they wanted. Accordingly, the leaders had to invent the ways and means to obtain this money. The best and most satisfying way was through confiscating and looting Jewish assets.[72]

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[70] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, Samuel Pinto, 16.

[71] Ibid, HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, 12-13.

[72] Ibid, HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, 18.

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May 7, 1941: The daily newspaper *Sarajevski Hrvatski List* # 100 listed laws forbidding Jews to own radios and telephones.

May 11, 1941: The daily newspaper *Sarajevski Novi List* no.1 published laws against Jewish Businesses:

i. All German patrons in Jewish stores were entitled to a discount of 20%.
ii. Jews and Serbs may not roam the city center streets.
iii. Trustees should be placed in every Jewish business. Mr. Zubic was placed at the helm of all the trustees/commissioners. With these ordinances, the plunder and looting of Jewish stores was permitted and legalized.
iv. Decrees promulgated in May and June 1941 legalized spontaneous looting by individual Ustashe and in parallel, there was decrees for the organized and systematic plunder of Jewish property.[73] The private looting centered on personal property such as apartments, furniture and jewelry. The Ustashe objective in allowing the plunder of Jewish property was to kindle the "animal instinct" in the looters who in turn agreed to act as informers. The new legislations marked the beginning of a campaign aimed at the general economic ruination of the Jews that shortly thereafter led to their physical extermination.[74]
v. Nomination of Aryan Trustees: By the decree of Ante Pavelic No. 227/41 Community. Thus, the former directors of the Jewish Community were no longer permitted to officially represent the community. (Sarajevo was the only City in NDH where Aryan trustees had control over the Jewish community.) Trustees were also appointed over every corporation, company, and business enterprise. The first order of the day was to take control over all the financial matters from the Jewish board or proprietors. The Ustashe nominated two types of trustee depending on the nature of the

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[73] HDA, ZKRZ, GUZ, # 2235/2/3-45 box # 10 Microfilm . 401. Also Kolanovic-Kisic, Nada, *Nationalization of Jewish of Jewish Property in NDH*, Contemporary History Review30 1988, No. 3, 444-452 states that the value of the Jewish property was 13-16 billion (Yugoslav Dinars as traded on the International Market in 1938). This estimates includes only real estate and not liquid assets which is practically impossible to assess

[74] From April to early June 1941, Jews were arrested individually. The exception to this rule was a group of 165 young men (aged 18-21); who were arrested on May 27, 1941 in Zagreb. Most of them were killed, only four survived to tell their story; A1HRPH, zbirka NDH, 1965-1966, Belgrade, 1966, 201-204.

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business; managerial trustees were responsible for the proper functioning of the business while the administrative trustees were those that made sure that no subversive conduct was permitted in the company.

vi. The Jews were barred from membership and dismissed from all cultural and sports clubs.

vii. The Jews were not permitted to leave the city without authorized permits, even for a day visit to nearby villages.

May 18 1941, Identification of Jewish Stores: In the daily newspaper *Sarajevski Novi List* # 7, Jews were ordered to place visible signs on top of their shops stating in German *Judisches Geschaft* and in Croatian *Zidovska Radnja* (Jewish Store).

May 23 1941, Personal identifications – Yellow Armbands: As of the above date, all Jews were obliged to wear the yellow identification tag; at first it consisted of two yellow strips with a Star of David worn on the left side of the chest and on the back. These were replaced on June 4, 1941 by a yellow tin disc. The requirement to wear the identification mark (Z), for Zidov-Jew at the cost of 5,000 dinar each applied to males aged 15 to 65; the discs or tablets were obtained from the local Jewish communities.[75] Acts of blackmail, sale of forged documents, and bribery brought enormous sums of money to individual Ustashe.[76]

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[75] HDA, RUR 252 27570, ZO 1056, 5/07/ 1941. This letter was sent from the city of Koprivnica but similar letters arrived from all other communities. While collecting payments for the Jewish identification signs, the Jewish Community personnel also collected vital data about the Jews and their whereabouts. All-important information on the Jewish communities was passed on, albeit unwillingly, to the Ustashe and German authorities. It made the task of locating the Jews that much easier. Those that failed to register and who refrained from wearing the identification " *Jude*" tags were arrested on the spot and sent to concentration camps.

[76] *Spomenica 400*, 228. Djikovic, the Head of the Police in Sarajevo, and Sokali, the Head of the Ustashe, arranged permission for the wealthiest Jews to purchase traveling papers and to leave; on the way Ustashe agents caught them all. Twenty of the most prominent and prosperous leaders of the Sarajevo Jewish Community were taken

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May 24, 1941 the *Sarajevski Novi list* (Sarajevo New Page) # 11: From May 26th, Jews were required to purchase and wear on the arm a yellow ribbon with the word "*Jude" Zidov* embossed on it. They were forbidden to wear the "fez," the traditional Turkish hat that older Sephardic men favored, as well as any other Croat or Muslim national symbols. The decrees also proclaimed the confiscation of all Jewish assets: real estate, bank accounts, life insurances were transferred for the benefit of the government. Money, jewelry and art were plundered. The dignity of the individuals was stripped as they were sent to local labor camps; their shame was laid bare for all to see. This was one of the issues Bujas attempted to resolve when he complained to the authorities about the inhuman conduct towards the Jews.[77] In Sarajevo, as elsewhere, the tortuous liquidation of the Jews was conducted in stages: economic ruination followed by psychological abuse, and finally physical annihilation.[78]

May 29 1941, in the daily news *Sarajevski Novi list (*Sarajevo New Page) # 15, the Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jewish communities were ordered to cover expenses incurred in the feeding of the Jews in the "forced labor camps." There was no reimbursement for this expense. Both men and women were part of the forced labor. In the early hours of the morning, long lines of Jewish men, women, and elderly were led to their posts. They were mobilized for hard labor; former laborers, engineers,

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during the night, carrying with them all their valuables. They were murdered without a trace.

[77] HDA, HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, ZKRZ-GUZ, Testimony Srechko Bujas, 221.

[78] Narodne novine (Peoples Newspapers), #6 April 18, 1941; #32, May 20; #44 June 5, # 115 August 30; #149 October 10,1941; Narodne novine, # 15 January 19, 1942; # 178 July 10, # 246 October 1942. Most of the decrees in 1942 involved the fine-tuning of the ways and means of handling the issue of Jewish property.

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professors, physicians were made fun of and given the tasks of cleaning the public toilets, streets, and carrying the garbage.

June 7 1941, the daily news *Sarajevski Novi list* (Sarajevo New Page) # 23: Jewish women from the age of 14 must wear the Jewish identification sign.

June 8 1941, the daily news *Sarajevski Novi list* (Sarajevo New Page) # 24: Aryans found assisting Jews would be punished.

June 15 1941, the daily news *Sarajevski Novi list* (Sarajevo New Page) # 30: Jews must be registered with their respective Jewish Communities.

June 20 1941, the daily news *Sarajevski Novi list* (Sarajevo New Page) # 34: Jews must wear their new identification signs, "Z" on the left side of the chest. This was a second time that payments were demanded; it was a matter of looting and of keeping track of their whereabouts.

June 22 1941, the daily news *Sarajevski Novi list* (Sarajevo New Page) # 36. Jews must register all their property; real estate, businesses and all liquid assets. Freedom of movement for Jews was restricted to the hours 6 AM to 8 PM. (the rest of the population was free from 5 AM to 11 PM)

June 24-25, 1941 the daily news *Sarajevski Novi list* (Sarajevo New Page) # 37and # 38: Excursions out of the city even for one day are forbidden to Jews and Serbs. Those assisting Jews would bear harsh consequences. Jews must register every change in their residence. By now, all Jews had been relieved of their public positions. Measures against the Jews were to increase.[79]

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[79] HDA, ZKRZ, GUZ, # 2235/2/3 45 box # 10 Microfilm, based on the testimonies given to the Crime Commission, # 1-8, 497-498, 60308 –60718.

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June 26 1941, to expedite the process of the so-called Jewish Question in the spirit of the fascist ideology, a special Statute was enacted, in which the Jews were charged with the collective responsibility for "disseminating lies which disturb public peace and order." Since, supposedly, the Jews were acting against the Croatian People, the "Protection of the Croatian People" legislation and the State Act of April 17 1941 was applied against them collectively, rather than on an individual basis. This also ensured that marriages between Aryans and Jews could not occur.[80]

Decrees promulgated in June legalized spontaneous looting by individual Ustashe and, in parallel, there was a decree for the organized and systematic plunder of Jewish property.[81] Every day, the police captured Jews on the street, targeting the well to do and locking them up for a few days for interrogation. Upon their release, their apartments were robbed and given to party loyalists. The plunder of Jewish property and belongings became a craze. Under the conditions created by the Nazis, some ordinary citizens felt no qualms about acting as informers.

Pavelic's first meeting with Hitler took place on June 6 1941. The focus of the conversation was national policy. Among other topics and seemingly out of context, Hitler told Pavelic:

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[80] *Narodne novine*, (People's Newspapers), 30/04/1941.

[81] HDA, ZKRZ, GUZ, # 2235/2/3 45 box # 10 Microfilm p. 401. See also Kolanovic-Kisic, Nada, *Nationalization of Jewish of Jewish Property in NDH*, Contemporary History Review30 1988, No. 3 pp. 444-452 states that the value of the Jewish property was 13-16 billion (Yugoslav Dinars as traded in the International Market in 1938). This estimate includes only real estate, not liquid assets which are almost impossible to assess.

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> After all, if the Croats state wishes to be strong, a nationally intolerant policy must be pursued for fifty years, because too much tolerance on such issues.... could bring hardship.[82]

Obviously, Hitler advocated, endorsed, and condoned mass persecutions of Jews, Serbs and all other minorities. Hitler's encouragement of Pavelic to pursue "intolerance" was probably responsible for the duration of the conflict between Pavelic and the Serbs. Pavelic fell easily prey to Hitler's tactic of "divide and rule," through which Hitler also incited Pavelic against Italy; suddenly all parties involved in the conflict fell prey to Hitler's conniving.[83]

Analysis of the Nature of the Decrees

The annihilation of the Jews of Sarajevo was accomplished in three quick stages. In stage one, decrees and regulations were directed towards the economic ruination of the Jews. All the measures undertaken, such as confiscation of property, freezing of bank accounts, dismissal from places of employment, and nationalization of private businesses ensured that Jews would be reduced to the state of paupers. Professional units known as "Einsatzgruppe fur Jugoslawien" not only looted liquid assets and expropriated homes and businesses, but also introduced great fear through their arbitrary cruelty.

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[82] From April to early June 1941, Jews were arrested individually. The exception to this rule was a group of 165 young men (aged 18-21); they were arrested on May 27, 1941 in Zagreb most of them were killed only four survived to tell their story; A1HRPH, zbirka NDH, 1965-1966, Belgrade, 1966, 201-204.

[83] Trifkovic, Srdja, *The Real Genocide in Yugoslavia,* DGFP, D, 12, Minutes of Hitler's talks with Pavelic, June 6 1941, Chronicles Online, April 21, 2000.

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In stage two, the objective was to demoralize the Jews by attacking their sense of identity and belonging. Psychological measures were taken to attack self-esteem and to destroy their spirit. The local masses were incited and rallied through the transmission of a great deal of propaganda. The Nazi SS and the Ustashe attempted to sway public opinion by demonstrating that the Jews were not worthy of rescue. The aim of the Nazis was to convince former friends and neighbors that the Jews were not worthy of sympathy. Some people may have had second thoughts regarding the rescue of Jews, but others outright turned against them. The poor among the citizens of Sarajevo suddenly were given a chance to loot and to better themselves; this plunder had no bounds—holy places of worship were the first target of abuse.[84]

The Nazis attempted to convert the citizens of Sarajevo into perpetrators. The SS and the Ustashe first attacked the wealthy Jews who had substantial sums of money in order to demonstrate that even money would not spare them. Twenty prominent Jews, with sizable amounts of money hidden in their garments, were persuaded by local "criminals" to collectively hire a number of armed guides to help them escape Sarajevo. Apparently the guides were informers affiliated with the SS and the Ustashe Chief of Police. Immediately upon their departure from the city, near the village of Ilidza, the Jews were robbed and later killed, but only after they had signed a declaration that they carried no money. Clearly, this incident made the Jews extremely cautious and also very vulnerable. Fear of losing their wealth and their lives made many of those that contemplated escape postpone their departure, a postponement that cost them eventually the loss of their lives.[85] Many simply lost the will to fight.

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[84] JIM, file ZOZ, # 4589, K-65 1-1/1-170.

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The third and final stage aimed at their physical annihilation; during this stage, Jews were sent initially to forced labor activities in the city, to detention centers, and finally to concentration camps. At one time, there were some 30 detention centers in Croatia and 16 Ustashe concentration camps; among these, there were five camps in Jasenovac in which approximately 13,000 Jews from NDH were exterminated. [86] In addition to the extermination of Jews in Croatian concentration camps, from mid 1942 onwards, many transports of inmates were sent to German administered camps. Frequent reference is made to camps in Auschwitz, Bergen Belsen, Dachau and Ravensbruck. It is also interesting to note that Nazi Germany intended to exploit the Muslim "hero complex" and to make them into SS soldiers who would fight to the death in order to achieve glory in the world to come. During a visit to Berlin in February 1943, Himmler told Glaise, a German official to Zagreb:

> ...that he [Himmler] hoped to create an SS division composed of Bosnian Muslims. Glaise wrote to his friend Lohr in early March that Himmler rejected Christianity entirely because of its weakness. The hope of Paradise is to be encouraged among the Bosnian Muslims because it strengthens their heroic complexes.[87]

The Nazis learned the strength and weaknesses of every ethnic group, and these they fully exploited to their advantage, Himmler's hope was fulfilled with the help of Haj Amin El Husseini. The former rabbi of the Osijek Jewish Community Rabbi Steckel, who managed to escape from Osijek to Hungary, wrote:

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[85] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10, testimony by Judge Srechko Bujas, 219.

[86] Romano Jasa, *Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945*, 61-70.

[87] Steinberg, Jonathan, *All or Nothing, The Axis and the Holocaust 1941-1943*, Rutledge Taylor and Francis Group, New York, 1990, 80. See also BAMA RH 31 III/12'bev. dt. Gen Agram', Glaise to Lohr, 2 March 1943.

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> What makes the destruction and survival of Sarajevo Jews so unique is the fact that the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin El Husseini was a guest in Zagreb. He was the chief organizer of the SS division of Moslems in Bosnia. The division was named "Handjar" (Sword). ....The Moslems residing in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia were his most faithful followers. As late as April 22, 1944, the Handjar division was active in liquidating the remaining hidden Jews in Tuzla, Srebrenica and Duboshnica. The leader of one SS Handjar group was a Volksdeutsche.[88]

Cooperation Among the Jewish Communities

The Jewish communities of Sarajevo, Zagreb, Osijek, Slavonski Brod, fell under the jurisdiction of the NDH authorities. Early in the war, they recognized that as they were all in the same position and under the same authority, they should organize and cooperate with each other with the objective of conserving their meager financial and manpower resources. This working together provided them with ideas about how to engage the local population in the rescue effort and to convert them to "benevolent bystanders." They succeeded in recruiting volunteers, despite the watchful eye of the Gestapo, the SS, and the Ustashe. In light of the harsh penalties imposed by the government against those who "betrayed the Croatian people" by helping the Jews, they formed a sizable number of volunteers.[89]

The original concentration camps, crude structures that served to imprison and kill the Kingdoms' dissidents, were inherited by the Ustashe from the previous regime. The responsibility for the concentration camps in NDH was assigned to the Section of

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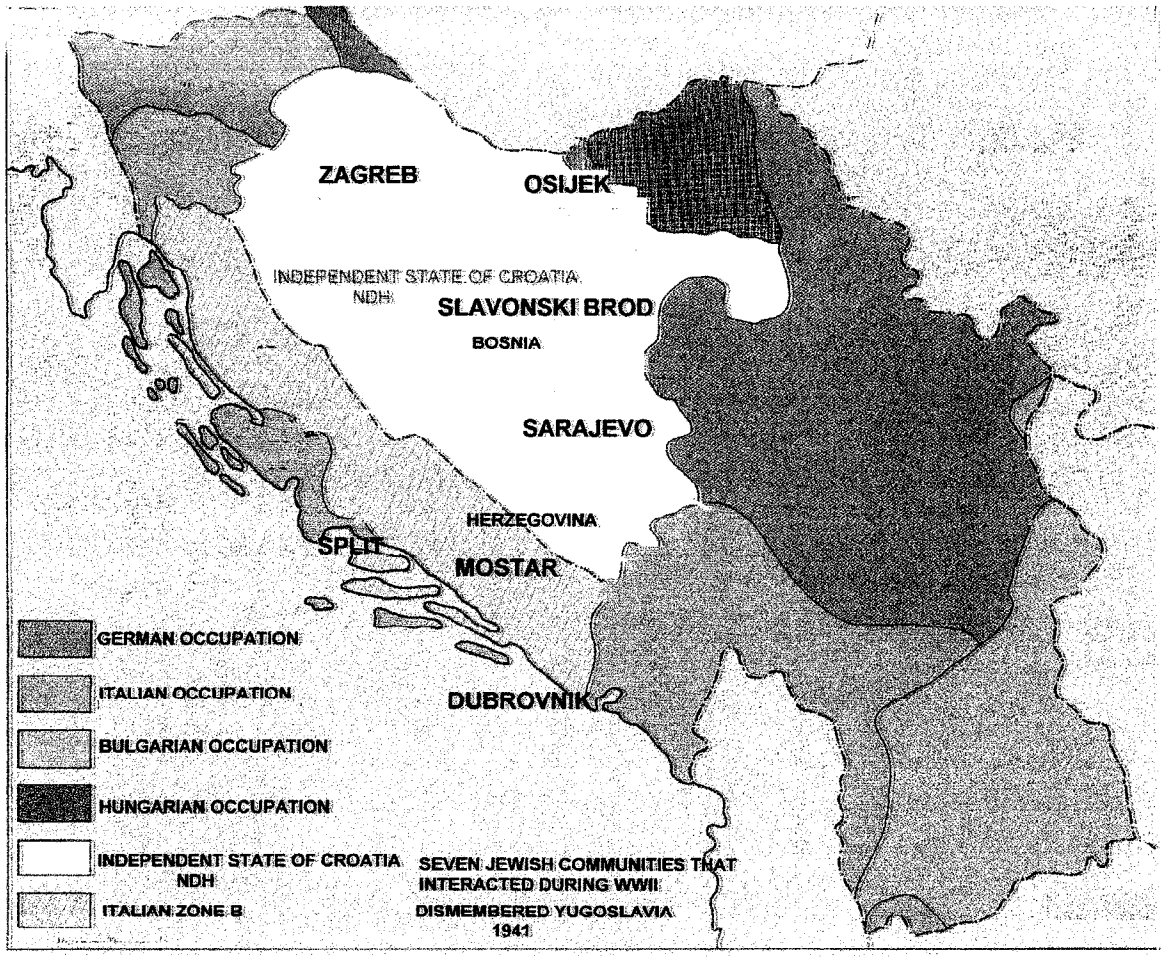
[88] Steckel, Charles, *Destruction and Survival*, 50. (The Bosnian Muslims formed two Nazi SS Divisions during World War II, the 13th Waffen Gebirgs Division der SS Handjar and the 23rd Waffen Gebirgs division der SS Kama. The Bosnian Muslim had 20,000-25,000 men in the Waffen SS and police, roughly 4 percent of their total population. This was one of the highest ratios of membership in the Nazi ranks as a percentage of total population during the war.)

[89] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10, testimony by Judge Srechko Bujas, 225.

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National Supplies at the Ministry of Labor Industry and Trade. In practice, the Jewish communities carried most of the burden of reconstructing the old camps, building new ones and providing the up-keep for the detainees.

Map 4.2.1: Jewish Communities: Zagreb, Sarajevo, Osijek, Slavonski Brod, Mostar, Dubrovnik and Split



Since all the assets of the Jewish communities had been confiscated, financial difficulties were a constant burden. The absurdity of the government decree of April 30, 1941 was such that the government aid remitted to the Jewish communities had been generated by obligatory payment of taxes either by Jews or by the owners of their

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repossessed businesses. The cruelty of the situation was compounded by the fact that the Jews could no longer work and the trustees over nationalized Jewish businesses refused to allocate a certain percentage of earned monies to the Jewish communities. Since Jewish bank accounts had been frozen and Jews could no longer earn a living, the Jewish communities obviously had no incoming funds.[90] The representatives of the three largest Jewish communities – Zagreb, Sarajevo and Osijek - searched for funds abroad, frequently sending representatives to Hungary to the offices of the humanitarian organization *Joint Distribution Committee.*[91]

It is important to note that the Jewish communities not only had fiscal responsibilities for those in the concentration camps, they also had to feed and assist the destitute people in the cities. The poor and unemployed that remained in the cities had no means of self-sustenance and they needed food and shelter.[92] As the Jews became increasingly destitute, the numbers in the concentration camps grew, particularly with the arrival of Ivan Tolj, an Ustashe from Herzegovina who hated Jews and other minorities with a passion.

The problem of how to satisfy these countless financial obligations placed a great strain on the Jewish leadership. Dr. Hugo Kon, President of the Zagreb Jewish

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[90] HDA, *Zbirka NDH*, carton 284, # 5201, 7925, 4498, 46432; carton 290. # 4839.

[91] AIHRPH, Zbirka NDH, carton 288, no. 3769. The Jewish community also established contact with the International Red Cross, which was instrumental in transferring 48 children (aged 5 to 16) to Palestine via Turkey in April 1942. The Jewish community of Zagreb also maintained contact with Jewish organizations in Switzerland, Turkey and Portugal.

[92] Romano, Jasa, *Jevreji Jugoslavije*, 192-200.

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Community, wrote in desperation to the Minister of the Interior, Andrea Artukovic, begging him to "remove from Zagreb all the Jews that had no businesses and no papers to a *collective resettlement.*"[93] The letter was written on July 2 1942. In August of the same year, one of the biggest transports left for Auschwitz from Zagreb. Was this transport (deportation) of Jews simply a coincidence, or was it the consequence of Kon's letter? Was it Dr. Kon's letter, entitled "Request and Suggestion," an "unfortunate mistake" that resulted in the loss of life of 1,200 Jews?

In retrospect, one can only speculate whether Dr. Hans Hochsinger was right when he urged the leaders of the Jewish Community to close their offices and to remove all documents. Knowing the character of the Nazis and also of the Ustashe, he warned the Jews that they would be deceived. But his main advice concerned "paying the voluntary contribution." Hochsinger told the Jewish leadership that gold was the only commodity the Jews needed when on the run, and that to take gold from the Jews and give it to the Nazis was a grave mistake.[94] Hochsinger lost his life in Jasenovac despite his being protected by Archbishop Stepinac; this was possibly because of his position regarding the gold.[95] Many years later, Raul Hilberg condemned the cooperation between the Jewish communities and the Ustashe as counter productive, stating that the Jews were the losers. He writes:

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[93] HDA, RUR 252, Inv. #29876

[94] Ithai-Indig, Josef, "Children of Villa Emma," Herzer Ivo, ed. *The Italian Refuge Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust,* The Catholic University, Washington, D.C., 1989, 183.

[95] Goldstein, Ivo and Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu,* 570.

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> We see, therefore, that both perpetrators and victims drew upon their age-old experience in dealing with each other. The Germans however did it with success and the Jews did it with disaster.[96]

Rabbi Steckel, the former rabbi of the Jewish Community of Osijek explained the unique structure of the Jewish organizations in Yugoslavia:

> There were no Judenrat (Jewish Councils) in Yugoslavia in the usual sense of the word. Congregations merged wherever there were two in one town; such as orthodox and liberal (neolog), Ashkenazic and Sephardic, downtown and uptown. The boards of Jewish Communities "played the game" cautiously, stalling for time and helping the old, sick and the children, whom they did not want to abandon. The "plan" was based on the principle of "hayey shaa" meaning "life for an hour," or survive today, and try again tomorrow. The term "plan" is being used as an euphemism. The Jewish communities did not become tools in the hands of their oppressors. Neither did they serve the oppressors by providing lists or information.[97]

Obviously, the Judenrat, the Jewish community in Zagreb that existed during the war did not wish to act in the interests of the Nazi authorities; nevertheless, without the orders of the authorities and the intervention of Archbishop Stepinac on behalf of the Jewish community in Zagreb, their days would have been numbered.[98] With hindsight and from all the testimonies and documents, it is clear that the Zagreb Jewish community played an invaluable role in the lives of the dispersed Jews. It took a leading role in the coordination and initiation of activities that otherwise would have been left to the individual Ustashe at an even greater cost of human life and suffering.[99]

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[96] Hilberg, Raul, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 24.

[97] Steckel, Charles. *Destruction and Survival*, 40.

[98] HDA, RUR 252, #28572, ZO 8162, 19.XII, 1941 Zidovska Opcina Zagreb lista of doktora koji se nalaze u Zagrebu, (list of Jewish physicians that still resided in Zagreb), the list includes 46 names.

[99] JIM, file ZOZ, # 4859, K-65-1/1-172. A letter from Dr. Hugo Kon to the Jewish Community in Sarajevo.

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The Jewish communities found accommodation to house the Jewish inmates; they erected facilities that included rows of bunk beds, toilets, kitchens, fixed windows and air circulation. Even though the facilities were clumsily constructed in great haste, because of the large numbers of Jewish deportees, nevertheless they were a great improvement on what would have been available to the inmates had there been no help from the Jewish communities.[100] From Zagreb, Rabbi Freiberger and Dr. Kon sent a letter to all the Jewish communities still in existence to share in the burden.[101]

The Jewish Section at the Ustashe police headquarters allocated funds via the government treasury to each Jewish community for the maintenance of the concentration camps.[102] Since the allocations were very small, the representatives of the three Jewish communities – Zagreb, Sarajevo and Osijek – joined forces and made an urgent request for prompt financial aid amounting to 2,800,000 Kn. (Kuna NDH currency) per month in order to cover the living expenses of the camps. This sum was based on a calculation of 10– 20 Kn. per day per detainee.[103] The trustees of the three large Jewish Communities argued with the Ustashe government stating: one that the treasuries of the Communities had been raided by the representatives of the regime, two the converted Jews refused to pay their membership dues for 1941 and three the trustees of the formerly owned Jewish

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[100] The responsibility for supplying the various concentration and labor camps with food was in fact the responsibility of the Section of National Supplies at the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Trade. However, the burden was placed on the Jewish communities.

[101] Appendix 4.2.1, JIM, file ZOZ, (number missing) dated June 1941.

[102] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa, "A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the so-called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942," Jerusalem: Reprint from Yad Vashem Studies, Vol. XX, 1990, 18-19.

[103] HDA, zbirka NDH, box 284, # 5201, 7925, 4498, 46432; carton 290, #. 4839.

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business failed to allocate funds for the Jewish communities as directed by the government. The government should support the sustenance of the concentration camps.

In addition to all other obligations and commitments, the Zagreb community was responsible for all the inmates that were in custody in the largest provisional detention center for Jewish deportees. The "Zagreb assemblage" was designed to house large groups of prisoners for short periods until transports were organized. From July 12, 1941, transports from all over NDH arrived at the assembly facility in Zagreb. Due to the intervention of the International Red Cross, the detention center in Zagreb also received aid from various other sources.[104]

The committee of the National Aid Society, an anti-Fascist Organization "Narodna Pomoc" (National Help), provided aid to concentration camps inmates and their families. Family members, friends and neighbors also shipped packages, but these rarely reached the inmates since most of the goods were stolen and sold on the black market.[105] Many non-Jewish residents of Zagreb assisted by bringing food, clothing and other supplies for the detainees. The Zagreb Jewish Community received hundreds of packages from abroad and, with the help of the Red Cross, they tried to ensure that mail and packages were distributed to the inmates, together with food provisions, clothing, and medical care and supplies.[106]

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[104] Goldstein, Ivo and Goldstein, Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 240-246.

[105] Sjeverozapadna Hrvatska u NOB- i socijalistickoj revoluciji, Vol. II, Grada, 1941-1945, Zagreb, 1984, 129-130.

[106] *Narodne novine* (Peoples Newspaper) broj 16, 30. IV 1941. See elaboration by Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa, "A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the so called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942," 19.

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The Zagreb Jewish Community took care of the destitute in the city. In May 1941, they opened a canteen (soup-kitchen) in which 334,000 meals were prepared. 51,000 packages were sent to concentration camps until the beginning of May 1945. Most of the 300 lunches and dinners that were prepared daily were free. This program continued throughout the war years although, towards the end, the number of lunches fell to 150 meals per day.[107] Transports of Sarajevo Jews, together with many other groups, started to arrive to the large detention center in Zagreb on July 30 1941. Jews from other places in Bosnia arrived on August 1941; these thousands of people had to be fed and cared for, for the duration of their stay in Zagreb where the transports to various camps were formed.

Dr. Stjepan Steiner, at that time a young physician, who with three other comrades had been expelled from the hospital in which they worked, volunteered to visit private clinics around Zagreb. They asked for contributions of medical supplies. The response was positive. According to Dr. Steiner, one physician, Dr. Budak, who was close to the upper echelon of the Ustashe regime, "was particularly gracious", telling the young physicians to help themselves to whatever they needed.[108] The supplies collected were brought to the Jewish Community where the doctors, together with other volunteers, prepared small medical kits to be distributed among the deportees that passed through

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[107] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, Zapisnik Zagreb, June 9 1945, 14.

[108] Steiner, Dr. Stjepan, interview on December 16, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia. Dr. Steiner was one of the 3 young physicians that made rounds and collected pharmaceutical prescriptions from private practices and distributed them to the deportees. At the same interview he mentioned other non-Jews who volunteered their assistance to Jews. See also Goldstein Ivo and Goldstein Slavko, Holokaust u Zagrebu, 240.

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Zagreb on the way to the concentration camps.[109] The Jewish representatives from the Zagreb community welcomed the transports with refreshments, small kits of medical supplies, and other vital necessities.

What motivated Jewish men and women like Dr. Steiner and scores of others to face such great risks and solicit donations for the inmates in the concentration camps? What to do, and how to conduct oneself, was a dilemma faced by every individual during World War II. Sensing the coming catastrophe, the poet Viktor Rosenzweig expressed in a few words the internal struggle and dialogue he experienced before reaching the conclusion "not to run away."

"Should I hold my head up
or should I keep it down?
Where should I walk?
Where can I go?

To run away,
to swallow a poisonous bitter flower;
stare death straight in the eye
in this hard moment.

No, no, here to stay
Standing firmly on the feet
Firmly clenching the fist
Not to run away." [110]

Time and again during the years 1942 to 1943, the chief rabbi of Zagreb, Dr. Miroslav Shalom Freiberger, and the president of the Jewish Community, Dr. Hugo Kon, worked tirelessly on behalf of Jewish children. When the effort to rescue hundreds of children via Turkey failed, they decided not to succumb to despair but to undertake

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[109] Steiner, Stjepan, Major General, Interview 16.12. 2002, Zagreb.

[110] Rosenzweig: G Viktor, *Nas Zivot*, Zagreb: Published by Cultural Society 'Miroslav Shalom Freiberger & Jewish Community Zagreb.

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small-scale rescue activities of children. They appealed to several organizations such as the DELASEM, the Red Cross, and to the representatives of JOINT in Hungary and in Switzerland as well as to officers of the Italian Army. They wrote to Archbishop Stepinac asking him to help them and write to the Vatican and to officials of the Italian Foreign Ministry.[111] They did not shy away from writing letters to individual donors pleading for assistance on behalf of the children.[112] The year long effort of so many individuals and agencies, from mid 1942 to mid 1943, produced one small success, 11 children ages 5 to 16 from Croatia via Turkey reached Palestine, in April 1942.[113]

In an effort to meet their financial obligations, the Jewish communities searched for donations to alleviate the plight of the inmates in the various concentration camps. For example, during the year 1941, the committees of the local communities in Zagreb and Osijek created separate institutional frameworks called "skrb" (welfare) fully dedicated to welfare activities. Rabbi Freiberger from Zagreb personally sent individual letters to potential donors.[114] Furthermore, the Jewish community of Zagreb maintained contacts with Jewish organizations in Switzerland, Turkey and Portugal; these also made

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[111] Kristo, Jure, Katolicka Crkva I Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska 1941-1945, Dokumenti, Hrvatski Institut za Povjest, Dom I Svjet , Zagreb, 1998, 136 document 112 (Zagregacki nadbiskup Stepinac Kardinalu Maglioneu.)

[112] Appendix 4.2.1: a sample letter sent to potential donors by the Chief Rabbi of Zagreb.

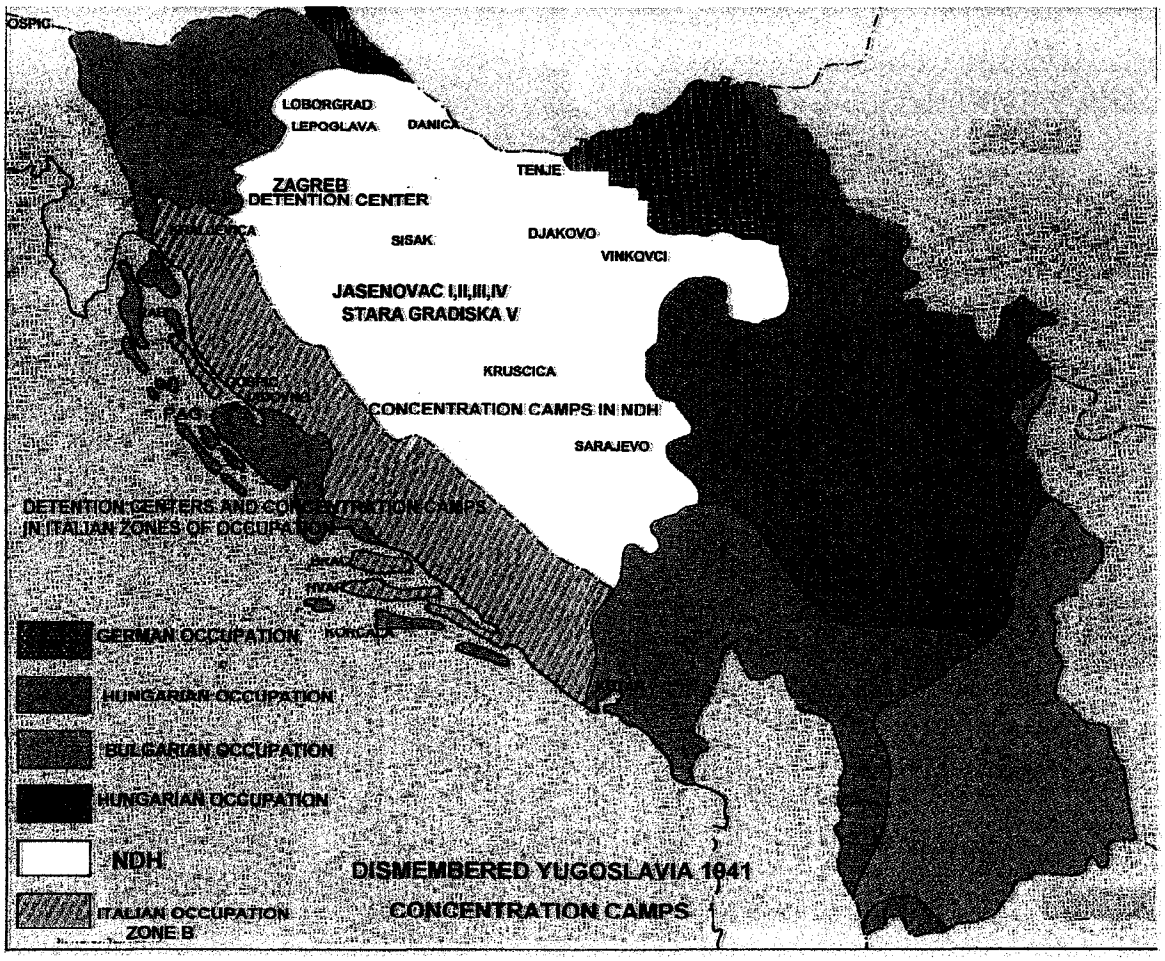
[113] Lipa, Ruth, "Jews of Yugoslavia to the Aid of Jewish Refugees, Research Pages on the Holocaust," D 1986, 231-243.

[114] Appendix 4.2.4, sample of a fundraising letter to a member who had paid his membership dues but was asked, if at all possible, to increase the amount for the current year, the letter was signed by the Chief Rabbi of Zagreb Dr. Freiberger. In the letter the Rabbi explained the precarious situation of the Jewish Communities in NDH and the need to provide for the ever increasing number of inmates.

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financial contributions. They established contact with the International Red Cross, which was instrumental in their work on behalf of the children.[115]

Map 4.2.2: 1941 to 1943 Ustashe and Italian Detention Centers and Concentration Camps



As mentioned earlier the Sarajevo Jewish Community under NDH was the only one that was administered by non-Jewish trustees. The objective of the authorities was to demoralize the people. Their efforts failed, however, because the two appointed judges, Srechko Bujas and Branko Milakovic, performed their tasks as civil servants honorably

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[115] Romano Jasa, *Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945*, 192-200.

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and to the benefit of those they served. Menahem Shelah, who in several of his books sharply criticized the Croats, wrote favorably about these trustees:

> The two [Judges Bujas and Milakovic] made great efforts to alleviate the suffering of the hunted Jews, with great risk to their own lives. Bujas was arrested for hiding Jewish property in September 1942. Bujas wrote letters to the government over and over requesting to stop the deportations, to supply the concentration camps with food and medicine. But Bujas is best remembered for his great personal care for the inmates of Djakovo.[116]

Already in June 1941, Bujas heard from the Ustashe officials in Zagreb that there was a plan to annihilate all the Jews in NDH. Upon his return to Sarajevo, Bujas passed on this information to the Jewish community, telling the leadership that matters would not improve and urging them to leave. However, the board members did not believe him, and they failed to inform their members of the possible consequences should they remain in the city. After the murder of twenty Jewish dignitaries from Sarajevo, Bujas was certain that the only way the Jews of Sarajevo would survive was to leave the city. As shown the trustees offered to purchase exist visas and passage permits to the Italian Zone in return for which the Jews would willingly donate all their possessions to the NDH government. Bujas' request was refused.[117]

Furthermore, Bujas was the only official who decided to stop sending packages to the concentration camps. He knew from the start that the packages did not reach the inmates and that the food collected would better serve the impoverished Jews within the

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[116] Appendix 4.2.5: Communication between the trustees of the Jewish Community in Sarajevo and the community in Zagreb; the message relates that Sarajevo was being empties from its Jewish citizens and the need for help. See also Shelah, Menahem, ed., *History of the Holocaust - Yugoslavia*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990, 168. See also JIM, 2698/22/2-2/5, 9.

[117] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/45 box 10, Srechko Bujas, 1944.

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city. Srechko Bujas also encouraged the solicitation of funds from the government, from the local population and from abroad. As a judge and respected personality in the Catholic community, Bujas managed to mobilize local volunteers to organize and encourage the Sarajevo population to bring food donations to detention centers in Sarajevo, to visit the sick and the old, and to help in the preparation of food for the needy.[118]

Srechko Bujas, who was unaware of the conflicts that existed among the various Jewish communities prior to World War II, initiated and advocated cooperation. On the night of August 15 and 16, 1941, the Jews of the small town of Vukovar were captured and locked in the local synagogue until November 8 1941. For the duration of this period, the Jews of Osijek assumed responsibility for their up-keep. When 3,000 women and children were deported to Djakovo, Bujas worked very closely with the Jews of Osijek. The barriers between the Sephardi Jews of Sarajevo and the Ashkenazi Jews of Osijek melted away when, in January 1942, the Jews of Osijek accepted the task of caring for 1,830 Jewish women and children as well as 50 Serbian women from Sarajevo. The Jews of Osijek were in charge of the administration of the camp, sharing this responsibility with the internees themselves. This period and the life of the women and children in Djakovo is described by Narcisa Lengel-Krizman:

> Conditions in the Djakovo camp during the first period cannot be compared with those in any other camp in the Independent State of Croatia run by the Ustashe or the Germans. Thus, for example, the district police headquarters allowed individual prisoners to leave the camp in order to purchase necessary goods in the town, to visit the hospital in Osijek for check-ups and to call on relatives and friends. It was also decided that all children under the age of ten would be placed in the homes of Jewish families in Osijek and its vicinity.

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[118] Steckel, Charles W., *Destruction and Survival*, 29.

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> Needless to say, full advantage was taken of the possibilities offered by this decision, and many children were thus spared the experience of camp life, at least for some time. In addition, in certain cases girls and boys, including 16 year-olds, obtained their release from the camp.[119]

The Djakovo local police assumed all security responsibilities. Since the inmates were sometimes permitted to leave the camp for medical care, the police saw nothing wrong in members of the community taking children out of the compound. At the first opportunity, members of the community suggested to the local Chief of Police that older Jewish children be allowed to stay with local Jewish families. With the permission of the mothers, the children were taken out and placed in Jewish homes; siblings had to be separated since each family could take in only one child.[120] Due to the efforts of Judge Srechko Bujas, the destiny of the Ashkenazi Jews from Osijek and that of the Jewish families from Sarajevo remain intertwined. The estrangement between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews was obliterated when the Jews of Osijek and the Jews of Sarajevo collaborated in a project that aimed at rescuing the Jewish children from annihilation in the concentration camp of Djakovo.

Provisions were also made to assist mothers with small children.[121] The quantities of food sent to Djakovo by the Zagreb Jewish Community were staggering; the following foodstuffs were sent to the camp to meet its demands: 45.735 kg of flour, 4,687 kg oil,

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[119] Lengel – Krizman, Narcisa, "A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942", Reprint from Yad Vashem Studies", Vol XX, Jerusalem, 1990, 30.

[120] Romano, Jasa, *Jevrejl Juqoslavije, 1941-1945*, Zrtve genocida I ucesnict Narodnooslobodilockog Rata, 1941-1945, Belgrad, 1980, 111,184.

[121] Steckel, Charles W., *Destruction and Survival*, Los Angeles, Delmar Publishing Co., 1973, 23-29.

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12,450 of potatoes, 360kg of squash, 7,000 kg of beans, 13,830 kg of cabbage, 39,025 kg of assorted vegetables, 3,300 kg of assorted dough food, 1,000 kg of sugar, 2,800 kg of salt, 14,600 kg of grouts and barley flour, 527 kg of fresh and smoked meat, 15,000 eggs, 4,700 liters of milk, 257 kg of cheese, 647 kg of butter, 1,470 kg of jam, and 7,600 kg of dried fruit.[122] The kitchen management in Djakovo kept a menu of meals served during the period May 24-30: "May 24: breakfast – black coffee, lunch – mashed potatoes and meat (prisoners on diet, the same). Dinner – beef soup with snails; May 25: breakfast – black coffee, lunch - barley porridge with meat sauce (prisoners on diet – mashed potatoes), dinner - egg soup with thickening; May 26: breakfast – black coffee, lunch – bean dish (for prisoners on diet – whole potatoes with peels), dinner – café with milk.[123] The problem was that although the food reached the camp, often little of it reached the inmates. While the inmates were starving, much of the food was stolen and the rest was left in the pantries to spoil. The sorrowful situation was that the efforts made to purchase the food and deliver it to the various camps at great expense and human sacrifice; sadly little was given to the inmates.[124]

During the second period from March 29, 1942 to June 21, 1942, the Ustashe from Jasenovac took over the administration of Djakovo. The District Police were removed and the representatives of the Jewish Community of Osijek were forbidden to

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[122] AIHRPH, zbirka NDH, itemization of receipts, payment orders, bills of lading boxes: 288, 296, 299, and 300.

[123] AIHRPH, zbirka NDH, cartons 289.

[124] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa L, "A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942," Reprint from Yad Vashem Studies, Vol XX, Jerusalem, 1990, 33.

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visit or contact the internees of the camp. Beatings were daily occurrences; the sound of wailings could be heard constantly from the campgrounds. From various testimonies (particularly those of the gravediggers who buried the victims), we know that many of the corpses bore the marks of hemorrhaging and bruising caused by beatings all over the body; the victims were tortured prior to their death.[125]

In their despair, the Jewish leaders of Zagreb and Osijek wrote to the Papal representative, visitor, Giuseppe Ramiro, and to Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac. Both tried to influence Pavelic to stop the persecution of the Jews; however, neither was able to influence Pavelic, Poglavnik, the head of NDH.[126] The evacuation of the camp commenced on June 15, 1942 and ended on July 5 1942. How many women were murdered in this camp is uncertain; however, what is certain is that, in the cemetery in Ostrak, Djakovo, 569 Jewish women and children, aged three months to 85 years old, are buried.[127]

Jewish men and women from Osijek volunteered their energies and money to help the women and children from Sarajevo; for some Osijek Jews, it became a sacred

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[125] HDA, ZKRZ, GUZ, carton 10, no. 2235/7bc-45. See also Appendix of testimonies, the testimony of two witnesses who as children managed to leave the compound and were saved by two Osijek families, Eliezer Kaveson HDAas and Bjanka Levi Auslander. See also: A Reprint from Yad Vashem Studies Vol. XX, A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942 Narcisa Lengel – Krizman, 38-39.
Also the testimony to the Crime Commission given by Miroslav Filipovic Majstorovic nicknamed (fra sotona" – the monk of Satan), one of the commandants of the Jasenovac camp who testified that 2,000-3,000 Jewish women with their children there, refers in all likelihood to the former inmates of Djakovo.

[126] Steckel, Charles W., *Destruction and Survival*, 28-29.

[127] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa L, *A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942*, 39.

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mission. For example, while interviewing Dr. Zdenko Sternberg, I learned that his parents had purchased on the black market all the necessary papers and documents for escape into the Italian Zone. However, at the designated date of departure, Zdenko's father refused to leave. Zdenko explained: "my father was responsible for the supplies that were needed in Djakovo and he refused to leave as long as the issue of the women and children from Sarajevo was not settled." His parents, together with many other Jews of Osijek, perished in Auschwitz.[128] The unfortunate end to this episode came when, on August 8, 1942, the first transport left Osijek with 1,200 people; among them were 600-700 children, approximately 300 of whom were originally from Sarajevo. The annihilation place and date remain unknown.[129]

Eliezer Kaveson- Hadas, one of the few Sarajevo children to survive the Osijek deportations, reminisced about the day he went to school to look for his twin brother who lived with another family. Like many others, his brother was never found. The pain and agony of that moment is still vivid in Eliezer's memory. To lose his mother in Djakovo and his father and older brother in Jasenovac was agonizing enough, but the loss of his twin brother was a pain beyond words, still felt to this day.[130]

Only 40 to 50 Sarajevo children remained in Osijek after the August 1942 deportation. Due to the danger of up and coming deportations, the few remaining Jews

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[128] Sternberg, Zdenko, interview, January 12, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

[129] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa L, *A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942,* 46.

[130] Hadas-Kaveson, Eliezer, interview, September 27 2004, Jerusalem, Israel. A more complete account of the children is given in Chapter 7: Rescue of NDH Jews by the Italian Army

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in Osijek felt that they were no longer in a position to assume responsibility for the children. They appealed to the Jewish Community in Split for help. The Jewish Community in Split responded favorably, and began to send individuals to transfer the children across enemy lines. The majority of the Osijek children arrived to the safety of Split under the Italian occupation.

After the capitulation of Italy on September 8 1943, the situation for the Jews was again precarious in anticipation of the occupation of the city of Split by Nazi Germany and the Ustashe. With the help and finance of DELASEM[131], the Sarajevo children were transferred to Italy to join other Jewish children in Villa Emma in Nonantola, a region of Modena.[132] The subject will be revisited in great detail in Chapter 7.

The remaining Osijek Jews not only made arrangements to transfer the Sarajevo children to the Italian Zone, but they also cared for those children who had known relatives in Sarajevo and Mostar. They went out of their way to contact family members of the children, and to ask them whether they wanted the children to be sent home or on to Split with other children. Avram (Braco) Levi told me that he and his sister, Lunika, were survivors of Djakovo. The Ustashe had murdered their mother and younger brother in the camp. Braco attributes the rescue of his sister and himself to the Jews of Osijek. When these Jews could no longer care for the children, they sent a message to their father who was still in Sarajevo working for the railroad, asking him what to do

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[131] DELASEM, Delegazione Assistenza Emigranti, (Delegation for Assistance to Jewish Emigrants). For detail explanation see Chapter 7.

[132] Ithai, Josef of Villa Emma: "Rescue of the Last Youth Aliyah Before the Second World" in *The Italian Refuge, Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust*, ed. Ivo Herzer Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press,. 178-204 This children will be mentioned also in the section on rescue in the Italian Zones of occupation.

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with his children? The father, Cadik Levy, engaged a Muslim woman who traveled to Osijek having secured a return visa for herself and her two children. The Moslem women dressed Braco and Lunika in Muslim garbs and delivered them safely to the care of their father in Sarajevo. They spent the rest of the war in Sarajevo hiding with neighbors and friends who assisted them with provisions and information.[133]

A brisk and amicable correspondence between the Sarajevo Jewish Community and the Jewish Community of Slavonski Brod was established. Bujas, the trustee of the Sephardic Jewish Community, notified the Jewish community of Slavonski Brod one day in advance of the scheduled departure of a transport from Sarajevo. The plan was for the Jewish volunteers of Brod to wait with refreshments for the transport from Sarajevo as it passed through the city. As soon as the transport left Slavonski Brod en route to its destination in one of the concentration camps, the volunteers would inform the Jewish Community of Sarajevo how things were developing for the prisoners. Very often, the volunteers served the deportees hot tea, bread, cheese, and sometimes salami. The transports varied in size from 400 to over 1,000 people. If prisoners were taken directly from labor camps to the trains, Bujas would ask the volunteers in Slavonski Brod to provide the inmates with clothing and shoes. Bujas never forgot to thank these volunteers and to acknowledge the hardship they endured in order to provide services to the unfortunate Jews of Sarajevo who were in all probability making their last journey.[134]

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[133] Avram (Braco) Levi, interview, June 7 2004, Kibbutz Hazoreah, Israel.

[134] Pinto Avram and Pinto David, *Dokumenti O Stradnju Jevreja u Logorima NDH*, .2-3 (documents,correspondence).

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At times, the Ustashe purposely notified Bujas that a transport was due to leave a day earlier than the scheduled day of departure. The volunteers in Brod would then wait for hours for the transport to arrive; the tea and the prepared food had to be discarded, especially on hot August summer days. In their despair over having to throw out large quantities of food for which great sacrifices had been made, the volunteers decided to serve hard and nourishing cookies that could last for months and which the inmates could take with them. This was yet another small victory in the constant struggle for survival.[135] Moved and touched by the generosity of spirit exhibited by the Jewish Community of Slavonski Brod, many inmates emptied their pockets of all their money, handing it over to purchase food for the next transports. This symbolic gesture of appreciation and gratitude speaks for itself and requires no commentary.[136]

As the Jews were being deported to concentration camps and vanishing from the cities and towns, so did the Jewish Communities that served as vehicles to expedite and facilitate the execution of the Final Solution. Once the task was accomplished and the place was declared as "Juden Frei," the last employees of the Jewish communities were deported, the doors were shut forever.

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[135] Ibid, Pinto Avram and David, 7. (Correspondence)

[136] Ibid, Pinto, 18.

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Section 4.3: Escape, Rescue, and Survival

Who Was Likely to Survive?

A number of historians, including Marion Kaplan, have described the "social death" of the Jews in Germany, which she attributes to the actions of former friends and neighbors who chose to disassociate themselves from Jews.[137] It is possible that similar actions occurred on a daily basis in other countries under Nazi occupation where the majority approved and accepted the Nazi ideology and philosophy. However, in Sarajevo under NDH, it seems that former friends and neighbors distanced themselves from their Jewish friends under specific conditions of clear danger. The new Racial Laws and other ordinances introduced by the Ustashe, which explicitly forbade assistance to Jews, had a great impact on the population. Those who dared to show even the smallest acts of kindness towards the Jews immediately became suspect. The SS, the Gestapo and the Ustashe, and many politicians and religious leaders invented reasons for excluding the Jews from society. They made them into the scapegoats for the ills that plagued Sarajevo residents.[138]

From testimonies and recorded material, it is difficult to assess the extent of help given to the Jews of Sarajevo by the local population. However it is clear that those among the Jews who escaped received assistance from the local population. From the approximately 2,450 survivors in Sarajevo, it appears that a sizeable number of ordinary

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[137] Kaplan, Marion, *Between Dignity and Despair, Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 40-43.

[138] Krizman –Lengel, Narcisa, A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Vol. XX, 1990, 2-4.

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Muslims and Catholics assisted the Jews to escape and find shelter. Under the watchful eyes of the Gestapo and the Ustashe, those that provided assistance put themselves and their families at high risk. While the following letter is not directly related to this topic, nevertheless it portrays considerable discontent with the government of Pavelic and the underground activities that aimed to replace him. The letter was written by Hadzi-Dordevic Jovanovic and sent from Istanbul on July 14, 1942 and addressed to several people, including Archbishop Stepinac:

> Rapotec [not clear who he is] was engaged in the coal trade in Split, Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade. He came into contact with our military representatives, as well as with many politicians. ...One large group of Muslims speak openly against the Zagreb regime and requests that all Muslims who collaborated with Pavelic be punished; this should take place before the Serbs arrive, because only then will we be in a position to prevent hatred and animosity....In Croatia there is total dissatisfaction with Pavelic. Among the officers in the Army, there is a movement to do away with Pavelic. ...[139]

This excerpt demonstrates an active movement against the Pavelic government. It shows an undermining of the regime, a desire to kill the Muslim Ustashe, and to create a mass exit of officers from the Army; it also shows a wish to protect Archbishop Stepinac, by removing his name from the limelight. Did all these uprisings attempts and underground activities have a positive impact on the rescue of Jews in Sarajevo? This question will probably remain unanswered as long as documents remain closed to public research; in Zagreb, for example, only a few people have access to Archbishop Stepinac's private diary. For the time being, evidence about the rescue of Jews is gathered primarily from the existing archival documents and the accounts of survivors given the last sixty years.

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[139] Krizman, Bogdan, Vlade u izbjeglistvu, dok. Br. 172, 323-324.

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From Sharika Kaveson Stern, I learned that the local residents were able to visit detainees, in the early stages of the Ustashe regime. The local people came to look for their neighbors and friends and to offer them assistance. On one occasion, Sharika met her former housekeeper who straightaway asked: "How can I help?" "Please," Sharika said, "take my two children out of here, in a few days I will manage to escape."

The woman took the children as if they were her own. After a few days, Sharika disguised as a Muslim woman accompanied by a local Muslim, a former employee, left the detention center. She rejoined her children in the housekeeper's home where they stayed until papers for Mostar, in the Italian Zone B, were secured for them. Not all were as lucky as Sharika and her children. Not all had such good friends; nor did they have Sharika's courage to voluntarily let go of her children, based solely on the conviction that she would somehow get out and rejoin them.[140]

The story of Leon Kabiljo, a Sarajevo business owner, and his former employees testifies to the strength of human bonds and friendship that neither religion, loyalty to country, nor danger could destroy. In this story, the rescuer was a Volksdeutsche called Eberhardt, who, following the nationalization of Kabiljo's business was recruited to work as a translator for the Gestapo. On the nights of September 3rd and 4th 1941, the Ustashe planned a major round up of Jews living in the residential area where Leon Kabiljo, the former employer, resided with his wife and son. Eberhardt ran to Kabiljo's home, warning him that he should leave his apartment immediately. That night, Eberhardt took the Kabiljo family into his own home where they hid for two months. They left only after

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[140] Sharika Kaveson-Stern, interview, October 6 2003, Kibbutz Shaar-Hamakim, Israel.

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Eberhardt had obtained for both them and for Kabiljo's brother false travel permits to Mostar in the Italian Zone of occupation.

Even among the Ustashe, there were quite a few who first and foremost acted as friends and neighbors. Some who lived in Jewish neighborhoods informed the Jews of the next planned round-ups, suggesting that they move to areas where it was safe to spend the night. Thus, those that were rescued often gained a respite of a few weeks before the next deportation was organized. Although there is no data that could shed light on how many of those who joined the Ustashe did so because no other jobs were available and how many joined out of political convictions.[141] From survivors' testimonies it appears that some joined for no reason other than need and convenience; often, they disregarded the Ustashe attempts to convince them that the Jews were "leaches that sucked their blood." These non-Jews knew better than to believe the authorities.[142]

In order to appreciate, on the one hand, the ingenuity that was required by the Jews to survive and, on the other, the respect and care given by some of the Sarajevo citizens, the case of Regina Kamhi is illuminating. When Regina's extended family was taken away in only their nightshirts and her husband was already in the Italian Zone, Regina was spared accidentally because two Aryan families lived in her part of the

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[141] Grgec, Nada, testimony December 29, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia. Nada, the daughter of Samuel Sterk, who was an illegimite son of a Jewish father and Christian mother, married a Jewish woman Netika Klein. She stated that before the family converted to Christianity two people from their apartment house joined the Ustashe because, by joining, they could obtain ration cards. The food they received they shared with other neighbors. And before her mother converted to Christianity and her Jewish documents disappeared, the Ustashe from the building would come and tell them to leave the neighborhood.They were lucky to live in a neigborhood in which nobody talked or information to the Ustashe.

[142] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, Srechko Bujas testimony, 207-209.

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building. Penniless, with one small child in her arms and expecting a second, her mind went into overdrive as she tried to decide what a woman in her condition might do? Eventually she came to the decision that the best place was the hospital where she was registered to give birth.

Regina's two doctors, one Russian Orthodox, Jelka Knezevic-Svarc, and the other Muslim, Dr. Bokonjic, reassured her that she was in safe hands as long as she was in their care. During unexpected visits from the Ustashe and the Gestapo, she was moved from one department to the next. The employees in the hospital were aware of her presence; all were silent and, in fact, assisted the doctors during round-ups and inspections. After the birth of her second son and on the advice of her doctors, Regina remained in the hospital for two additional weeks. In the meantime, her former Catholic maid was informed of her whereabouts and when the time came for Regina to leave the hospital, the maid brought all three of them back to her home.

While Regina was recuperating, her former maid, Marica Odobasic, established contact with Regina's relatives in Mostar who sent her forged papers bearing the name of a Muslim woman. Her relatives advised her to show the forged papers only if all else failed. On the way to Mostar, though dressed as a Muslim woman, she encountered many visa inspections; remembering warnings, she took a big blanket to cover herself and the baby pretending that she was feeding him. Although the police paid scant attention to this motherly act, a Muslim gentleman, whom she had never met before, but who recognized that she was not a Muslim woman, came to her rescue by stating with a strong voice "Don't you see that she is nursing, come later." Regina never learned who

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this man was, nor why he took such enormous risks to help a Jewish woman with two children, whom he had never met before.[143]

Stories like these, where friends, acquaintances and even strangers freely offered shelter and assistance to Jews, are many. Probably every survivor has similar stories and experiences to tell. But these episodes are much more than stories; they are lessons that can teach us and future generations that rescue took place everywhere and under the most difficult conditions. Both rescuer and rescued had to seize the moment, recognizing that such opportunities were rare and precious. Survivors frequently comment that rescue was a state of mind; the process of rescue began when a person made up his or her mind to survive and, with courage, took the first step in that direction. This is clearly demonstrated in the story of Sharika Kaveson Stern when she gave her children to her former maid based on the strong conviction that she would somehow escape from the detention center.

In addition to good friends, neighbors and connections, it was also essential to have money. As Ella Finci-Koen told me: "in those days of World War II, one had to have a lot of money." Unless they were extraordinarily determined and willing to take great risks, poor people had little chance of escape and survival. Most of those who tried to escape from Sarajevo paid dearly for the services of obtaining high-quality and authentic-looking forged papers and for escort services—particularly in situations where a family or a mother with several young children were involved. Since most of

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[143] Regina Kamhi, interview, October 25, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia. Subsequently I met Regina frequently and she filled in her testimony with stories and anecdotes about the Sephardic Jews of Sarajevo.

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the early escapes were conducted under Muslim garb, clothing often had to be purchased for entire families.

From Ella Finci-Koen I learned that, with the exception of her older brother, her entire family was captured on October 21, 1941 and sent to a detention center in a former military building in Sarajevo. But, her parents had money and a large number of acquaintances in the business community. An Ustasha, named Sokol, saw them and enabled them to escape from the detention center. He warned them not to visit their apartment and not be seen in their old neighborhood. Ella and her mother, dressed in typical Muslim garb and with authentic looking papers issued under the name of a Muslim woman and her daughter, reached the safety of Mostar. They assumed the identities of two Moslem women who had already left Sarajevo for the mountains. The rest of the family remained in Sarajevo. Ella's twin brother and her older sister were captured and deported to the concentration camp Stara Gradishka. Luckily, their transport was sent back to Sarajevo due to lack of accommodation in the camp. The same Sokol, the Ustasha, who had rescued them the first time, came to the rescue of her family once more.

I asked Ella: "Did you have to pay for the service?" "Of course," she answered, "there was nothing for free, and we had to pay for everything." She did not express any anger; she immediately added, "after all, these people were poor and they risked their lives, they needed the money to feed their own families." Her father had paid a great deal of money for their rescue. They felt fortunate to have had the money to

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pay for their lives.[144] The problem for the Jews of Sarajevo was that most of them were poor, and had a large number of children. Relatively few of the poor managed to escape and, for those that stayed in Sarajevo, there was little help and little hope. The women, children and the elderly who stayed behind ended their lives in concentration camps.[145]

Many families had to make the most difficult existential choice: which child should be sent to the Italian Zone? It was beyond the means of most families to pay for all their children. From my interviews with survivors and from the data presented in the chart below, it is clear that men and teenagers, both boys and girls, aged fifteen and above, were the best candidates for escape. In our interview, Jakica Danon told me how their father refused to leave without his family; he was taken to concentration camp a few days later. Yet he and two of his sisters, all teenagers, managed to leave Sarajevo. They traveled on their own; all they needed were valid looking documents.[146] Many Catholics and Muslims in Sarajevo who were out of jobs and needed to feed their own families assisted Jews to reach Mostar in the Italian Zone. Some of these guides were handsomely paid but they also realized that they were taking life threatening risks.

During our interview, Zlata Romano repeated many times that, in those days, timing was everything. She and her husband, Moric Romano, were newlyweds and expecting their first child. They made all the necessary preparations for departure; the

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[144] Ella Finci-Koen, interview, August 12, 2003, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ella told me that they looked for Sokol after the war but they were told that the Partisans had killed him for his service to the Ustashe

[145] Romano, Jasa, *Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945 Victims of Genocide and Freedom Fighters*, Belgrade: Published by the Jewish Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, 1980, 221.

[146] Danon, Jakica, interview, August 14, 2003 Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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suitcases were ready by the door, but so also were the Ustashe. On that October night in 1941, the Ustashe came at dawn, picked them up and, with several hundreds of Jews, they were deported to the Kruscica concentration camp. Shortly thereafter, the men, including Moric, were sent to Jasenovac. Zlata, with many other women, was deported to Loborgrad concentration camp. She was lucky because an Ustasha woman, seeing her condition, rescued Zlata by helping her escape. Zlata gave birth to her son in Zagreb. By then Moric, her husband, managed to escape from Jasenovac and immediately thereafter he joined the Partisans. On her own, with great determination to survive, and with her baby on her back, Zlata reached the Italian Zone; after the capitulation of Italy, with the Partisans' help, she reached Bari in southern Italy. [147]

Jews who were known to be Communists before the war received assistance from the local membership. In many locations throughout NDH there were cells of Partisans located in different areas of the city; they helped their members to escape to the forests and to the Italian Zone. Initially the Partisans were selective and offered help only to those that exhibited interest in their cause, and only to single people. But later in the war, those that managed to reach the Partisans on the mountaintops and in the forests were welcomed and allowed to stay and serve in whatever capacity they could.[148] From the

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[147] Romano, Zlata, interview, September 28, 2003, Lod, Israel.

[148] Romano, Jasa, *Jevreji Jugoslavije*, 281,289. From April 1941to September 1943 there were only 154 Jews from Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Partisans. After the capitulation of Italy September 8 to 1945, 868 were added to those that served in the combat units.

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testimony of Judge Srechko Bujas, the trustee of the Sephardic Jewish Community, it appears that it was difficult and dangerous to leave Sarajevo.[149]

The vast majority of the poorest Jews who had never left Sarajevo before and who had no clue as to how to begin such an undertaking were too fearful to leave. Srechko Bujas in 1944, after the liberation of Sarajevo, testified in front of the National Commission for the Verification of Crimes," stating that wealthy Jews had failed their poorer fellow Jews. At the beginning of the war, each person focused on himself and his family. The rich, who throughout the years provided for the poor, at this time of a great need they failed to provide assistance for their escape, and they failed to leave resources for the upkeep of the needy. Bujas also blamed the Jewish leadership for not setting their priorities straight, and for failing to warn the people to leave immediately upon the arrival of the Nazis. The Sarajevo leadership escaped and left their flocks unattended.[150]

From the stories quoted above and from large numbers of stories not included here, it is clear that connections and money were enormous assets. Those that managed to escape left early on while confusion reigned due to changes in regime. It took the Nazis and the Ustashe some time to realize that many Jews were either accompanied by

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[149] Appendix 4.3.3: HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ The most significant contribution to our understanding of the period comes from the Croatian National Crime Commission. This Commission gathered the most comprehensive and reliable testimonies regarding the fate of the Jews of Sarajevo. While the Germans were the perpetrators of Racial Laws and ideas to annihilate the entire Jewish population, the Ustashe and their sympathizers were "willing collaborators." According to the "Commission," both entities had to assume the responsibility for crimes committed against the Jewish People. Furthermore, without the "benevolent assistance" given by certain elements of the local Sarajevo population, one can safely assume that substantially larger number of Jews would have fallen prey to Nazi Germany.

[150] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2335/2-45, box 10, testimony Judge Srechko Bujas, 239.

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Muslims or used Muslim garments as shields from the authorities. Most survivors that I interviewed stressed the role of "luck"; being at the right moment in the right place was essential to survival.[151]

Sarajevo Survivors 1945

Upon the return of the Jews to Sarajevo at the end of the war, the Jewish Community provided the returnees with file cards, which they filled in upon arrival in the city - from 1945 to 1952.[152] The questions asked in the file cards were commonplace: name, family name, date and place of birth, name of parents.[153] A question of great value to this study concerns the whereabouts of refugees during the war. Danilo Nikolic, the president of the Jewish Community in Sarajevo, informed me that approximately 200 Jews who returned to Sarajevo refused, for various reasons, to register with the Jewish Community.[154]

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[151] HDA, RUR 252, #28453 ZO. 7537, the District of Sarajevo informed the Office for Law and order on November 9 1941, that the number of Jews in Sarajevo excluding women and children under 16 was as follows: 100 employees in the Jewish Community Sarajevo, 267 elderly above 60 years of age, 51 sick and hospitalized, 16 awaiting to be officially recognized as Aryans, 28 married to Aryans, 78 in forced labor, 44 in the service of NDH, skilled employees as railroad experts, physicians and pharmacists totaling 622 men.

[152] Appendix 4.1.0: Summary of the all the names in the file cards. The cards were provided and administered by the "Jevresko Kulturno Prosvejetno Drustvo Sloboda" from 1945 to 1952.(The Jewish Historical Cultural Society "Freedom of Sarajevo") and the Jasa Romano's list included in the book Jews of Yugoslavia 1941-1945, 307-510. Romano recorded all the names of Jews who took part in the Peoples' Forces of Liberation and Zbjeg (the masses of Jewish and other refugees that followed the Partisans, after the capitulation of Italy in 1943).

[153] Appendices, 4.3.1, and 4.3.2: sample file cards filled by the survivors and from which the data base of Appendix 4.1.0 was collated.

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Table 4.3.1: Number and Locations in which the Jews of Sarajevo Survived. The survival of family members was not identified. In 50 percent of the cases the families were separated and only after the war were reunited.

Survival Locations 1941-1945	Heads of Family	Family members identified on cards of head of family	Total # of survivors
Concentration Camps,(CC)	86	55	141
Dalmatia: Korcula, Split Dubrovnik and others	139	33	172
Germany POW's	127	123	250
NOB & NOV, from 1941	114	27	141
RAB 1943, Partisans 1943-1945.	667	274	941
Italy (before September 8, 1943	82	78	160
Sarajevo	138	129	267
Various Locations Within NDH	222	161	393
Total	1,575	880	2,455

[154] Nikolic, Danilo, interview, August 12 and 14, 2003, Sarajevo Jewish Community, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Chart: 4.3.1

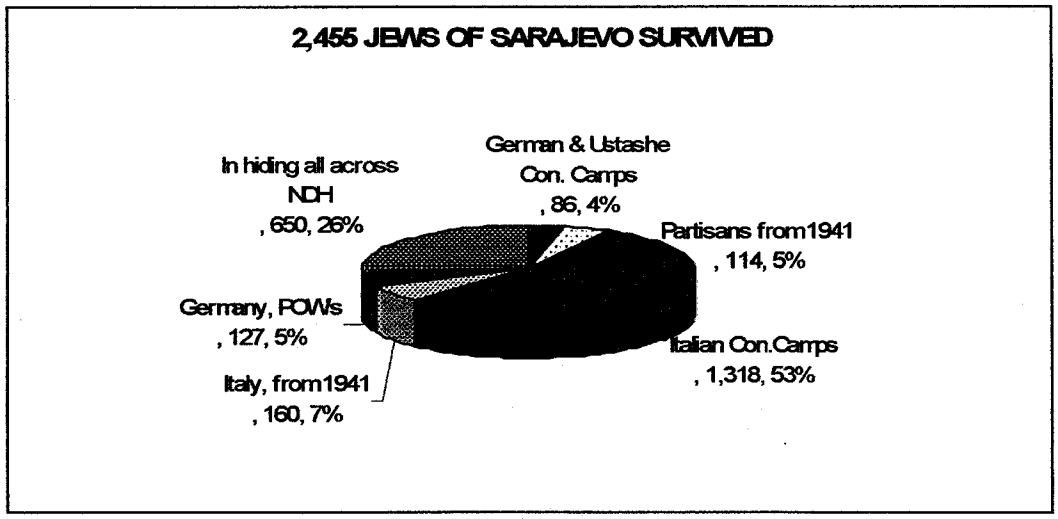


Chart 4.3.2

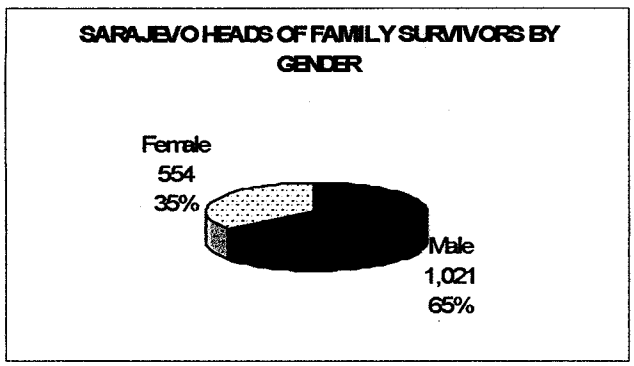


Chart 4.3.3

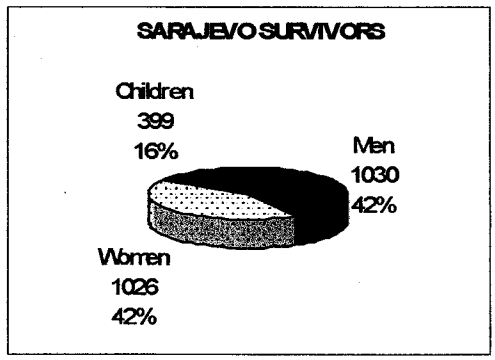
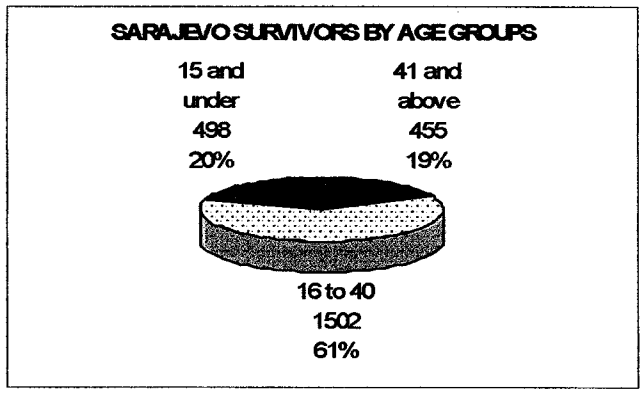


Chart 4.3.4



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Omissions in data gathering may render somewhat inaccurate statistics regarding the number of survivors; but the main difficulty is in validating what really happened during the war with regard to rescue and survival.[155] A few episodes help to clarify some of the problems. During one of my conversations with Dr. Teodor Gruner, I was told that when he received the invitation to join the syphilis expedition, his fiancée, Matilda Berger, was in a detention center in Zagreb awaiting deportation. As a physician on government assignment, he had the privilege to take with him his immediate family members— wife, children and parents. He decided to marry Matilda, his fiancée, before his departure for Bosnia. His immediate superiors had a bureaucratic problem; "how to release Matilda out of the detention center without causing too many legal and procedural difficulties. After pondering what to do and how to eliminate an exhaustive bureaucratic nightmare, they decided to declare Matilda Berger dead on paper while Matilda Gruner left the detention center without any questions being asked. Thus, in most of the currently available lists, it is shown that Matilda Berger died and Matilda Gruner survived. However, Matilda Berger was no other than Matilda Gruner; no one died. Furthermore, while working in the Croatian National Archives, I found in the Dotrscina lists,[156] Croatian record of those perished during the war, the names of Jews that were recorded as being dead in 1941; however, I found in the documents that they were still alive at a later period. I was told by the Director of the Archives Dr. Josip Kolanovic that such incidences are common because when the lists were collated it was assumed that all those that were deported to one of the camps were dead. However, as noted earlier, many

[155] Appendix 4.2.0: Rescue effort to deliver packages to Jew who were sent to Nazi concentration cams.

[156] HDA, Dotrscina Files include names of Zagreb Jews who perished during World War II.

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professional people were released from concentration camps because they were essential to the running of their former businesses. There were other cases and probably more common; Djuro Schwarz was sent to Jasenovac in August 1941 where he remained until April 1942. He was released owing to the fact that he was a spouse in a mixed marriage; however, the researchers who saw his name among the deportees of 1941 to Jasenovac could have easily considered him dead. It happened usually in cases when survivors either failed to register with the local Jewish Community or when they changed their name.[157] After the war, some Jews avoided registration with any religious entity, either out of fear of name disclosure to the authorities or because of their loyalty to the communists ideals.

There are also many incidences where names are neither registered among the living nor in the files of those who perished; in this dissertation they are marked as unknown. Although the Ustashe requested that Jews retain their Jewish surnames, many Jews changed their name to Croatian and disappeared from their communities. Also people whose identity is unknown may have had no surviving members that could report their death. Incidences such as those mentioned above are common.[158]

With the passage of time, the likelihood of obtaining greater accuracy becomes slimmer; soon there will be nobody left to tell stories such as the one told by Dr. Gruner and others who had direct experience of the war. It seems that historians will have to accept the figures that have been prepared by demographers and statisticians in each

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[157] Schwarz, Djuro. "Death Rate, Natural and Normal," *Bulletin*, ZOZ, 39, May-June, 1995.

[158] Similar incident was noted when Dr. Ante Fulgozi gave his Italian identification card to his best friend Davor Band who lived for four years as Ante Fulgozi. Throughout the war years Davor Band ceased to exist.

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country. Once the numbers are out of the way, in all likelihood, the focus will fall on the historical lessons that can be learned from the events of World War II. [159]

[159] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, Srechko Bujas, Proknjizena Zidovska Imovina u biv. NDH, 221.

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CHAPTER FIVE

NDH APPROVES RESCUE OF JEWS

Section 5.1: Rescue of Professionals and Business People

The Nazi Information Machine

This chapter deals exclusively with Jews who received exemptions from deportation to local concentration camps by the NDH government. The chapter is divided into three parts: in the first part, the focus is on the economy and on the efforts made by the government, despite Nazi objections, to rescue Jews in order to "renew" the confiscated Jewish businesses. The second section is dedicated to Jewish physicians who were sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina to curb the spread of endemic syphilis that plagued the local Muslim population. Among the Jewish physicians, one group was conscripted into the Domobranstvo (NDH home defense forces). The third section focuses on the initial confusion and chaos within the NDH government regarding the issue of exit visas to those Jews who wished to leave Croatia. The man who seems to have been responsible for the issue of these exit visas to the Jews of Zagreb was Vilko Kuhnel; Kuhnel was the head of the Jewish division in the office of the Ustashe Control Service (UNS).

On April 10, 1941 the Nazis arrived in Zagreb, the capital city of Croatia, with well prepared and detailed plans for dealing with the Jews: whom to attack first, what to confiscate immediately upon arrival, and where to find the most detailed information

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about the Jews, their activities, and way of life.[1] The Germans had no regard or concern for the welfare of the conquered people particularly when their needs conflicted with Germany's global vision of Europe. The Ustashe, while willing collaborators with Germany were not ready to carry out the Final Solution to the extent that it would affect adversely their entire way of life, including the economy and family life. As discussed previously, the countries under German occupation or those in alliance with Germany had different reactions to German demands to settle the Jewish Question. The attitude of these conquered countries fluctuated from non-cooperation, to some form of cooperation, to full cooperation, as in the case of the Ustashe; nevertheless, most countries, even NDH, fell short of reaching the German level of execution."[2]

Shortly after handing over the confiscated Jewish businesses to Croat trustees, who were mostly party loyalists without business skills, the NDH government became aware of major business failures. The NDH government decided that those Jews that were vitally essential to the renewal of the economy should be retained and their deportations delayed. In addition, if some of the already deported Jews were essential to key industries, they were released from concentration camps and returned to their former places of employment. To prevent alienating the German authorities, the Ustashe emphasized that the recall of Jews was temporary and conditional upon finding suitable local replacements. Of course, neither the appointed trustees nor government officials truly believed that the local Croats would be in a position to replace the highly

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[1] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, Dr. Pinto, Samuel, *Zlocini Okupatora I Njihovih Pomagaca Isvrseni nad Jevrejima u Bosni I Herzegovini*, 10-12.

[2] Hilberg, Raul, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: the Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*, New York: Harper Perennial, Aaron Asher Books, 1992, 78.

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skilled and trained Jewish professionals. Nevertheless, they wanted to reassure the Germans that the return of some of the Jews from concentration camps did not negate the Ustashe's commitment to the Final Solution.

Before continuing with the subject of the rescue of Jews from concentration camps by the NDH government, it is essential to demonstrate the conflicting objectives in relation to business and the economy held by Nazi Germany on the one hand and the NDH government on the other. The best place to begin is with the testimony of Dr. Samuel Pinto. At the request of the National Croatian Commission for the Verification of Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators, Dr. Samuel Pinto wrote that from the outset "the objectives of the Nazi regime were total elimination of the Jews. The order of the process was first, to impose a new political, economic and social order on the entire European continent including Yugoslavia. Second objective was to achieve this plan within a very short space of time and third, centralize the European economy."[3] Pinto submitted his report in 1952.

Germany's plan for the economy of Europe was to bring about radical change in the methods of production and modification from local to global planning. The focus of this plan was to convert Europe from an agrarian economy to an industrialized economy. This process began in 1933 and it gained momentum and reached its peak in 1939. The methods of production included the international division of labor and an increase in specialization.[4] The role of the South Slavs in this program was to produce grain and forestry products, which would be shipped raw to Germany. In return, Eastern Europe,

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[3] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, Dr. Pinto, Samuel, *Zlocini Okupatora I Njihovih Pomagaca Isvrseni nad Jevrejima u Bosni I Herzegovini*, 2-3.

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including Yugoslavia, would purchase from Germany finished goods where the cost and margin of profit for these products was to be determined by the Third Reich.

The German factories produced technologically advanced agricultural implements, musical instruments, toys and other merchandise which they sold to the poorly educated peasants. For example, Germany was shipping tractors to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia at high cost, and they soon proved to be useless since the peasants had no skilled mechanics to fix them. These new agricultural machines were sitting in peasants' backyards and accumulating rust. But despite their lack of usefulness, the farmers were forced to continue to make payments of grain to Germany.[5] While up until 1939, Germany was one of the most important trading partners, Yugoslavia also exported their agricultural products to France and other European countries. However, immediately upon the outbreak of World War II, Germany blocked all exports to the countries with which it was at war. The consequences for the South Slavs were grave because their exports depended solely on Germany purchases.[6] Thus, even before the creation of NDH, Germany had a strong hold over the economy of the region.

Once Yugoslavia capitulated and the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) created, the new regime encountered an immediate dilemma. On the one hand, since both economically and politically the regime depended on Germany—it was the creation of Nazi Germany—the Ustashe had to yield to German ideology. Thus, when the Nazis requested that they make the necessary preparations to pursue vigorously the Jewish

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[4] Gotz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Architects of Annihilation, Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction*, Princeton: New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2002, .2

[5] Ibid, Gotz and Heim, 216-217.

[6] Fister, Milan, 'Kroatien und der europaische Wirtschaftsraum" in: Auswartige Politik 9 (1942), 938.

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Question, the NDH regime did not hesitate or object to the implementation of anti-Jewish measures.[166]

Less then two weeks into their rule, on April 22 1941, the Ustashe foreign minister, Artukovic, announced in a German newspaper that the NDH government intended to resolve the Jewish Question in a similar manner to Germany, and that he would soon supervise the implementation of Racial Laws.[167] On May 5 1941, in an interview for a German newspaper, Pavelic, the Ustashe leader, announced that the Jewish Question would be resolved radically by implementing the Racial Laws.[168] Although the Ustashe did implement the Racial Laws and committed atrocities against the Jews, they did not intend to pursue the Jewish Question as vigorously as Austria and Germany. They shielded those Jews who were vital to the economy, health, infrastructure, and the families of those in the hierarchy who were involved in mixed marriages.[169]

Furthermore, the NDH government had to provide employment for the Croatian masses. The Ustashe needed several hundred, possibly even thousands, of key people from among the Jewish population. Since some of these key people had already been deported to local concentration camps, they were returned to their former workplaces.

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[166] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, 123 and 127 Progoni Zidova u t.zv.NDH.

[167] "Die Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien," (the German newspaper in Croatia), 22.4.1 941.

[168] *Berliner Borsenzeitung*, 5.5.1941.

[169] Shelah, Menahem, ed., *History of the Holocaust, Yugoslavia*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990, 171.

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Upon their return, they were stripped of administrative responsibilities, given low compensation, but at least they were given a new lease on life.

From the conversation conducted in July 1941 with Slavko Kvaternik, the Head of the NDH Army, Hitler made it clear that:

> ...towards the leeches" and "corruptors" [referring to Jews], there was only one solution: "to eliminate them (Vernichten) or expel them; ...and if they pose a danger to the society to lock them in concentration camps from which they would never get out.[170]

Ulrich Von Hassell, then the German Ambassador to Italy, wrote in his diary: Regarding the attitude and the intentions of Pavelic towards the Jews:

> Glaise-Horstenau, who was the German representative in the Pavelic government, informed [Von Hassell] about all Hitler's favorite expressions regarding the Jewish Question in Croatia: the NDH authorities intended to act harshly only against the recent emigrants who escaped the war in Europe. Hitler responded by telling them that they must act harshly with all the Jews, because they hold the purse strings of the economy.[171]

On 27 1943, Pavelic, Poglavnik, the head of the Ustashe regime, went to Salzburg for a meeting with Hitler. In this meeting, Hitler attempted to convince Pavelic that the Croatian economy would not suffer as a consequence of sending all the Jews to concentration camps. Hitler explained to Pavelic that, after the Jews were expelled from

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[170] Shelah, Menahem, ed., History of the Holocaust, Yugoslavia, 172.

[171] Von Hasel, Ulrich, Von Andem Deutschsland, trans. Allen W. Dulles, Intro. *Von Hassel Diaries,* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1971, 1942. (Translation in English)

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Germany, the economy grew by leaps and bounds. This conversation took place because the NDH government was still shielding skilled professionals. To eliminate this group of professional Jews from the Croatian economy, Hitler promised Pavelic financial support.[172]

According to Aleksander Benak, advisor to the NDH Interior Minister, an important session regarding the professional Jews was conducted towards the end of April 1943, in Zagreb. At this meeting, the fate of the Jews was decided:

> In this session, we were asked to lock up the last remnant of the Jews in concentration camps. For this purpose, a special session was held by the Chief of Security Services, Crvenkovic, and in the presence of the representative of the German Embassy, Abromeit, and Majic, the deputy of political division of Security Services. It was decided to create in the presence of Abromeit, a list of protected Jews; names of all other Jews were given to the Security Services for instructions to execute the arrests. The arrests began at the beginning of May and ended on May 25 1943 when the arrested Jews were brought to the detention center in Zagreb; from there they were all deported to concentration camps in Germany. Abromeit conducted the implementation of the plan and the organization of the transports.[173]

Pavelic's attitude towards the protected Jews was shifted toward Hitler's position, particularly since Jewish assets had already been confiscated and there was nothing left to be gained from Jewish employment. At the time of the Ustashe's greatest financial need, Hitler offered financial support, provided that Pavelic surrendered to Germany NDH's "protected Jews," including the partners involved in mixed marriages, Pavelic agreed to the terms set by Hitler.[174]

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[172] A.A., Nachlass Kasche, 29.4.1943, 2

[173] Levental, Zdenko, ed. *Zlocini Fasitickih okupatora I njihovih pomagace protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd, 1952, 64-65.

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Aryanized Businesses in Need of Jewish Professionals

Following the German plan the nationalization of Jewish businesses was one of the first tasks of the NDH government. However, once this was achieved inexperienced trustees were appointed, the change resulted in a tremendous loss of property and destruction of Jewish and Serb businesses. The Ustashe made some attempt to stop looting and to coordinate government policy to renew those businesses. But the Ustashe had neither the skill nor the know-how to implement such sophisticated economic measures despite their attempts. Towards the end of 1941, the Ustashe activated a new office PONOVA (renewal) for the rejuvenation of the economy."[175]

The inability of the Ustashe trustees to run the Aryanized businesses gave a few hundred Jewish professionals a lifesaving opportunity, at least in the early days of NDH up to mid 1943.[176] The expropriation and nationalization of Jewish commercial enterprises began in earnest in June 1941; two months after the Ustashe came to power.

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[174] HDA, Hans Helm File, re: Intervention on Behalf of the Jews, letter signed by Kasche sent to several entities among them to the RFSS-Kom. Sipo Ostufaf Herman. The letter of Kasche confirms that everybody was aware of what was about to take place. General Schnell the head of the TODT organization innocently informed the Italian officers that all the Jews of Croatia were being deported to German labor camps. For further discussion see discussion Chapter 7.

[175] Aly, Gotz and Heim, Susan, *Architects of Annihilation and the Logic of Destruction*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002, .27.
(I did not check in the archives to see whether Serb businessowners were also released from the camps with the Jewish professionals.)

[176] Goldstein, Ivo, Correspondence of November 12, 2004: "not all trustees requested that Jews be taken out from concentrations camps just because of the economy. Many of the trustees were aware that due to the war and the looting the economy was moving downward; some intended to rescue Jews for humanitarian reasons. Goldstein suggested that since the economy was in a state of constant deterioration and the Jewish businesses were beyond salvage, that the real reason for recalling the Jews was to rescue certain Jews."

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By November 1941, the NDH Office of the Treasury declared that, legally, the notion of "Jewish assets" was neither valid nor recognized.[177] The appointed trustees held two positions: they were appointed either in a supervisory capacity with some Jewish personnel that remained on the premises, or in a managerial capacity. In some cases, and with the encouragement of the government, trustees purchased the Aryanized businesses, for the fraction of the cost, with capital found in the companies' own bank accounts. Again the financial loser was the NDH government.

The Ministry of State Treasury and the Department of State Property were ordered to find ways and means to curb looting and generate profit; the Office for Nationalized Property established a special office PONOVA (renewal).[178] Deliberate action was taken by non-Jews to rescue Jews at some risk to themselves. The government recognized that they had to provide jobs and feed the masses if they were to avoid discontent, rebellion and a possible coup d'etat.[179] The unique situation that emerged in Croatia would not have occurred in an already established independent state, or in a society that commanded a higher rate of professional and skilled labor. But since approximately 76 percent of the Croats were engaged in agriculture and many of them were illiterate, it was virtually impossible to transform them into highly trained

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[177] *Spomenica 400,* 224.

[178] Shelah, Menahem, ed., The History of the Holocaust--Yugoslavia, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 1990, 212. See also Matkovic, Povjest Jugoslavije, Hrvatski Pogled, 137.

[179] ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10, Pinto, S., *Zlocini Okupatora,* 52.

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professionals. Thus, the likelihood of obtaining a professional labor force from among the local population was slim.[180]

A sizable number of commissioners/trustees appointed over the nationalized businesses protested strongly in letters and in person against the deportation of their skilled employees to concentration and labor camps.[181] These Croatian commissioners requested unconditional stay of their Jewish employees until qualified replacements were found.[182] The commissioners realized that many of the Jewish qualified professionals were in detention centers and in concentration camps which resulted in numerous letters being sent to the Ministry of Treasury. Nearly all of the requests dealt primarily with one subject: the release of former employees from concentration camps who were critical to the running of their companies.[183] Most of the letters were sent from Zagreb, although some also were sent from other cities and towns in Croatia. It was puzzling initially to

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[180] Matkovic, Hrvoje, *Povjest Jugoslavije, Hrvatski Pogled*, Zagreb: Naklada Pavicic (PIP), 1998, 137-139. Matkovic states that in 1921, 80.4 percent earned their living from agriculture and that, ten years later, in 1931 76.3 percent were still farmers. Thus, the economic structure of the society remained practically unchanged. Yugoslavia in the 1930's was still one of the most backward countries, and the most dire situation existed in Dalmatia.

[181] Appendix 5.1.0 a detail data base collated from hundreds of documents of requests to the Ustashe Law and Order Office. First: to refrain from deportations of their existing Jewish employees. Second: requesting release from concentration camps vital and essential employees for the sake of the business and the country. Most trustees learned that the word "need" made a big difference in obtaining the requested employees.

[182] *Spomenica 400*, 225. Also Jelic-Butic, Fikreta, *Ustashe Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska, 1941-1945*, 183-185. See HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10 Srechko Bujas, 12.

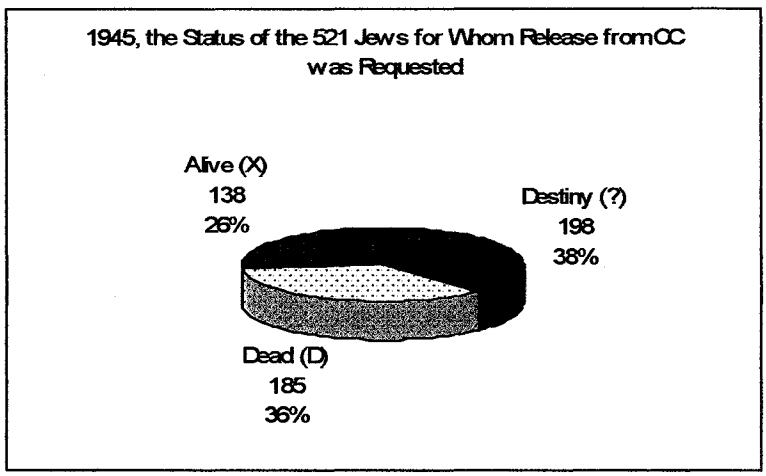
[183] *Narodne Novine*, 06.19. 1941.

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discover that such letters of request were not sent from either Sarajevo or other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.[184]

In the Croatian State Archive (HDA), I found 521 names of Jews that belonged to companies that had requested either their exemption from deportation, or their release from concentration camps.[185] From the 521 requests, 185 had subsequently died, 138 survived, and the destiny of the remaining 199 was unknown. Their names were neither among the names of the dead in the Dotrscina files, the lists of the dead collated by the Croatian National Archive (HDA); nor were they among the listings of survivors of the Jewish Community in Zagreb (ZOZ).

Chart 5.1.1



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[184] *Spomenica 400*, 226.

[185] It is possible that many more letters of this nature exist but these may have eluded me since in the initial stages of my research, I did not know what I was looking for. A further research may result in many more names of those that were initially shielded by the Ministry of the Treasury, PONOVA.

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As mentioned earlier, *destiny unknown* includes several possible scenarios: some may have changed their names and left no trace of their former Jewish identity. Some may have found passage to other countries in Europe, United States, or South America. Some might have died, but there were no surviving family member to report their death.

Rescue of Jews Needed for the Economy by the NDH Government

Although, most of the letters sent by the trustees assigned to the formerly owned Jewish businesses were similar in content, some had an unusual commanding tone.[186] In order to demonstrate the nature of the requests, in the following I review a few characteristic letters. The first of these letters was written by the Commissioner (Povjerenik) of the "Nasicka" factory, a substantial company dealing with forestry byproducts. This was a highly profitable company with a large fiscal turnover and a substantial number of employees. The company had a responsible trustee who did not appreciate the meddling of politicians and the police in the affairs of the company. The format of the letter and the accusatory tone indicate that the author of the letter felt sufficiently comfortable in his position that he did not fear of adverse repercussions:

> ...Because of the actions taken by the various organs for Law and Order in which they are sending some of the best employees to forced labor camps, soon we will be forced to stop all production in many sections of our plant. From all mentioned

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[186] Appendices 5.1.1, 5.1.5, 5.1.7, 5.1.8, 5.1.9, 5.1.10. The appendices include several similar scenarios which provide evidence that a request for employees was not an isolated case, there were hundreds of requests. Although all the indicated letters of request to release employees from concentration camps or letters of requests asking to refrain from deporting currently employed workers were probably written for economic reasons, one can assume that many of them were written for humanitarian reasons as well, considering that most of the businesses were already beyond salvage.

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> above, this cessation of work would be neither in the interests of the State, nor would it benefit our 10,000 Croatian Aryan workers and employees. Therefore we request that the workers listed above remain employed...[187]

The Nasicka Factory requested that 41 of their 89 Jewish workers employed prior to the implementation of the Racial Laws be retained.[188]

"HIGIEA", a cork factory, was also a large company that experienced difficulties resulting from the decrees against the Jews. "HIGIEA" asked that all orders for the deportation of Jewish employees be dismissed. A letter from the company's employees was attached to the cover letter signed by the trustee. Sixty-six employees signed the letter requesting the release of Mr. Vilim Berger since his presence in the company would insure the employment of eighty Croatian workers. The Chamber of Industry in Zagreb confirmed the truth of their claim.

Since no reply was forthcoming, a second letter was sent to the same address: "Higiea" Cork and Plug Factory Ltd.

> Dear Sir,
>
> Once more we urge the authorities to release without delay Mr. Vilim Berger, and place him at the disposal of our company. He is a technical specialist and irreplaceable therefore we would request his immediate release from concentration camp and safe return to work; he is essential for our company... Attached please find a letter from "The Chamber of Industry" in Zagreb that confirms the truthfulness of our claim.[189]

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[187] HDA, RUR 252, Inv.# 28145, ZO 4767 also RUR 252, 27667 ZO 1334 16.VI.1941, 27963 ZO 2834 12.XII.1941, 28145 ZO 4767 11.VII.1941.

[188] Appendices: 5.1.2, 5.1.3.

[189] Appendix 5.1.4: signatures of 69 employees.

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But, when these letters were written, it appears that Vilim Berger was no longer alive; he was executed during 1941. According to the comment made by the Jewish Community in Zagreb (ZOZ), place and date of execution were unknown.

The Intercontinentale & Caro and JelinekYugoslav Transport Corporation used its financial muscle to arouse the interest of the authorities to release some former employees. The trustee of the company stressed that, should the authorities continue to pursue a policy of bleeding the company of its most capable employees by sending them to forced labor camps, this would have adverse consequences both on the company and the Croatian people:

> ...Our Company is in the business since 1919, with a Capital of 5,000.000 Din, and about 1,200,000 Din in reserved funds. Our head office is in Zagreb. We are an Aryan firm, legalized by the Ministry of National Economics; Department for Manufacture Industry and Trade, on 16th of April 1941, under no.19783. We employ 69 people, 16 among them are Jews. Unnecessary Jewish employees were dismissed. The attached list of the Jewish employees includes those essential to our company as well as to the restoration of the Croatian Industry.[190]

The list of the eight essential Jewish employees is included: Kosser Jakob, Altstadter Pavao, Berger Geza, Schaffer Aleksander, Salzberger Branko, and Frolich Fritzi. From the eight names listed above, four survived. The destiny of the other four is unknown; they are not listed either among the dead in HDA nor among the living in the Jewish community in Zagreb.

The letter below was written by the emplyees of "Intercontinental & Cargo and Jelinek Ltd in Zagreb, 30th of May 1941

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[190] Appendix 5.1.6.

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> We the employees, of "Intercontinental & Cargo and Jelinek, Co. Ltd" testify and sign with our own names that Mr. Slavko Neuman worked with many of us, for 19 years, in a very friendly atmosphere. He has been always a loyal, friendly and honest employee. As we all know, he was a distinguished Croatian patriot. He suffered unjust persecution and imprisonment by the Belgrade regime. At the time when others were afraid to stand out for their national feelings, he stood up for Croatian rights. He always and everywhere emphasized his Croatian nationality, and suffered hardship because of it. Considering all of the above, our company has decided to engage his services not as a regular employee, but as a sales representative. For 20 years, he cultivated excellent business relations with customers and he will continue do so for the benefit of our firm and the Croatian Industry.[191]
>
> Individually signed by 32 employees

The support Slavko Neuman received from his former company Intercontinental & Cargo and Jelinek Ltd in Zagreb, saved his life; at least it gave him the chance to consider other options for survival. He was one among the four survivors from this company.
It took great courage on the part of the trustees and the employees to openly write about the positive traits of their Jewish employees and former owners. Attributes such as honesty, integrity, and loyalty to Croatia were usually assigned to all nationalists, but not to those of Jewish origin. The trustees wrote straightforward, professional requests for the return of former Jewish employees, emphasizing their superior skills in various areas.

As seen from the above examples, most of the employees' letters emphasize the positive character of the Jewish employer, especially at the time when the German and the Ustashe attempted to assassinate the Jewish character. In the media, the authorities portrayed the Jews as "the greedy industrialists who feed on the blood of the Croatian people." Some of the employees' letters expressed dismay that their Croatian government would send people to concentration camps who were desperately needed to help their

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[191] Appendix 5.1.3: HDA, RUR 252, #27685, ZO 1362, 14, VII. 1941.

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companies survive.[192] The NDH office for Law and Order, after consultation with the Ministry of the Treasury, approved some of the requests made by the employees and released some of the former Jewish employees. Despite the need for Jewish talents in 1943, at the insistence of Himmler who visited Zagreb to talk with Ante Pavelic, most of the remaining Jews of Zagreb were annihilated.

The Future of Businesses in Croatia and in Bosnia

From the German perspective, the expropriation of Jewish businesses and their Aryanization in Germany was aimed at benefiting the Third Reich, not the individual looters.[193] The Germans closed failing businesses, consolidated and merged others, so as to maximize revenues and profits. Since the German plan for Southeastern Europe was to eliminate all production of finished products and substitute it by grain production, they were happy to encourage the plunder and looting of businesses in NDH, irregularities that had been banned in Germany were encouraged in NDH.

Although the Ustashe promoted plunder and looting by their loyalists as a way of rewarding them, they were not ready to turn their entire manufacturing over to Germany and to become merely the supplier of the raw materials needed for the German economy and production. It was also inconceivable to the Ustashe, as expected by Germany, to

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[192] Appendix 5.1.1, 5.1.4, 5.1.10; are but a few examples of letters sent by employees to the offices of the Ustashe Law and Order, fearless for their own well being, they requested an immediate release from concentration camps of their former employers and managers. It was beyond their understanding why their new goverment would act so irresposibly by sending these good and needed people for hard labor.

[193] Aly Gotz and Heim, Susanne, *Architects of Annihilation, Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction*, 11.

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close the former Jewish businesses recognizing that city dwellers needed employment. Therefore, immediately upon the creation of NDH, the Ustashe insisted that Germany stand by their well-formulated economic plan which guaranteed that all assets confiscated from the Jews in NDH belonged to the state and not to Germany.[194]

However, agreements with Germany nearly always involved exceptions to the rule, and NDH was always the loser in disputes between Croatia and Germany. The Croats argued that, when Germany confiscated Jewish assets, they were robbing the economy of Croatia and this ran counter to agreements previously signed and approved by Germany.[195] The German violation of NDH rights is exemplified in the case of the former Jewish factory, Shik, in Sarajevo. Ante Pavelic, "Poglavnik," personally handed the Shik factory to a Muslim welfare society named "Merhamet". When "Merhamet" went to collect the documents of ownership, they were told that the Germans had taken control of the factory claming, that it was their "war possession" and essential for the support of the war effort.[196] The Nazis did not by any means always respect the terms of "territorial principle," there were business that they wanted and they obtained them.

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[194] Arendt, Hannah, Eichmann in Jerusalem, New York, Published by the Penguin Group,1977, 182-183. From 1942 Croats paid the Nazis thirty marks for each Jew deported. In exchange, they received all the property of the deportees. This was in accordance with the Germans' official "territorial principle," applicable to all European countries, whereby the state inherited the property of every murdered Jew who had resided within its boundaries, regardless of his nationality. (1 *Spomenica 400*, 224.

[195] Appendices 5.1.11, 5.1.12, Riznica (Treasury) The appendices cited demonstrate how skillfully the German Army looted the NDH Government. First, the confiscated the businesses, sold part of the inventories, assigned them to loyal Volksdeutsche for liquidation, and deposited the money in Hitlerhaus banks. It took the NDH Ministry of the Treasury two years of thorough investigation, in small communities like Bijeljina; Bosnia to discover what went on with the former Jewish businesses in Bosnia.

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Judge Srechko Bujas, the NDH appointed trustee of the Sephardic Jewish Community in Sarajevo, testified that the appointed trustees over the Jewish businesses in Sarajevo had neither the skill nor the inclination to renew Jewish businesses.[197] After the German occupation of Sarajevo and the arrival of the Ustashe, only 171 of 340 Jewish businesses were posted with the Treasury; the rest were looted and confiscated by the Germans and local dignitaries. Due to the strong German presence in Sarajevo, the larger and more prosperous businesses were excluded from the lists either because they were merged with various international German enterprises, or because their inventories had been channeled into existing German businesses in the city.[198] Bujas stressed over and over again that only when the businesses were completely plundered and nothing was left in them, particularly in the stores, a sign would appear *Nationalized Property, NDH.*[199]

According to Bujas, the NDH government in Zagreb had already promised some of these large businesses to Muslim loyalists in the city; however, they were unable to recover them from the German authorities. The unplanned activities of the Nazi authorities adversely impacted the initiative of the Ministry of the Treasury in Zagreb to push forward the subject of renewal. Furthermore, for two years, the Office of the Treasury searched for the revenues obtained from the Jewish businesses in Bosnia. Since

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[196] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, Box. 10, Srechko Bujas 1944.

[197] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, Box. 10, Srechko Bujas 1944, pp.213-216.

[198] Shelah, Menahem, ed., History of the Holocaust, Yugoslavia, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 1990, 0.153

[199] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, Srechko Bujas testimony, 18.

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they were unable to find these assets, they hired professionals to investigate who took the proceeds of the sold Jewish businesses in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The NDH Ministry of the Treasury and their hired professionals started their inquiries in a small town in Bosnia called Bieljina. The information that reached the Office of the Treasury came from several different sources: there were many testimonies similar to that of the former Jewish owner, Baro Baruh, who made the following declaration:

> According to the instructions given by the Bieljina town authorities, I deposited the keys of my former company with a person by the name of Adam Hummel from Schonborn. He instructed me to let him know the cost of the items. This was the only day that I came to my former business. According to my assessment, the value of the business at that time was 200,000 to 300,000 Kuna. I did not receive any money for my business.

The son of Adam Hummel, Johan Hummel, a businessman from Schonborn made a second declaration:

> I received in writing an order from Ortskommandanturs from Bieljina as a trustee over the business of Baro Baruh. When I received the business, the entire inventory was already gone; the business was looted. I found an inventory valued at 35,000 Kunas. When I sold the said inventory I deposited the money in the Kulturbund in Hitlerhaus in Bieljina. There is nothing to add. The above was read to me.[200] Signed: Johan Hummel

A third letter pertaining to the Business of Baro Baruh summarizes the investigation. The letter was sent from: NDH, Management District in Bieljina #5946/42, 28 July 1942 Re: Decision Regarding Ownership #P 358/42 from 19 May 1942 to the National Treasury, office for the Upkeep of Property:

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[200] HDA, PONOVA, Jewish File, doc.# 5946/42 District of Bieljina, 25, July, 1942.

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We have established that the National assets # 36/42 company of the Jew, Baruh Baro, in Bijeljina, no longer exists: The former owner Baro Baruh gave a written testimony followed by a testimony from Johan Hummel; was revealed that his father was assigned trustee over Baro Baruh property by the Ortskommandanturs from Bieljina. The inventory was sold for 35,000 Kuna and the proceeds deposited in Hitlerhaus in Bijeljina.[201] Signed: District Supervisor

To the great surprise of the NDH authorities, most of the companies were initially looted and plundered most likely by the German appointed trustees and the remaining inventories sold, and the money deposited in a bank or agency called "Hitlerhaus-Njemacka Narodna Skupina"[202] (Hitlerhaus-Germany's Peoples Group). In NDH, in the territories of German control, funds were not being deposited in the NDH treasury as had been agreed upon by the Third Reich and the NDH government.[203]

Dr. Pavlovic and Dr. M. Violoni, Officials of the National Treasury for the establishment of Jewish assets, asked the district office of the treasury in Bijeljina what had happened to the Jewish business belonging to Leopold Kaff. The response was as follows:

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[201] HDA, PONOVA, Jewish File, doc. # 56231/42, DT /TM.

[202] HDA, PONOVA, Jewish File, doc. # 56231/42, 56232/42, 56233/42, 56234/42, Zagreb, July 1942.

[203] JM, 2188-K-22-2-1/8-63-101, See also Shelah, Menahem, *History of the Holocaust,* 152-153. Apparently on April 17, 1942 agreement was reached between Nazi Germany and the Ustashe that once the Ustashe government took control over the internal affairs of the country all nationalized assets would belong to Croatia. In order to disguise their actions the German authorities appointed the Volksdeutsche to be trustees over Jewish properties; they were liquidated and sold, and funds were deposited in special banks set up by the German Army.

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Re: Leopold Kaff # 5957/42. According to information presented on June 30, 1941 # 38/42, in addition to Jahan Leinweber from Schonborn, who was an appointed trustee, several other individuals from Schonborn helped themselves to the inventory. Echert helped himself to half a wagon of raw hides, and Kraus Frits took the other half. Another person Joaz Bussman, and a neighbor Vogel (woodworker) took industrial fabric, 200 kg of manila envelops, 10 m2 of wheat 50m2 of corn, and an indeterminate quantity of wheat as well as other items.[204]

The storeowner, Leopold Kaff, had specialized in hides and other types of fine rawhide. His inventory was valued at 1,800,000 kuna, but Kaff received no payment. Other deposits of money from sales of large inventories of building materials were made directly to the Ustashe army based in Bijeljina. Even after gross devaluation of the property by the Ustashe, the Ustashe Camp Commander, Murtabeg O. Pasic, assigned the sum of 271,950 and, together with a professional in the field, Mehmedalija Selimovic deposited these funds in their own private bank accounts. Both signatories were Muslims. The profits of many business transactions in Bosnia-Herzegovina made a few people very rich, while the masses Jews, Catholics, and Muslims lived in great poverty.[205]

In light of the documents found in the Archives in the files of "PONOVA", the puzzle of why nationalized proprietors and skilled workers from Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, were not recalled from concentration camps was resolved. The German military and administrators in the region had liquidated the Jewish businesses and given some of these assets to their Muslim partners "to keep them happy and willing collaborators in their crimes".[206] The Germans had full control over the affairs of this

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[204] Appendix 5.1.13: HDA, PONOVA, Jewish File, 65/42 July 1, 1942.

[205] HDA, PONOVA, Jewish File, there is no # the list of items must have been originally attached to some other documents.

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region of the NDH and they executed the German "Four Year Plan" for the region, i.e. a full and systematic destruction of the Bosnian economy. This was done without the knowledge or consent of the NDH government. The Ustashe could do nothing to recover the money taken by Nazi Germany.

In the Croatian State Archives (HDA), there are a large number of documents that deal exclusively with the subject of confiscation and Aryanization. It is clear that the funds taken by the Germans and the Muslims never reached the Office of PONOVA (renewal) in Zagreb. The Germans and the local Muslim Ustashe took a different stand vis-à-vis the Jewish businesses than the authorities in Croatia.

By and large, the NDH government rescued the Jewish business professionals primarily for utilitarian rather than humanitarian reasons. However, the trustees and the employees who wrote on their behalf often genuinely wanted the return of their Jewish employees for humanitarian as much as for economic reasons. The letters of indignation sent by the employees to the NDH authorities pointed out the high regard their employers had for their work as well as for Croatia. Furthermore, they tell the authorities that they were treated fairly, and they justly question the rationale behind the deportation of such people to the concentration camps. Furthermore, they express their deep concern for themselves stating: "at one time we were gainfully employed, for many years in one company, and now we stand of losing our jobs and the ability to provide for our families."

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[206] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/45 box 10 Trustee Judge Srechko Bujas submitted his report to the National Commission for the Verification of Crimes in BiH. Confiscation and looting of Jewish Property from the lowly Ustasha to Pavelic himself.

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Section 5.2: Rescue of Medical Doctors by the NDH Government

Syphilis in Bosnia General Information

With the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, the NDH regime also obtained control over Bosnia Herzegovina. The Muslim population was suffering from an epidemic of endemic syphilis. The problem was not new, but had to be addressed by the government in order to obtain the trust of the Bosnian people. From the writings of Jasa Romano, we learn that Dr. Ivan Raguz, Head of the Health Services in Bosnia, requested the Ministry of Health to send physicians to cure the endemic syphilis among the Muslim population in Bosnia.[207] Since the Ministry of Health was overwhelmed by a shortage of physicians, resulting from the dismissal of Jewish and Serb physicians from their posts, the request of Dr. Raguz was shelved but apparently not forgotten.[208]

From the testimonies of three physicians from Zagreb who participated in the Bosnian expedition— Drs. Stjepan Steiner, Teodor Gruner and Dragan Stern, who at the time was a teenager helping his physician father[209] I learned that the "brilliant idea" to engage the Jewish doctors in the "Bosnian health mission" was the brainchild of

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[207] Romano, Jasa, "*Jevreji Zdravstveni radnici Jugoslavije* 1941-1945, Zbornik 2, Belgrade 1973, 73-257.

[208] HDA, RUR, 302/Inv. 10154/1941, ZO 5050, is an example where Dr. Bela Hochstader (physician) was sent to concentration camp on 15/7,1941. Also RUR 252, # 29117, ZO 3135 Dr. Stanko Pollak and #28266, ZO 6408,Dr. Hinko Maric. There were probably many such examples since I found 13 physicians that were rescued and sent to serve in Bosnia.

[209] Interviews with 3 Zagreb physicians who were involved in the project: Dr. Teodor Gruner, January 14, 2003, Dr. Stjepan Steiner December 16. 2002, Dr. Dragan Stern,(son of Dr. Oskar Stern) February 6, 2003.

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Dr. Miroslav Schlesinger. Dr. Schlesinger, a physician from Zagreb, was of course aware that, as early as May 1941, a number of Jewish physicians had already been deported and that there was a need to stop the deportations. He thought that, since there was a shortage of physicians to cure the endemic syphilis among the Muslims in Bosnia, why not seize the opportunity and send Jewish physicians to Bosnia?[210] The idea of sending a mission of Jewish physicians to Bosnia seemed the only feasible way in which a large group of Jewish doctors could be rescued from imminent deportation.[211] As mentioned above, most of the Jewish physicians were employed in government posts; those that worked in hospitals and clinics were already out of work. A similar fate had befallen the Jewish physicians who worked in private practice. According to the testimony of Dr. Steiner, the private practices were plundered in May and June 1941, shortly after the Ustashe came to power. Ankica Budak, an official from the Ministry of Health, made rounds of the doctors' premises and confiscated their instruments and supplies.[212]

Jewish physicians as well as some Croat physicians, who were concerned about the destiny of the Jewish physicians and desired to prevent their deportation to concentration camps, recognized that something radical and imminent need to be done in order to ensure their survival. The idea of "a rescue expedition/mission," composed of

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[210] Dr. Schlesinger was a Jewish physician who studied in Vienna and who in his student years engaged in social activities involving student affairs. Upon his return to Zagreb he promoted the causes of the working people which were extended to the war peirod. He undertook to fight for his his and his combrdaown right to survive.

[211] Interviews with 3 Zagreb physicians who were involved in the project: Dr. Teodor Gruner, January 14, 2003, Dr. Stjepan Steiner December 16. 2002, and son of Dr. Oskar Stern, Dr. Dragan Stern on February 6, 2003..

[212] Dr. Stjepan Steiner, *Zidovi u NOB, Sjecanje na Zidove Ljecnike u NOB*, (Remembering the Physicians in the People War of Liberation), *Bilten* 11, April, 1989

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Jewish physicians, needed to be communicated to the NDH regime –specifically to the Minister of Health, Dr. Ivan Petric. From conversations with Dr. Stjepan Steiner, I was under the impression that bonds of camaraderie and mutual respect had formed between some of the Croatian students and their Jewish professors. The Minister of Health, Dr. Petric, held his Jewish professor Dr. Izidor Steinhardt, in high regard.[213] It was also known that Dr. Petric, a Minister in the Ustashe government, was not an anti-Semite and that he might be willing to assist in the rescue of Jewish physicians. Success depended on finding, from among the Croats, the right individual who was respected and trusted both by the Jewish physicians and by the Minister and the NDH hierarchy.[214] Dr. Miroslav Schlesinger, probably in consultation with other Jewish physicians, selected Dr. Ante Vuletic to present the idea to the NDH government. Dr. Vuletic, also a physician, was highly regarded by the Jews and also respected by the Zagreb elite.

Dr. Vuletic made the proposal to send the Jewish physicians on a mission to Bosnia, in such a way that the Minister, Dr. Petric, immediately recognized the merits of the idea. Sending Jewish physicians to Bosnia would benefit the Ministry of Health as well as radically improve the health of the Muslims. Furthermore, the pressure of having to transfer Aryan physicians to Bosnia from their much-needed posts in Croatia, caring for the civilian population and the Army, would thereby be alleviated. The idea of rescuing the Jewish physicians appealed to Dr. Petric. But he had to find the best way to

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[213] HDA, RUR 252, # 27710, ZO 1467, 14.7.1941 A letter sent by Dr. Ivan Petric, with the knowledge and approval of the Mr. Artukovic Minister of Internal Affairs, to Barakovic recommended the Dr. Izidor Steinhardt and his family receive the rights of Aryans.

[214] *Narodne Novine*, #16 April 30, 1941

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present the idea to seven of his colleagues as well as to Ante Pavelic, the Head of NDH (Poglavnik). Upon presenting the idea to the Ministers, Dr. Petric won the support of three of the seven Ministers. His strongest opponent was the powerful anti-Semite, Dr. Mile Budak, the Minister of Religion and Education. However, despite all the arguments Dr. Petric's position prevailed. Ante Pavelic backed the proposal on the grounds that there was greater need to heal the Bosnian population than to "eliminate" the Jewish physicians.[215] Pavelic accepted the argument that the Jews could be eliminated at a later date once the task of healing the Muslims was completed.

From the Planning Board to Implementation of the Rescue of Jewish Physicians

At the request of the Ministry of Health, the Jewish Community in Zagreb sent invitations to all the Jewish physicians listed with the community to attend a special meeting that would be held at the new premises of the Jewish Community in Strossmayer Square 4, Zagreb. At the meeting, the participants were informed that an excellent opportunity for survival existed for those who volunteered to serve in Bosnia-Herzegovina as members of an expedition to cure the endemic syphilis among the Muslim population. The invitation was straightforward. Each doctor, together with his family, had to make his/her existential choice.[216] While most physicians saw merit in the offer, some physicians declined the invitation: they chose not to join, or they

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[215] Jevtovic, Sasa, "Djelovnje Zidovskih Ljecnika u Bosni I Hercegovini 1941-1942," (The participation of Jewish Physicians in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1941-1942, *Novi Omanu # 46,* June/July, 2001, 9-10.

[216] Dr. Teodor Gruner, interview, January 14, 2003, Zagreb Croatia. Dr. Gruner was a participant in the project.

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declined for personal reasons; some openly stated that they preferred working with the inmates in the concentration camps while remaining in Zagreb.[217]

At that meeting, the doctors were told that no prior medical experience in the area of curing syphilis was required but that, prior to leaving for Bosnia, it was mandatory to enroll in a two-week preparatory course. At the end of the two weeks, two groups of physicians would leave for Bosnia as an expeditionary "medical rescue team," formed by the NDH Ministry of Health.

The physicians who decided to join the "team" had to become legitimate employees of the NDH government, and each was required to sign an individual "employment contract" (Ugovor Sluzbe). The contract was issued to each physician and it bore three signatures—that of the physician as employee, the government administrator, and the Minister of Health, Dr. Ivan Petric, as employer.[218] The terms of the agreement stated that the physicians would be sent to a location designated by the Ministry of Health. The primary task was to provide a cure for syphilis and to provide all other medical services as needed in the location to which they would be sent. The duration of employment was not specified, other than stating that the contract would be honored as long as both parties adhered to it. For their services, each physician was compensated according to previous medical work experience and family status.

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[217] Goldstein, Ivo and Goldstein, Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 216-217.

[218] Appendix 5.2.4, sample of a contract signed between the NDH Government and thr Physician, Dr. Teodor Gruner's contract number CV-461-Z/p.1941 from VI.26, 1941.

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For example, Dr. Alfred Neufeld, under contract # Z.36.249/1941, was paid an income of 4,000 Kuna (Croatian currency) per month.[219] Dr. Hinko Maric, from Varazdin under contract # 60127-Z-1941, was offered 5,000 Kuna.[220] Dr. Teodor Gruner, under contract CDXXXVII-2115-Z-1941, received a salary of 4,900 Kuna per month. The archival documents demonstrate that, for example, Dr. Gruner signed another contract after one year of service; contract # 21062-0-1942 shows that the monthly compensation was raised to 7,000 Kuna, probably due to the high inflationary rate.[221]

The contracts also took into consideration the marital status of each physician. Those who were married received a supplement of 300 kunas for their wives and 206 kunas per month for each child. As in the case of any other employee, each physician had to pay local taxes. One of the most important provisions of the contract was the protection from deportation to concentration camps of the physician's immediate family—parents, wife, and children.[222] Once the preparations were completed, the first group of physicians was on its way to Bosnia. Some of the physicians received their assignments before leaving Zagreb, while others had to visit the offices of the Institute

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[219] Appendix 5.2.14, Dr. Najfeld. (All contracts were identical excluding the name of the individual physician and the initial salary which was based on experience). HDA, RUR 252, 7. VII, 1941, 27293, ZO, 352.

[220] HDA, RUR 252, # 28929658, ZO 8, 10, 11, 1941.

[221] HDA, ZKRZ GUZ, 2235-45/2 box 10, Dr. Gruner's contract #DDXXXVII-2115-Z. Zakonske odredbe od Studenog, 1941. (The raise could reflect not only a promotion but the rate of inflation.)

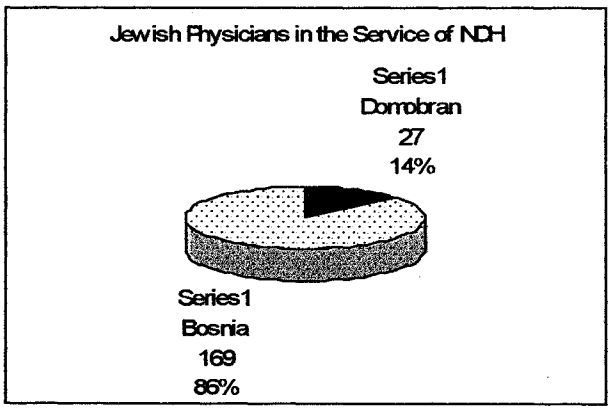
[222] HDA, RUR 252, 29184, ZO 3379. Physicians that were recruited to serve in the army, home-defense (Domobranstvo), had similar privileges and also received protection for their family members. Apparently also Jewish engineers received similar privileges to those granted the physicians. See document: HDA, RUR 252 29904, ZO. 5421, Zagreb September 15 1942.

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for the prevention of endemic syphilis either in Mostar or Banja Luka, where they were assigned to posts based upon the specific needs of the region.

The charts and table below demonstrate that the Jewish medical team was divided into four groups: in group I, there were 23 physicians of whom 3 were women. Group II numbered 52 physicians of whom 10 were women. The first two groups were organized in Zagreb from where the physicians were dispatched. These two groups included 75 physicians, of whom 13 were women. The two groups should have numbered 81 physicians from Zagreb but, before the orders for the mobilization of Jewish physicians reached them, 5 of the selected physicians were deported to concentration camps.[223] In August 1942, from all the Jewish physicians that were deported to concentration camps in June 1941, 12 physicians that were request to join the mission and that were deported before the invitation had reached them were released. The release was due to the intervention of Drs. Vuletic and Sielski the physician who managed the program.

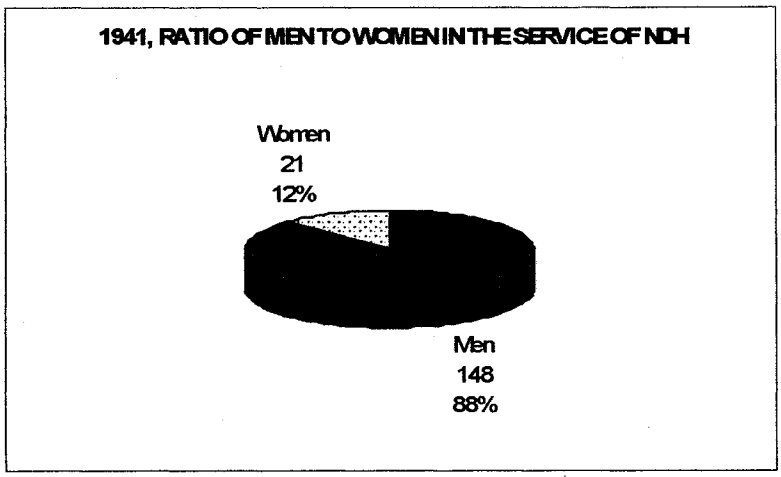
Chart 5.2.1



[223] Appendix 5.2.1: includes the names of all the physicians identified as being a part of the mission to cure the endemic syphilis among the Muslim population in Bosnia.

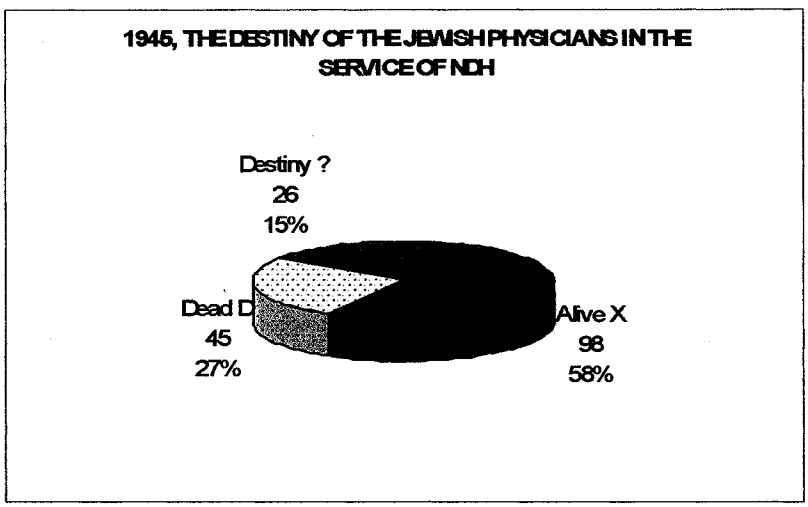
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Chart 5.2.2



The total number of physicians that served in the expedition to curb endemic syphilis in Bosnia was 142. (Among them were 2 pharmacists and 1 medical student.)

Chart 5.2.3[224]



[224] All the physicians while in the service of NDH survived the war, excluding two who died of typhus. Only once they joined the Partisans and were engaged in combat their numbers declined.

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Table 5.2.1: (1). Rescue of Jewish physicians on an Expedition to Eradicate the Epidemic of Endemic Syphilis among the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina; (2). Jewish Physicians recruited to NDH's Military.

M-male, F-female. [225]

Groups	**Total sent to Bosnia M+F**	**Total Survived M+F**	**Total Killed M+F**	**Total Unknown M+F**
Group I	20+3	11+0	9+3	0
Group II	42+10	25+6	12+3	5+1
Group III	49+6	36+5	13+1	1+0
Release from CC	10+2	5+0	1+0	3+2
Sub Total	142 M+F	88 (62%)	42 (29%)	12 (8.2%)
NDH Defense Forces	27+0	10	3	14
Total, M, F	169 148M+21F (87.5%M) (12.5% F)	98 87M+11F (60.8%M) (36.4% F)	45 38M+7F (25.6%M) (31.8%F)	26 24M+3F (17.6%M)

[225] Appendces 5.2.2, 5.2.5, 5.2.6, 5.2.11 include correspondence between the physicians, the Institute and the Office for Law and Order. Most of the letters were from the physicians requesting a release of their family members from concentration camps. There are documents that inform several wives that their husbands were released from the concentration camps.

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There is considerable archival information on the two groups that were organized in Zagreb in July and August 1941. The *Institute for the Combat of Endemic Syphilis* (henceforth *Institute*) published a magazine, *Vjesnik*. From the end of 1941 through 1942, six magazines were published.[226] The objective in publishing these "information" magazines was to provide a venue for the physicians to publish their approach to the cure of syphilis, to make suggestions, and to describe some of the success stories and challenges encountered along the way. Dr. Gruner emphasized the value of the magazine psychologically; it gave the physicians a feeling that they were working on a worthwhile project. For security reasons, the physicians signed only their initials. In fact, it was mandatory that each physician should keep a log of the visitations to the various communities, the findings, the methods utilized in the healing process, and suggestions about how to achieve improvements.

Vjesnik 4, issued in Banja Luka in 1942, is of special interest since it includes vital demographic data. It shows that the physicians who were selected for groups I and II did not arrive at the same time; they first arrived in Bosnia in July 1941 and continued through July 1942. Some of these physicians were detained en route in regional hospitals; some were captured and sent to concentration camps, only reaching Bosnia following their release in mid-1942. While not all family members joined the physicians in Bosnia, records show that 51 were married, and that there were 43 children. From these first two

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[226] The Vjesnik was obtained from the private collection of Dr. Teodor Gruner. It appears that initially the Zagreb physicians were not aware that the program was extended to include also physicians from other parts of Croatia. Very few were from BiH.

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groups, 7 left in the first year: two were transferred to hospitals, one retired, one was dismissed, two died from typhus, and one left voluntarily.[227]

From the information in the *Vjesnik,* it is clear that Dr. Ivan Petric, the Minister of Health, paid close and special attention to the first group of 24 physicians. Dr. Petric had a great deal to lose if they performed poorly, and if the operation was sabotaged. But he also had much to gain. In his testimony, Dr. Teodor Gruner, a member of group I, shared with me the anxiety of everyone involved in the project, including the Minister of Health who pleaded with the group not to disappoint him, to work hard, and to demonstrate good progress in the cure of syphilis. The main idea behind the "Bosnia Project" was to save as many Jewish physicians as possible. If a cure could be found for syphilis, then it could be said that the project was successful and this might lead to other groups being sent to Bosnia.

Dr. Teodor Gruner, who celebrated his ninetieth birthday in 2003 and whom I interviewed four times, recalls the years in Bosnia vividly; for the first few months, the doctors worked extremely hard and under difficult conditions. But all the doctors knew what was at stake both for them, and also for the others that might follow should the first group be successful in healing and curbing endemic syphilis. The physicians' first task was to go to the most remote regions of Bosnia and convince the local population that they were there to help. Once word about the quality of the treatment went out and confidence was gained, the success of the physicians was guaranteed. Due to their

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[227] *Vjesnik,* Institute for the Combat of Endemic Syphilis, Banja Luka 1942, issue 4, 37.

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accomplishments within a few weeks of the arrival, a second group of 52 physicians joined the project in September 1941.

The third group was made up of physicians who were recruited individually from all over NDH; this group totaled 55 physicians, 5 of whom were women. The fourth group included physicians who had been released from the various concentration camps.[228] Immediately upon release, they were sent to Bosnia; in total there were 11 physicians, of whom 2 were women. Thus the total number of physicians sent to Bosnia on the mission was 145 of whom 22 were women. In the archival records I discovered that, in late 1941 and the early part of 1942, an additional 27 physicians who served in the home defense army (Domobranstvo), among them one woman. As long as the physicians worked for the NDH government, the majority of the physicians and their families survived. [229] From 1942 onward, however, some started to join the Partisans (NOB). Out of all the groups that initially went to Bosnia, 46 were killed in battle; 8 women died either in battle or from typhus. There were also others, like Dr. Draga Weinberg, who left Bosnia but were caught by the Ustashe in 1944 and sent to Auschwitz.[230] The fate of 28 physicians has not been confirmed; additional research is required. Their destiny and whereabouts remain unknown; they were neither registered as deceased in the Croatian archives in the file of Dotrscina (the file that lists all the victims of war in the Zagreb area) nor in the listings of the Jewish community.

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[228] Appendix 5.2.8, physicians in group III came individually or in small groups.

[229] HDA, RUR 252, #28810, ZO 1071, 26.01.1942. This area merits further research in the military files. Also there is a need to explore the military files to uncover the number of Jewish engineers in the domobranstvo (home-defense).

[230] HDA, Dotrscina, ZOZ, Jasa Romano, was captured in Zenica sent to Auschwitz in 1944 and killed in 1945.

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Protection of the Immediate Families of the Physicians

Periodically, the "Supervisory Ustashe Commanders" sent circulars ordering the regional and local police units to refrain from deporting to concentration camps the family members of physicians who were in the service of NDH."[231] Each family member carried a special identification card on which it was stated that the holder of the identification card was protected at the request of the Minister of Health and the approval of the Office for Law and Order. Despite measures taken to prevent deportation to concentration camps and eviction from their apartments, some family members were detained and deported.[232]

Among the 51 letters of correspondence between the Ustashe Law and Order Unit and the physicians I found in the HDA, more than eighty percent of the documents dealt with requests to release family members from concentration camps.[233] The 51 documents were letters from the Law and Order offices informing physicians that their requests had been either fulfilled or rejected. Rejections usually stated that the family members did not strictly fall into the category of "immediate family"—i.e. parents, wife and children.

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[231] Appendices 5.2.4, 5.2.10, a sample of a "Protection" document that was carried by family members of those who worked for the NDH Ministry of Health. Such documents were reissued periodically so that there would be no excuse in sending family members to concentration camps. Mistakes were made and also corrected. See also HDA, RUR 252, 23, XII, 1941, 28929, ZO 2145, 5721/dr.T.1942, HDA, RUR 252, #29078, Z0 2712, 20, III 1942, # 4281-V-1/1942, HDA, RUR 252, #29184, Z0 3379, 17, IV, 1942, # 48044-Iib-1-1942.

[232] Appendix 5.2.15.

[233] Appendix 5.1.1.

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For example, when Dr Gruner requested the release of his parents, this was immediately approved, action was taken, and his parents were rescued.[234] However, when he asked for the release of his sister, Edit Gruner, and his mother-in-law, Greta Berger, his request was denied[235] since neither his sister nor his mother-in-law were considered to be members of his immediate family. However, when Dr. Alfred Neufeld asked for the release of his mother-in-law, Helen Rudolf Spitzer, the request was granted. His wife had been a medical student before World War II and had worked as a member of the group. Thus, Eta Neufeld's mother and Dr. Alfred Neufeld's mother-in-law obtained a release; she joined her family.[236]

The release of family members from concentration camps and other special requests were accomplished because of the personal care of the Institute for Endemic Syphilis, which was officially responsible for the Jewish physicians.[237] Other exceptions also occurred. Dr. Darko Fisher, the current president of the Osijek Jewish Community, testified that, since both his father's brother and his wife were physicians in Bosnia, they were granted permission to bring his brother's wife and two children to Bosnia.[238] Darko

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[234] HDA, RUR 252, 29790, ZO 5071, 12.07. 1942. See also Dr. Gruner's testimony in which he mentioned the help of Archbishop Stepinac and the assistance of Dr. Karlo Lutelski, the son in law of Dido Kvaternik, the head of the Ustashe Police forces. In fact in appreciation of the services provided by the Institute for the Combat of Endemic syphilis, Dr. Gruner was specifically thankful to the Minister of Health Dr. Ivan Petric, to the Deputy Minister Dr. Mladen Petras, and to the Principle of the "Institute," Dr. Stanko Sielski.

[235] HDA, RUR 252, #29864, ZO 5288, 31.09, 1942

[236] HDA, RUR 252 #28946, ZO 2240, 28.02, 1942

[237] Appendix 5.2.6.

[238] Darko Fisher, Interview Osijek, Croatia, 21. 01.2003.

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and his mother and sister spent more than a year in Bosnia before they escaped for Hungary. Other requests for the release of family members were also considered if the requests were for minors. For example, Dr. Margite Heimer-Cegledi requested the release of her eleven-year-old niece, Vera Heimer, whose parents had died; the request was granted.[239] One letter was sent out by the Ustashe Law and Order office to seven physicians informing them that 12 of their family members were released from concentration camps.[240] While mistakes were made and family members were deported, attempts were also made to release those that had been deported. The Institute personnel who supervised the program made supreme efforts to honor the terms of the contracts signed with the physicians.[241]

As demonstrated above, the group of physicians sent to Bosnia was a "privileged" group; this was due to the commitment of the managers of the "Institute for the Cure of Endemic Syphilis." Without their special and unique care, Dr. Gruner would not have been alive to testify today. While he was working at Varcar Vakuf, Dr. Gruner related that the Germans and the Ustashe spent much of the time engaged in battle against the Partisans. There was no guarantee which way the battle would go. When the authorities in the Institute of Endemic Syphilis learned of the danger, they immediately sent an urgent message to Dr. Gruner advising him to leave without delay and to return to Banja

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[239] Appendix 5.2.10, a request made by Dr. Heimer-Cegledi to release her 11 year old neice whose parents had died in concentration camps was granted despite the fact that the neice was not a member of Dr. Heimer-Cegledi immediate family. HDA, RUR 252, #29864, ZO 5288, 31.09, 1942.

[240] HDA, RUR 252, # 29221, ZO 3436, 23.04.1942.

[241] Appendix 5.2.2, Names of family members that were released from various concentration camps.

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Luka. Although the letter did not specify the nature of the danger, it was clear that he had to leave immediately. The Institute urged him to collect all his belongings and to rent a car at the expense of the Institute. Dr. Stanko Sielski, who managed the program, signed the letter personally, thus implying the seriousness of the situation.[242]

Based on the experience of Dr. Gruner, it seems that most of the physicians maintained regular correspondence with their families. During the relocation and the excitement of the danger described above, Dr. Gruner did not write to his parents for a period of several weeks; this caused them great alarm. His father, Cantor Bernard Gruner, wrote to the Minister of Health asking about the whereabouts of his son, describing the excellent work he was doing in the effort to curb endemic syphilis as well as the care of local children. Bernard Gruner received a reply from the Ministry telling him that his son was working in the service of the Institute.[243]

After World War II Participants Attempted to Revise History

Although the rescue of the Jewish physicians in Bosnia is reported in the historiographic literature, by and large, it has been insufficiently researched. It seems that the first accounts of this episode were recorded by the physicians who survived the

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[242] Appendix 5.2.5, Dr. Teodor Gruner, private collection, Doc. # 3806-1943 signed Dr. Stanko Sielski, Principle urging him to leave immediately his current post.

[243] Appendix 5.2.13, Cantor Gruner's letter to the Ministry of Health asking for information about the whereabouts of his son Dr. Teodor Gruner. HDA, RUR 252, #29762, ZO 749, 15.01.1942, on the back of the original letter there is a reply from 20. 01.1942. (It is noteworthy to mention that Dr. Gruner was not aware that this letter existed; he was greatly moved not only because his father was deeply concerned about him but also that the HDA had the courage to write to the Minister of Health and that his father then received from them news that everything was in order.

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war due their participation in the "expedition to Bosnia." It is not clear why only 65 to 81 physicians are mentioned in the historiographic literature and why only those that came from Zagreb are mentioned. It is possible that documents that are accessible today were not available to historians during the communist regime.

Most of the physicians who served in "syphilis expedition" gradually left their posts in Bosnia and joined the Partisans. Some joined as early as mid-1942, others after the capitulation of Italy on September 8, 1943. In the historiographic literature, shortly after the end of World War II, two articles were written by two Jewish physicians, Dr. Zdenko Lowenthal (Levental)[244] and Dr. Samuel Dajc.[245] Both took part in the expedition to cure endemic syphilis in Bosnia; they had a vested interest in describing the Jewish participation as the preconceived idea of the Communist Party. According to these two physicians, Dr. Miroslav Schlesinger, a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ), was urged by the Communists to attempt to rescue the Jewish physicians for the benefit of the party. The story described how many of the Jewish physicians, encouraged by this news, then decided to join the expedition to Bosnia. The new revisionist version was never verified, it was also not refuted by any of the Jewish participants. It is reasonable to assume that since all the Jewish physicians, after the war,

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[244] Lowenthal, (Levental) Zdenko, Lekari na suzbijanju endemskog sifilisa u BiH, I njihovo ucesce u NOB, zbornik referata 11. statistika, Naucnog drustva za Istoriju zdrastvene kulture Jugoslavije, Beograd 1963, 84. The surname of Dr. Zdenko Lowenthal appears in two versions: in the Croatian version it appears as Lwenthal while in the Serb vesion it is spelled phonetically.

[245] Daic, (Deutsch) Samuel, Jevrejski ljecnici I akcija za suzbijenje endemskog sifilisa u Bosni, Jevrejski pregled 1-2, 1970.

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were government employees and the regime was in the control of the Communist Party, the new version of Lowenthal (Levental) fitted the political needs of the time.

It seems that these two physicians, Dr. Lowenthal and Dr. Dajc, had an intrinsic interest in publishing this story even if it seemed unrealistic and unbelievable. In June 1941, when the idea of sending Jewish physicians to Bosnia was first discussed, the KPJ (Communist Party of Yugoslavia) had not yet formulated a plan to establish the People's Liberation Front. Jasa Romano, a historian who has written widely on the subject, argues that it was highly unlikely that the Communist Party either considered or supported the plan that Jewish physicians should be sent to Bosnia to serve the NDH government and then join the Partisans."[246] While rejecting the account given by the two physicians, Jasa Romano agrees that there were only 80 physicians in Bosnia; 68 from Croatia and 12 from Bosnia. Without exception, contemporary historians have accepted the data provided by Romano at face value. However, the records I researched show that 142 physicians were sent to Bosnia. This constitutes a difference of 44.8 percent in the number of physicians who participated in the Bosnian expedition.[247]

Dr. Romano may have introduced other misconceptions to the historiographic literature: first, that the Jewish physicians were sent to Bosnia in order to eliminate

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[246] Romano, Jasa, " Studies and Facts and Figures on Participation of Jews in the People's Liberation War" ("studije I grada o ucescu Jevreja u Narodnooslobodilackom Ratu") Zbornik, Published by the Federation of the Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, Belgrade, 1973, 112-115. See also Najfeld, Eta, 'Secanja iz vremena Drugog Svetskog Rata', Jevrejski Pregled, 1-2 1975, 6-10.

[247] If we accept that the number of Jewish physicians in the Bosnian expedition was 142, then the difference is one of 62 physicians, an increase of 44.8%. If we go a step further and add approximately 4 surviving family members to each one of the 62 physicians, we can safely argue that 248 additional family members were rescued due to their participation in the syphilis Bosnia project.

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professional competition with the Aryan physicians and, second, that they were subjected to "forced labor" (prisilan rad). The first misconception was clarified by Dr. Stjepan Snider's testimony. He argued that the Jewish private practices in Zagreb were plundered sometime in June 1941 before the problem of eradicating syphilis was discussed. Shortly after the Ustashe took over the regime, Ankica Budak, an Ustashe official, visited all the Jewish private practices and confiscated their instruments and supplies, thereby closing down their businesses.[248] Since Jewish practices were closed, there was no issue of competition with Aryan physicians in Zagreb.

The claim made by several historians writing during the Communist period in Yugoslavia that the work performed by the Jewish physicians in Bosnia was "forced labor" is truly puzzling. Dr. Romano knew about the treatment of Jews in situations of "forced labor." They did not receive daily meals; if they ate, it was because the local Jewish communities prepared the food for them. There were no employment agreements or salaries based on the experience and marital status of the physicians. Jews subjected to 'forced labor" were in no position to request the release of family members from concentration camps. If the physicians had been subjected to "forced labor," why would the authorities of the Institute have gone to such lengths to release every physician on their list from concentration camps?[249]

It is undeniable that, by the beginning of 1942, some of the doctors serving in Bosnia had joined the Partisans. The Partisans desperately needed the physicians who

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[248] Goldstein, Ivo, and Goldstein, Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagreb*, 218-219. On page 219 Goldstein shows a record of all the items confiscated from Jewish medical private practices.

[249] Appendix 5.2.0, page 443, 12 physicians that were rescued from concentration camps and brought to Bosnia.

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were serving in Bosnia. But the Jewish physicians, though keen to join them, were also deeply concerned for the well-being of their families at home. Families were protected from deportations so long as they were the family members of a physician serving the NDH government. In order not to arouse the anger of the Ustashe over joining the Partisans, the physicians asked that defection be seen as abduction. A staged kidnap would surely lead the Ustashe to believe that the physicians had not left voluntarily but by force.

During an interview, Dr. Stjepan Steiner reminisced about how he and his wife, Dr. Zora Goldsmith, joined the Partisans in 1942 after a staged kidnapping. The kidnapping took place in broad daylight so that everyone could see how they struggled to escape from the grip of the Partisans.[250] With great admiration and respect, both Dr. Gruner and Dr Steiner related how Dr. Vuletic and Dr. Sielski, who served as their superiors, knew that many physicians had joined the Partisans. Nevertheless, they did not inform the Ustashe authorities; on the contrary they continued to keep the names of those that joined the Partisans on record. Through their generosity of spirit and unyielding commitment to the rescue of Jewish physicians, both Dr. Sielski and Dr. Vuletic risked their professional careers, their jobs, their lives and their families.

Again in 1943, the courage of Dr. Sielski and Dr. Vuletic was put to the test when the German authorities requested the unconditional surrender of all the physicians as well that as their immediate families. They were to be deported to concentration camps. The two doctors, Vuletic and Sielski, responded by saying that all the doctors were needed to

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[250] Steiner, Major General Dr. Stjepan, interview, December 16, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia.

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cure a new epidemic of "Spotted Typhus." They also dared to argue that, if the Jewish physicians were removed, there would be such a shortage of physicians that they would be unable to provide medical assistance to the German soldiers should they contract the disease. Thus, the strong stand of these two physicians against the deportation of Jewish physicians to concentration camps prevented their annihilation. Vuletic and Sielski nurtured and guided these physicians and their families throughout the war years. For his courage, generosity of spirit, and humanity Dr. Ante Vuletic was awarded posthumously the title of the "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem.[251]

Section 5.3: Special Recommendation by NDH Hierarchy

In the early days of the NDH regime, the government followed diligently the Nazi plan for the annihilation of Jews. First, the implementation of Racial Laws, with immediate follow-up through constant harassment, requests for contributions, confiscation of homes, confiscation of businesses, expulsion of Jews from government posts, and so on until the final deportation to the concentration camps. Yet, even under such thorough searches, many Jews survived due to the efforts of ordinary citizens and primarily because of the personal recommendations of those in the uppermost hierarchy of the Ustashe regime and at times by an entire village. But after the arrival of the Gestapo representatives and the appointment in May 1941 of Vilko Kuhnel, a Croat of German ancestry (Volksdeutsche), as the Head of the Jewish section in the Ustashe Control Service (UNS), the deportation of Jews began.

The Jews of Zagreb and the Jews of Osijek, who from 1938 and all through 1942 converted by the thousands to Catholicism, believed that they would be shielded by the

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[251] Goldstein, Ivo and Goldstein, Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 215.

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authorities. The Jews began writing letters either personally or through their lawyers to various NDH Ministers, to various Church dignitaries, to the highest echelons in the Army and to the Office for Law and Order with various requests. Some wanted a reprieve from wearing the Jewish "Jude" yellow ribbon; others requested travel permits to relocate from Zagreb. The requests varied greatly, yet all expressed grievances about the wrongdoings of the government.[252]

In the Croatian National Archives (HDA), there are many such lists. One file caught my attention; it contained 4320 Jewish names. Each name represented a request and a special consideration.[253] Among the 4320 requests, 462 were accompanied by letters of recommendations written by the uppermost echelons of the government, the Army and the Church, asking that their requests be honored.[254] Among the recommendations, there were letters signed by dignitaries such as the "Poglavnik" Ante Pavelic, the Head of the Police (UNS) Eugen Kvaternik, and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Andrija Artukovic. Support for the Jews came from the highest ranks of the government and the army. The Reich Minister of the Interior demanded that the country be judenrein by February 1942. Since it was not the case and Croatia had still a sizable number of Jews Eichmann sent Hauptsturmfuhrer Franz Abromeit to work with the German attaché in Zagreb. But lists of dignitaries signing on behalf of Jews became a

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[252] HDA, RUR 252, Inv. # 30072, box 300. Special Recommendations letters of the highest echelons in the NDH government were written on the behalf of those Jews specified in the letters.

[253] Appendix 5.3.0: This database of 462 names of Jews who received special recommendation was collated from a list of 4320 names and from hundreds of individual documents. The date includes also the names of the dignitaries in the NDH regime who supported their requests.

[254] HDA, 302/MUP 3 /42. For detailed documentation see Chapter 5, Section 3.

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stumbling block in the relationship between the Ustashe regime and the German officials in NDH. As the Head of State, Pavelic was in a position to bestow the title of "Honorary Aryan," thereby exempting some individuals from being identified as Jews. While the Ustashe committed atrocities and heinous crimes against the Jews, either because they were staunch anti-Semites or to please Nazi Germany or to seize Jewish assets, nevertheless there were many who did not view the Jews as an inferior race. From several testimonies it became apparent that not only the upper echelons but also a considerable number of Ustashe from the lower ranks let the Jews know when to change the hiding location and when the round ups were about to take place in their neighborhood. Some of these lower ranks Ustashe even used their uniforms to transfer Jews to safer locations.[255]

The rate of annihilation of Jews who obtained special protection from the NDH top officials was naturally lower than the rest of the population. For example, out of 462 members of the protected group, 87 survived; 29 were declared dead; there is no conclusive evidence about 47 individuals; and no information about 304. The records of the National Croatian Archives (HDA), including the *Dotrscina* file (the file of the deceased), do not show any of the 304 names among the deceased.[256] Similarly, in the

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[255] Hilberg, Raul, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: the Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945*, New York, Harper Perennial, Aaron Asher Books, 1992, 78. "Nowhere was the determination to implement the final solution so deep rooted as in Germany; nowhere was the issue so fundamental. Most of Germany's neighbors, whether allied or conquered nations, continually balanced a variety of considerations in their decision-making. The result was a spectrum of reactions, from non-cooperation, to some forms of participation, to heavy involvement that nevertheless fell short in one aspect or another of reaching the German standard." See also testimony of Slavko Goldstein who relates how a young Ustasha, assisted by his Ustasha uniform, rescued his brother.

[256] HDA, *Croatia, In Memory of the Holocaust*, Zagreb 2000, the Dotrscina Project was based on archival and other sources located in the National Archives of Croatia

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Jewish Community in Zagreb (ZOZ), there are no records about these 304 individuals.[257] In our interview Nada Grgec recalled how many families disappeared from the records of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, as in the case of her own family. Nada Grgec's maiden name was Shterk, her mother's name was Netika Klein, three of her grandparents were Jews, Nada's father, Samuel Shterk, was half Jewish; his mother was Catholic. The family had eight children, some of whom were married to Catholics before the war and moved out of Zagreb. In 1942 the entire family, excluding the sisters that were already married to Catholics before the war, converted to Catholicism in the Church of "Sveti Blaze." After 1942, only a few people knew about their Jewish ancestry since they changed their address. She argued that it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace and identify as Jews families such as her family unless they chose to be identified and registered as Jews. In recent years, a substantial number of these "former Jews" chose to reveal their identity because they stood to receive reparation money from Germany which could only be obtained by registering with the Jewish Community.[258] Thus, further

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HDA. In the *Dotrscina* project 6,537 names of Zagreb Jews who perished during the war were recorded and processed.

[257] Appendices 5.3.2, General Mario Roatta Commander of the Italian 2nd Army. 5.3.4, the Mayer of the city of Vares on behalf of their pharmacist. 5.3.6, the Head of the Army Slavko Kvaternik requested the release of Dr. Leon Adolf from concentration camp.

[258] HDA, RUR 252, Inv.# 27309 ZO # 383 4.vi.1941. List of all conversions including all Churches from 1877 through 1941. Grgec, Nada, interview December 29, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia stated that she was converted in 1942 yet the records of the Church show that there were no conversions after 1939. Dr. Mijo Selec the head priest of the Church signed this document. He concealed information from the Ustashe; for the rescue of hundreds he was awarded by Yad Vashem with the "Righteous Among the Nations" award. The record shows however that some of her relatives including one sister Danica Eugenija Shterk born 8.IV.1913 daughter of Samuel Shterk and Netti was christened on March 3, 1937 and was married to a Catholic Jurj Pucek-Razum.

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research in this area is essential in order to establish whether those who obtained special recommendations really fared so much better than those who survived by other means.

In 1943 after Himmler's visit with Pavelic in Zagreb, most of the "Honorary Aryans" and the "protected" Jews of Zagreb, including those who had special status—such as the Chief Rabbi of Zagreb, Dr. Freiberger, and the president of the Jewish Community Dr. Hugo Kon—were deported to Auschwitz. According to a Yugoslav government report, 1,500 survivors among the Jews were members of a highly assimilated group. Even more disappointing to the SS Intelligence Service was the discovery that a high percentage of the ruling clique, in Croatia, from the head of government, Pavelic, to the leader of the Army, Slavko Kvaternik, were married to Jewish women. Many Jewish women and to a lesser extend Jewish men involved in mixed marriages managed to survive due to the protection of the regime and the Catholic Church.[259]

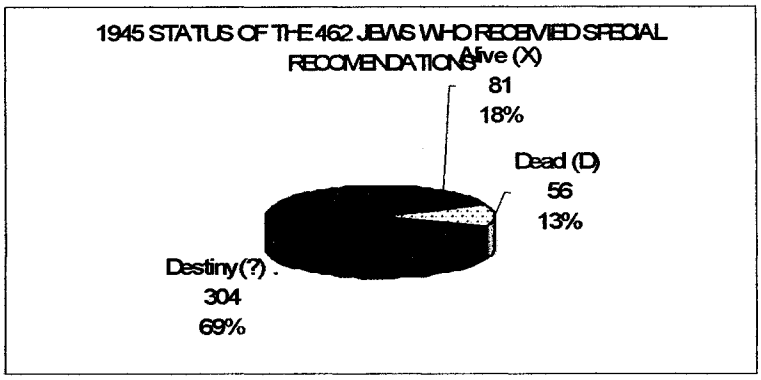
The chart below demonstrates that in this group of "protected Jews" the number of those whose destiny is unknown is relatively much higher than in any other category examined in this dissertation. One may assume that some of those that were "protected" received prior warnings of what was going to happened and seized an opportune moment and left the territory of NDH for countries in South and North America, Australia and New Zealand but never posted their whereabouts.

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[259] Arendt, Hannah, Eichmann in Jerusalem, The Ustashe's "Honorary Aryans." She argues that when considering the destruction of Croatia's Jewish Community and the manner in which assimilate Jews lingered on until it was too late for them to be saved.

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Chart 5.3.1



Section 5.4: 2,000+ Exit Visas were handed to the Jews of Zagreb

Although strict measures were introduced to dispossess the Jews of all their assets, the Ustashe soon recognized that these were insufficient measures since many Jews concealed their valuables. The Jews buried them, gave them to neighbors or relatives for safekeeping,[260] or concealed them inside their clothing. For example, even in the concentration camps after several searches, 20 million Kuna of valuables were seized.[261] Realizing the extent of liquid assets held by the Jews, the Ustashe began to target Jewish liquid assets including precious stones, gold coins, silver, jewelry, foreign

[260] Polic, Branko, interview, March 2 2003, Zagreb Croatia explained how they were expelled from their apartment. Before they departure they took some valuables to the neighbors who after the war faithfully returned back every single item. There were many such incidences.

[261] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/7 b1-45 carton # 749 records collated on Feb. 27, 1946.

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currency, and works of arts –any valuable possessions that could easily be hidden and transported out of the country.[262]

The Ustashe then began their requests for the so-called "voluntary contributions" from Jews particularly in the main cities in NDH. To make this task easy, the Ustashe first took hostages from among the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of each community.[263] The Zagreb Community was requested to collect for the government 1,000 Kg. of pure gold. Dido Kvaternik, chief of the Ustashe Office of Public Order and Security (Ravsigur), and the Ustashe Control Service (UNS) comprised of police units, intelligence services and the Ustashe Defense Forces, supervised and coordinated all the measures and activities against the Jews in Zagreb. Kvaternik's deputies and chief assistants were Ivan Britvic, Vilko Kuhnel, and Ivo Barakovic.[264] Barakovic was the first head of the Ustashe Control Service, the Jewish Division that was responsible for the "contributions." However, by June 1941, Vilko Kuhnel, a Croat citizen of German origin, a Volksdeutsche, replaced Barakovic. This section focuses on Vilko Kuhnel, who, in June 1941, was appointed as the head of the Ustashe Control Service (UNS) remain in this post to the end of the war.

Hinko Mann, a board member for the collection of the "voluntary contributions," was accused of dishonesty and possible collaboration with the enemy. After a lengthy

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[262] Steckel, Charles W, *Destruction and Survival*, Delmar Publishing Company, Inc, Los Angeles, 1973, p. 14. In Osijek as in Zagreb the wealthiest Jews were arrested and held hostages until the Osijek Community paid the requested 20 million Dinars. Charles Steckel, at that time was a Rabbi in Osijek. After the major transport in the summer of 1942, he and his family managed to escape NDH.

[263] Kolar-Dimitrijevic, Mira. "The Material Losses of the Jewish Population of Croatia during World War II, *Voice,* # 4, Zagreb, winter 2002/2003, 43-46.

[264] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, box 15, 3732-3733

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interrogation by the allies on September 20 1945, he was exonerated for the alleged crimes.[265] At that time, Mann decided to send a sworn written testimony to the National Commission for the Verification of Crimes.[266] In his twenty-page testimony, Mann tells the story of how he was invited by Julius Koenig, the owner of the factory "Union," to serve on the board of directors for the collection of "voluntary contributions." Mann, together with several hostages temporarily released from prison, held a meeting on the premises of Kreutzer Bank in Zagreb. The release of the hostages was conditional upon collecting within eight days, 1000 Kg of pure gold or its equivalent in other valuables.[267] Until the sum was collected, they would be held hostage, and the lives of Jews in Zagreb would be endangered. Each day, five members of the committee had to appear at the offices of UNS and give a detailed report of their progress.[268] The Ustashe warned the

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[265] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10. Apparently Hinko Mann was investigated in Bari by Capt. Lund from an American-British organization S.I.L.A. whose supervisor at the time was General Major Rice. During the investigation Mann was incarcerated from May 1 to 20 May 1944. He was interrogated and scores of witnesses were questioned. And eventually he was released without any charges made against him. His contention is that for all the good that he did for many citizens of Zagreb he never accepted gratitude but at the same time he did not expect "that his name would be dragged into the mud. With the testimony he gave the commission, he aimed to clear his name and also to set the record straight.

[266] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10, 1-20.

[267] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10, 3. For the purposes of evaluating the non-currency assets, the Jewish lawyers that were deported to the concentration came were released. Mann describes their release by explaining why were they needed stating: since people could bring various commodities and foreign currency they engaged professionals that HDA the know-how to assess the values of the items donated. For this purpose the board members attempted to release as many lawyers that were already in the concentration camps. Mann suggests that many of the lawyers who managed to survive owed their lives to the members of the "contribution committee"

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members of the board "to look at the example of Hungary where the Jews paid the amount requested and now lived an enjoyable life." Dr. Bruckner assumed the leadership for the organization of the work necessary for the collection of gold. The first meeting of the committee was fully dedicated to organizing the work and setting standards for recording donations to insure that nothing was missing. From the lists of Zagreb Jews, they assessed the amount of each collection, based on the value of the item and the estimated financial worth of the individual.[269] Although the collection of funds started in earnest, it soon became clear that it could not be completed within the designated eight days. Britvic permitted an additional eight days, which was then extended until the end of January 1942. Britvic realized that it was wiser to wait patiently and obtain the money than to eliminate hostages.[270] By June 1941, Vilko Kuhnel, a Croat citizen of German origin, a Volksdeutsche, replaced Barakovic. Vilko Kuhnel, as the newly appointed head of the Ustashe Control Service (UNS), was to play a major role in both the rescue of Jews as well in their annihilation.

Hinko Mann together with other Jewish board members, who were assigned the task of overseeing the execution of the so called "voluntary contributions," managed to establish a relationship with Vilko Kuhnel. The story told by Hinko Mann, for which he takes much personal credit, concerns the distribution of exit visas for Zagreb Jews

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[268] The members that went to UNS were Koenig, Merkler, Jelenic, Licht and Dr. Levi. Mann stated that every day, with great trepidation, they waited for the safe return of these five individuals.

[269] Hinko Mann testified that one of their fellow Jews was identified as an informer. He reported to the Ustashe authorities who had money and whose contribution was too low. The original amount of gold requested was 500 Kg. (The name of the informer was not included so as not to embarrass any possible surviving family members.)

[270] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10, Hinko Mann, 3-4.

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wishing to leave Zagreb to emigrate wherever they chose. In his ten-page testimony to the National Commission before the end of the war, Mann describes in great detail the precarious and difficult task of the Jewish board. On a daily basis, they were attacked, on the one side, by the Jewish leadership for pushing too hard in their demand for contributions and, on the other side, by the Ustashe who expected better results. The Ustashe threatened them with casualties, accusing them of not doing enough to make the collections. At the same time, many individual Jews tried to pay as little as possible while Britvic, who represented the Ustashe, informed Koenig, the head of the board, that twenty Jewish hostages per day would be imprisoned if the collection work was not expedited. Those who were selected as hostages were the most affluent Jews, and thus in the best position to make contributions.

In their efforts to alleviate the tension, the board contacted several of the Ustashe hierarchy, attempting to obtain information about the immediate plans of the Interior Ministry regarding the deportation of Jews. Efforts were also made by the board to pay various police agents to inform their "committee" of any up and coming deportations. According to Mann, the "contribution" board played a major role in saving many Jewish lives by disseminating the information obtained from those who had access to Ustashe plans.

Hinko Mann also reminded the "National Committee" that, as a rule, those Jews who wished to leave were unable to obtain legitimate passage out of NDH. When Jews applied for visas, they were often told that the "Ustashe Office of Public Order" had no authority to issue visas to Jews. Despite his awareness that visas were not granted, Dr. Laufer, the deputy of Koenig, and Hinko Mann paid a visit to Vilko Kuhnel, the Chief of

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Ustashe Control Service (UNS). The ostensible reason was to discuss the "contributions." Surprisingly, Mann relates, Kuhnel met them with a positive attitude; in passing, Mann asked Kuhnel to give his opinion on the harsh measures taken by the government against the Jews? Kuhnel responded: "I am in the first place a human being and then a lawyer. I think that with this statement I answered all."[271]

It was important for Mann to get to know Kuhnel and his general outlook on the fate of the Jews in NDH. During their second encounter, Kuhnel stated that all matters pertaining to Jews were in the hands of young (Dido) Kvaternik, the head of the entire department. Since the conversation was cordial, Mann suggested to Kuhnel that, as the head of the Jewish Section, he might be in a position to issue exit visas to Jews. Although Kuhnel was pretty certain that he had no such right, he was willing to try. As a test, Kuhnel sent one of his assistants to the Travel Division to ask for travel forms. Should the Travel Division give his assistant the forms, it would mean that Kuhnel had the authority to issue travel visas. Kuhnel accepted this idea and in fact obtained the necessary forms. The Jewish Section of the UNS began to distribute exit permits stamped with their own seal. Since this aroused suspicion, Kuhnel then issued permits without indicating the office in charge. Mann claims that, in this manner, over 2,000 Zagreb Jews received permits to leave Zagreb and the territories under NDH.[272]

In each subsequent meeting, Mann attempted to point out to Kuhnel the sorrowful state of the Jews. Though Kuhnel claimed his hands were tied and he was powerless to

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[271] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10, testimony given by Hinko Mann on September 20, 1945 immediately upon the end of World War II.

[272] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10 Hinko Mann, 5. In fact Hinko Mann wanted the Zagreb Jews to know that he was the initiator of this idea and that he was instrumental in making possible their exit from Zagreb.

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change the situation, he was probably the only NDH official, according to Mann, who took it upon himself to give real assistance. Mann also testified that after consultation with Jews, Kuhnel was instrumental in closing the Kruscica concentration camp. Kuhnel was also responsible for transferring the upkeep of the Jews in concentration camps from the Ustashe authorities to the Jewish Communities. While it seemed a heavy burden, Kuhnel was certain that if the Jews were responsible for their own people, the food and care would be far better than that provided by the Ustashe commanders in camps. Furthermore, Kuhnel frequently notified the "contribution" board members about the up and coming round ups of Jews.[273] Hinko Mann also testified that, throughout the period they worked together, Kuhnel willingly helped without ever asking for payment or personal gain. Mann was surprised when he learned from others that Kuhnel had asked to be paid.[274]

From the outset, Hinko Mann, stated that he had no intention of either judging or characterizing Kuhnel's conduct on behalf of the Jews. However, Mann wished to objectively describe Kuhnel's actions without making any value judgment as to Kuhnel's contribution to the rescue of the Jews.[275] During our interview, Branko Polic described how he and his parents, as well as many other Zagreb Jews, seized the moment and managed to escape to the Italian Zone with the exit visas provided by Kuhnel.[276]

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[273] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10 Hinko Mann, 8.

[274] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, box 10 Hinko Mann, 9.

[275] Goldstein Ivo and Goldstein Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 158. The authors argue that Hinko Mann exaggerated the number of exit visas given to Jews by Kuhnel, but the authors fail to provide any evidence to substentiate their claim.

[276] Polic Branko, interview, February 22 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

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Branko Polic's testimony also states that his parents recognized that their conversion to Catholicism would not help them survive; they did however recognize that the only chance of survival they had was to leave Zagreb. Branko Polic's testimony also corroborated the testimony of Mann who mentioned Arthur Polic (Branko's father) who did not pay his contribution yet received exit visas for himself and his family. It appears that among those who paid their contributions, not many desired to leave Zagreb. Since many visas were issued, the authorities began to distribute them to those wishing to leave. In the context of Vilko Kuhnel's activities on behalf of the Jews, Yehuda Bauer, an Israeli historian stated:

> Jewish matters soon came under the Jewish section of the Ustasha security service, headed by Vilko Kuhnel, who was half German and half Croatian. Though he at all times carried out the anti-Jewish orders he received, Kuhnel, nevertheless developed a human relationship with the Jewish leaders and slowly came round to try to protect the Jewish community rather than harass it. ....Rosenberg, a Jewish activist, managed to convince Kuhnel that he should establish another camp at Lobor-grad, an abandoned castle, which would come under the administration of the Jewish community rather than under the Ustasha. Eventually 1,600 women and children, among them 300-350 Serbs who were also persecuted under the Pavelic regime, were sent to Labor-grad, but they were put under a guard of Croatian ethnic Germans. Still, the Germans could be bribed, and there was little physical maltreatment. From October, 1941, the community cared for these women and children although a typhoid epidemic killed 150.[277]

It also appears that Kuhnel's contacts with the Jews and possibly with the Serbs led some of the Ustashe to propose his removal from his post. In a secret letter (Tajno) written on February 25 1943, it was stated that the head of the Office for Law and Order, Dr. Crvenkovic, who replaced Dido Kvaternik, planned to initiate proceedings to replace

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[277] HDA, 1549 ZiG NDH, Box. 62, Vilko Kuhnel. See also Bauer, Yehuda, *American Jewry and the Holocaust, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939 –1945*, 280-281.

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Dr. Kuhnel "as incompetent because he possessed too many connections, including connections with Germany." The German authorities waited to see what the Ustashe intended to do with him?" From the letter found in Hans Helms files, it appears that Kuhnel must have been useful to the Germans; otherwise they would not have cared if he had been removed from his post.[278]

In summary, it can be said that individuals like Kuhnel, officials who performed dual roles in the drama of World War II, vacillated between universal values of humanity and decency, on one hand, and the desire for power and greed on the other. Their fear of punishment by their superiors drove some of them to commit heinous crimes but their second nature also made them give humanitarian help. Vilko Kuhnel exhibited all these traits. Thus, when the war ended he could no longer face reality; he committed suicide.

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[278] HDA, SDSI, Dr. 316342, file Kuhnel (source Hans Helm).

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CHAPTER SIX

THE RESCUE BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, INDIVIDUALS AND HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Section 6.1: Archbishop Stepinac

Assistance to Jews

> When you encounter Jews or Serbs that come to you because their very lives are threatened and desire conversion to Catholicism, accept them in order to rescue human lives. Do not request from them any particular knowledge of our religion; the Serbs are baptized and are Christians like us, and Judaism is a religion from which Christianity draws its roots. It is the role and task of Christians in the first place to save people. When this period of beastly conduct and craze passes on, in our Church will remain those who truly converted, while the others will return to their own.[1]

The number of letters and sermons written and delivered by Archbishop Dr. Alojzije Stepinac is far too great to be discussed in this dissertation.[2] However, for those interested in exploring the subject further, many books have been written about the Archbishop by the representatives of the Catholic Church, by historians from both Croat and Serb perspectives and by journalists. Opinions of the Archbishop are contradictory. In 1998, Pope John Paul II beatified Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac in Marija Bistrica, a village near Zagreb, where the Archbishop used to pray. Ivan Mestrovic, a prolific artist

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[1] Despot, Zvonimir, "Zupnik Koji Je Spasavo Zidove je Mijo Selec", *Vjesnik Vecerni List, 10.6. 1997.*

[2] HDA, Ivo Politeo, Alojzije Stepinac File, See also in Kristo Jure, *Katolicka Crkva I Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska, 1941-1945, Dokumenti*, Hrvatski Institute za Povijest Dom I Svjet, Zagreb, 1998. See also "Fontes, izvori za Hrvatsku Povjest" issued by the National Croatian Archives (HDA), Fontes, Zagreb 2/1996.

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who has created many works of art dedicated to the history of Croatia, also sculpted a statue of the dead Cardinal resting in the main Cathedral in Zagreb. His dedication reads:

> .... The head of that suffering Church is Cardinal Stepinac, my compatriot, my dear friend, of whom Croats and I are proud. I am sure that our feelings are shared not only by all the Catholics throughout the world but also by all men of goodwill everywhere who cherish freedom of spirit... [3]

In contrast to the Croat perspective, in 1946 the Yugoslav Communist regime of Tito charged and tried the Archbishop of Zagreb for crimes committed against the people of the region. To this day, both Serbs and the Orthodox Church consider him "evil." One of the main accusations is that, while he was the head of the church in Zagreb, he did not do enough for those persecuted by the Ustashe regime.[4] In many instances, the Serb literature portrays the Archbishop as responsible for crimes committed against the Serbs.

The following research is based on documents that show the extent of the activities of Archbishop Stepinac; these include a vast correspondence between him and various government and private entities, sections of the sermons he delivered in the Cathedral of Zagreb and other locations, and several circulars and articles about him that appeared in the local and international media.[5] My research also covers recorded testimonies presented to the National Commission for Verification of Crimes, recent

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[3] Mestrovic, Ivan, New Religious Art, 1954.

[4] Appendix 6.1.13: Regarding the execution of Serbs in the village of Glina one of the main accusation against Stepinac and to whom some attributed the very act of the murder.

[5] BBC radio broadcast from London on July 8, 1942, BBC radio broadcast from London July 7, 1943. On the same date Radio New York, in Serbo-Croatian language, radio broadcast "Slobodna Jugoslavia (free Yugoslavia) was heard. The New York Times, October 15, 1946 had an article about the boldness expressed by the Archbishop during his sermon in the Cathedral of Zagreb.

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interviews with survivors by the "Shoah Foundation," and the personal interviews I conducted in Zagreb, Sarajevo and in Israel.[6] But before examining Stepinac's activities during the years 1941 to 1945, it seems important to give a short biographical sketch of the Archbishop.

Alojzije Stepinac was born on May 8, 1898 in the village of Brezarice in Croatia to Josip and Barbara. He was one of eleven children, three from his father's first marriage. Like many other families in Croatia, the Stepinac family existed on farming, life was marked by toil and prayers. In 1906, the family relocated to the village called Krasic, not far from Zagreb. Shortly after his graduation from high school in June 1916, Stepinac was drafted to fight in World War I as an Austrian officer on the Italian front where he was captured and taken prisoner of war in Italy. In 1919, he enrolled in the Faculty of Agronomy at the University of Zagreb. Dissatisfied with school, he returned to farming at home where, in addition to work, he became involved in the activities of the Catholic youth. At that time, he still contemplated a life of marriage and family.[7]

During the period that he stayed at home, his mother Barbara, together with a Jesuit priest and a former teacher, who had been his mentor from high school days, slowly guided Stepinac towards the priesthood. Despite reservations, in October 1924 he made the decision to become a priest. Recognizing his capabilities and devotion to the Church, the then Archbishop of Zagreb, Antun Bauer, sent Alojzije Stepinac to Rome.

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[6] In the years 2002 and 2003 I interviewed over 60 individuals who survived the war; among them approximately 50 percent mentioned favorably the conduct of the Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac.

[7] Znidarcic, Lav, Alojzije Stepinac, O stotoj godisnici rodenja, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 1998, 11-20.

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From 1924 to 1931, Stepinac studied at the Pontifical Gregoriana University where he completed his Doctorate in Philosophy and Theology. He was ordained as a priest on October 26 1930.

After the ordination, Stepinac's great wish was to serve the ordinary people. Stepinac wanted to be a parish priest. However, Archbishop Bauer brought him to his curia and engaged him as a master of Ceremonies working in the Archdiocesan Chancellery. Since his thoughts and concerns remained with ordinary people, Stepinac established the first Zagreb Archdiocesan Caritas just before Christmas 1931. In 1934, Stepinac initiated and edited the Caritas magazine where he emphasized that, because of the harsh economic times, all those with means should help the poorer members of the society.[8] On May 29 1934, Pope Pius XI nominated Alojzije Stepinac as the Archbishop's Coadjutor, granting him also the right to succession. At the age of 37, Stepinac became the youngest bishop in the world. Archbishop Bauer assigned his coadjutor many tasks and responsibilities. For three years, Stepinac traveled around the country, establishing good relationships with the local people. On December 1937, Archbishop Bauer died and the inexperienced Bishop Alojzije Stepinac took over direct administration of the Zagreb Archdiocese.[9]

On April 10 1941, the new Independent State of Croatia emerged, a dream come true for all Croatian People, including the Archbishop, who had yearned for a free and independent Croatia. But by May 1941, Stepinac already chose not to join Pavelic on two

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[8] Op. cit, 25.

[9] Alexander, Stella, *The Triple Myth—A Life of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac,* East European Monograph, Boulder, Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1987, 18-22.

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diplomatic missions: one, to visit the Duke of Spoleto and, two, to seek official recognition of the Independent State of Croatia from the Holy See. The Vatican was cautious; it had pre-existing diplomatic relations with the Yugoslav government in exile. Despite pressure from the Italian government to receive Pavelic and his suite at a special audience, Cardinal Maglione, Vatican's Secretary of State, and the Holy See were careful not to be manipulated into the official recognition the new Croat State. On May 18, 1941, Pavelic was informed that he would given an audience as a private individual, "without publicity". His delegation was invited to attend a public audience as ordinary members of the faithful. The whole experience was demeaning. Nevertheless, Ante Pavelic put pressure on the Catholic Church in Zagreb and on Archbishop Stepinac to write to Pope Pius XII, via Cardinal Maglione, with a request for the official recognition of the Independent State of Croatia. On July 11 1941, Stepinac received this response from the Vatican: Cardinal Maglione informed Archbishop Stepinac that the Holy See had a long standing rule that a new state that was formed during wartime could not be officially recognized by the Holy See while war continued. After peace between warring nations was achieved and the world community had declared a new state to be a legitimate entity, the Holy See would grant recognition of that state.[10]

The unwillingness of the Vatican to bend the rules on behalf of NDH so as to give the new regime official recognition was a setback for the new Ustashe state. The

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[10] Kristo, Jure, *Katolicka Crkva I Neavisna Drezava Hrvatska, 1941-1945, Dokumenti,* No. 59, 73. See also Krizman, Bogdan: *Pavelic izmedju Hitlera i Mussolinija,* 140. Pavelic was aware of Stepinac's negative attitude towards the Ustashe. He explained to Ribbentrop,Germany's Foreign Minister, on June 6, 1941 that the lower clergy supported the Ustashe, ut that the higher clergy and in particular, Archbishop Stepinac were opposed to the movement not because of their pro-Serb sentiments but because of Vatican international policy.

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relationship between Pavelic and Archbishop Stepinac was tense on several accounts: first, the Archbishop did not participate in the welcome extended to Pavelic at the Zagreb railroad station on April 13 1941; second, no "Te Deum" was sung at the cathedral on the occasion of Pavelic's birthday. The animosity between the two was also recognized in Pavelic's conduct; he attended services at the Zagreb Cathedral only once in four years, and, even on that occasion, he was not greeted at the entrance by Stepinac. Another issue of contention was Stepinac's active discouragement of the clergy from joining the Ustashe movement. Stepinac stated that to join was a political act and contrary to the tradition that maintained neutrality.[11]

Based on archival documents and oral testimonies given by both rescuers and rescued, it is clear that, during World War II, the Archbishop of Zagreb, Dr. Alojzije Stepinac, rescued hundreds of Jews.[12] He achieved this through direct action and instructions to clergymen, and, more indirectly through his sermons in which he vigorously condemned the implementation of Racial Laws. In a conversation with me, Major General Dr. Stjepan Steiner spoke very highly of two extraordinary Croatian individuals who rescued a large number of Jews during the war. He referred to both Archbishop Stepinac and Dr. Ante Vuletic. According to Dr. Steiner, Stepinac saved

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[11] Pattee, Richard, *The Case of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac*, The Bruce Publishing Company Milwaukee, 1953, 79, 83.

[12] Kristo, Jure, *Katolicka Crkva I Neavisna Drezava Hrvatska, 1941-1945, Dokumenti,* Document 287, 298. Cardinal Maglione to the Apostolic Visitor Marcone: Request for intervention on behalf of 400 Jews that were up to now, June 1943, under the direct protection of Archbishop Stepinac but now were to be sent to concentration camps. See also Boban Lj. Kontroverze, Zagreb 1987, 431. Konzul K. u Jerzalemu deportacija zidova u Polsku refers also to the 400 Jews who were under the direct protection of Archbishop Stepinac.

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more than 400 lives and Vuletic also rescued several hundred Jewish physicians and their families.[13]

Dr. Steiner also alluded to the fact that Archbishop Stepinac's life was often in danger because of his subversive actions against Nazi Germany and the hard core Ustashe. In this regard, Steiner recalled an incident when, after the end of the war, he asked Dr. Duic why he had joined the syphilis expedition in Bosnia, in 1943, at such a late date? Dr. Steiner knew that Dr. Duic was a convert to Catholicism and had also been protected by Archbishop Stepinac, Dr. Duic told him that, in 1943, Archbishop Stepinac approached all those that were protected under his umbrella and asked them to leave Zagreb as soon as possible since his own life was in danger. The Archbishop, who was named "protector of Jews" and one who preached against the Racial Laws, was aware that his days were numbered; and he did not want the lives of those under his care to be compromised.[14]

In an interview, Olga Rajsek Neumann described how she became a rescuer. One day, she received a letter of request from her fiancé, who was serving as a prisoner of war in Germany, to go to a small village in Slavonia and collect his nephew, Danko Shtockhammer, and care for him until one of his parents returned. Danko needed special care because, at the tender age of eight, he had already experienced two concentration camps. Danko, his mother, and grandmother had been captured and sent

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[13] Steiner, Dr. Stjepan, Interview December 16 2002, Zagreb, Croatia. From the data it appears that Archbishop Stepinac must have saved many more than the 400 Jews mentioned by Dr. Steiner.

[14] HDA, Ivo Politeo, Stepinac, file prepared for Yad Vashem. Archbishop Stepinac advised all those that were under his protection to leave Zagreb since his own existence was in question.

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first to Stara Gradishka; shortly thereafter, they were transferred to the concentration camp in Djakovo.

Danko's grandfather, who lived in Pakrac, Slavonia, had heard about the opportunities that existed in Djakovo where children were "sneaked" out of the camp. He sent their Christian maid to Djakovo to visit his daughter and wife with the intention of rescuing his grandson. After a change of guard, the maid walked out holding Danko's hand, and no questions were asked. After this success, the maid knew that once Danko's grandfather realized how easy it was to enter Djakovo, he would not hesitate to leave everything behind, to visit his wife and daughter; but he was captured and sent to Jasenovac. Danko, the eight-year-old boy, remained alone with the local maid until Olga, his Christian aunt to be (she later married his father's brother), came to pick him up and brought him back to her home in Zagreb.[15]

However, a neighbor reported to the Ustashe that Olga Rajsek was sheltering a Jewish child. On April 12 1943, Danko was caught for the third time and sent to the large detention center on Savska Street in Zagreb. Not knowing what to do, Olga ran to her parish priest and told him what had happened; the priest reassured her that Archbishop Stepinac would come to their aid. The priest told her that, by the time she reached home, the boy would be waiting for her. Although Danko remained in Olga's care, for reasons of safety she placed him in a Catholic orphanage where he stayed until the end of the war in 1945.[16] Dr. Teodor Gruner told me that his father, Bernard Gruner,

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[15] Neumann-Rajsek, Olga, interview, December 26 2002, Zagreb Croatia. Danko Stockhammer gave a sworn testimony on behalf of Olga Neumann in 1998 after a long period of waiting; in April 2004 she was added to the list of the "Righteous Among the Nations" award.

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the chief Cantor of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, was taken to the detention center in Zagreb which served as an assembly and sorting center before deportations to concentration camps. Word was sent to Dr. Stepinac about the imprisonment of the Jewish Cantor; a short time thereafter, Bernard Gruner was freed.[17]

Dr. Amiel Shomrony, who was called Emil Schwarz at the time, currently lives in Israel. He was eager to tell me everything he knew about the Archbishop both because of his own experience and with the hope that somebody might listen. During World War II, Emil Schwarz was the personal secretary to the Chief Rabbi of Zagreb, Dr. Miroslav Shalom Freiberger. Since Emil's father had special protection, even as late as 1943, he was free to roam the streets of Zagreb without having to wear the Jewish identification tag. While on an errand for the Rabbi, he went to the Archdiocese, there he was informed that, in the following few days, there would be new roundups of Jews. He was also told that the Archbishop invited the Rabbi, his wife Irena, his parents and his sister, Ljubica, to stay in his palace in the Archdiocese of Zagreb.[18]

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[16] Appendix 6.1.3: testimonies of Dan Baram Jerusalem and Ljudevit Stein two out of over 60 written testimonies written to Yad Vashem in an effort to proclaim Archbishop Stepinac as one of the "Righteous Among the Nations." HDA File: Cardinal Stepinac prepared for Yad Vashem. Among those who wrote on behalf of the Archbishop are Dr. Danko Shtockhammer and his wife Lea Kon Shtockhammer who were rescued by Archbishop Stepinac. Today Dr. Danko Shtockhammer and his wife are American citizens residing in Chicago. All were rescued from deportations and certain death.

[17] Gruner, Dr. Teodor, interview, 14.01.2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

[18] Shomrony, Amiel, "Prenosimo 'Glas koncila" 21 travnja 1996. Razgovor s Dr. Amielom Shomroniyem." *Bilten* 44-45, June 1996. In an interview with the journalist the Voice of the Church (*Glas koncila*) Amiel Shomrony was asked: "if Archbishop Stepinac helped so many Jews, why, then, have such a small number of Jews spoken on his behalf? Shomrony answered: the Jews are neither united nor do they hold one opinion neither in their own country nor in the world. "I, for example, never favored the Communist regime, this is one of the reasons that I never chose to return to Zagreb, yet many Jews favored Communism."

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Emil Schwarz delivered the message from Archbishop Stepinac to Rabbi Freiberger. When Rabbi Freiberger heard that the plan of deportation included all the Jews of Zagreb, he declined Stepinac's offer, choosing instead to be deported with his congregation. However, the Rabbi wanted to know if he could send his library for safekeeping in the Archdiocese. Emil Schwarz stated clearly that the library was saved and that Dr. Stepinac assisted and rescued many Jews; he and his conduct also served as a role model for many other clerics as well as his own parishioners.[19]

The testimony of Amiel Shomrony, Emil Schwartz, is not alone in emphasizing the close working relationship that existed between the Archbishop and the Jewish Community. The letters of the Chief Rabbi of Croatia, Dr. Miroslav Shalom Freiberger, attest to their positive relationship. The Rabbi frequently turned to the Church for assistance; on July 4 1942, the Chief Rabbi wrote a letter of thanks to Pius XII. The Rabbi indicated that the remaining Jews had lost almost all hope, and had no more energy to fight the daily hardships: they placed their destiny in the hands of God who had saved Israel for 2,000 years. The Rabbi ended his letter to Pius XII by saying that he would like to confirm his eternal gratitude.[20] On December 15 1942, the Rabbi, through the Apostolic Visitor to Croatia, Monsignor Giuseppe Ramiro Marcone, asked the Holy See for help in transferring 50 to 60 orphan children from Zagreb to any of the three places Florence, Livorno, and Padua.[21] Another letter from the Rabbi asked the

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[19] Shomrony, Dr. Amiel (Emil Schwarz), Interview 3.10.2003, near Tel-Aviv, Israel.

[20] Kristo, Jure, *Katolicka Crkva I Neavisna Drezava Hrvatska, 1941-1945, Dokumenti,* Document 198, 209, Title: Recognition for the deeds that the representatives of the Holy See and the bishops on behalf of the Jews.

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Archbishop to speak on the behalf of 200 Jewish orphan boys aged 7-17 who needed to be evacuated to Italy. On January 9 1942, the Archbishop sent a letter to Cardinal Maglione asking for his assistance and intervention in sending 200 boys to the Jewish community in Florence—or to any other community that would care for them and enable them to attend regular school.[22] Archbishop Stepinac also wrote to the Minister of the Interior Andrija Artukovic, with the following request:

> On the request of the Jewish Community in Zagreb dated April 13 1942 which I personally delivered to the office of the Minster a permit #2550-I-A-1942 dated April 15 1942 a request for the relocation of 50 Jewish children to Turkey. Out of the 50 children, 11 children were relocated to Turkey. The current request pertains to the extension of the original permit to include the balance of 38 children who are mostly orphans.[23]

On April 8, 1943, Archbishop Stepinac arranged work permits for the Jewish Community in Zagreb. He wrote a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Andrija Artukovic:

> Mr. Minister: I feel free to present to you a request from the Jewish Community in Zagreb, in which they are asking you to free some of their workers from detention so as to resume work for the welfare of those who are still left in freedom. Their request is enclosed. I beg of you, Mr. Minister, that you go towards them and give instruction to your people to free some of these workers. I am thankful to you for all you have done and for the things that you would do so that the ethical and Christian character of our people may be saved. Respectfully: Dr. Alojzije Stepinac.[24]

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[21] Ibid, Document 231, 242. An answer was received that the Minister of Interior did not approve the relocation of the children from Zagreb to Italy.

[22] Appendix 6.1.5. See also, Kristo Jure, Document 112, 136, Archbishop Stepinac to Cardinal Maglione: Request for intervention on behalf of 200 Jewish orphans."

[23] Appendix 6.1.19, Archbishop writes on behalf of the Jewish Community, HDA, Ivo Politeo, 1188.

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On December 6 1943, the German authorities in Zagreb entered the home for the Jewish elderly "Lavoslav Schwarz," and ordered the residents to vacate the building within ten days. The Nazis warned them that if they remained in the building, they would be deported to Auschwitz. At the request of the Jewish community in Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac organized the transfer of all the elderly, about 60 people, to the archbishopric's building in Brezovica near Zagreb.[25] The former residents of Lavoslav Schwartz lived for four years, from 1943-1947, on Church property in Brezovica where the Archbishop became one of their frequent visitors.[26] During their four-year stay, 1943 to 1947, the elderly received regular financial assistance from a humanitarian organization in Switzerland. Archbishop Stepinac cared for them and attended to their needs. Because of the protection of the Church, only five residents died from natural causes.[27]

Another incident involving the Archbishop took place on October 16, 1944. After the capitulation of Italy, the Jews from the Italian concentration camp in Rab were

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[24] Appendix 6.1.10: HDA, Ivo Politeo, subject A. Stepinac, 1175. Also: Skalic-Stambuk, M., Kolanvic, J., Razum, J., (ed.) *Proces Alojziju Stepincu, Dokumenti,* Krscanska Sadasnjost, Zagreb, 1997, 64. Document 62. 23.3.

[25] Appendix 6.1.8, letter from the Chief Rabbi of Croatia requesting assistance from the Archbishop in relocating the approximatly 60 Jewish elderly. HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/45-2, box 10, Zapisnik Zagreb, Br. 1771, the document was written June 9 1945, 9.

[26] Goldstein, Slavko Interview with *Globus* magazine, 23 July 1991.

[27] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/45-2, box 10, Zapisnik Zagreb, Br. 1771, testimony given by Josipa Shulhof on June 9 1945, 2-21. On page 11 Josipa Shulhof testifed that when a demand to vacate the the home for the elderly came in their desperation the Jewish Community turned to Archbishop Stepinac who immediately agreed to provide a building and a permison to renovate it so as to accomodate 58 elderly.

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transferred to the Partisan freed territories in Croatia. During the course of liberation, there were many skirmishes with German and Ustashe forces. In one of these incidents, the Ustashe captured two groups of Jews; one group numbered 130 people, and a second 180. Only two individuals managed to escape: Jakica Gaon and Moric Katan, both from Sarajevo. Both reached Zagreb and found employment in the Jewish Community. Despite warnings to be careful when leaving the premises of the Jewish Community, one of them was recognized by an Ustasha who originally had been responsible for their capture. An Ustashe officer, named Ceko, and his agents then entered the premises of the Jewish Community and arrested eight people. Dr. Robert Gluckstha1, the official representative of the Jewish Community, was one of those arrested. Although six of the captives were killed, Gluckstha1 and Asher Kisickog were released due to the intervention of the representatives of the International Red Cross and the Archbishop of Zagreb.[28]

Dr. Amiel Shomrony, formerly Emil Schwarz, recalls the sermon given by Archbishop Stepinac on October 1941 in Zagreb Cathedral, shortly after the destruction of the main synagogue in Zagreb. The Archbishop stated:

> A House of God, of whatever religion, is a holy place. Whoever touches such a place will pay with his life. An attack on a House of God of any religion constitutes an attack on all religious communities.[29]

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[28] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, Box 10, Zapisnik, Zagreb June 9 1945, 14.

[29] HDA, file of Dr. Stepinac, all Shomrony's testimonies are available. He volunteered to come to Zagreb in 1946 during the trial conducted against the Archbishop, in which he was accused of committing crimes against the people. Dr. Shomrony was urged not to come because most likely the Communist government would capture him. Shomrony filed a petition to award "The Righteous Among the Nations" to Archbishop Stepinac.

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In his testimony given in 1944 to the National Commission for the Verification of Crimes committed against the Jews, Srechko Bujas told the Commission about the relationship between Rabbi Freiberger and Archbishop Stepinac:

> Whenever I visited the Jewish Community in Zagreb, I met the chief Rabbi, Dr. Freiberger and the President, Dr. Hugo Kon, and presented to them the current situation of the Jews of Sarajevo. At those meetings, I heard both of them give great praises to the manly and heroic stand of the Archbishop of Zagreb and the Kaptol and the help and assistance provided by the nuns in this period of the deportation of Jews. In the Jewish Community, we read many uplifting sermons.[30]

The files of Hans Helm, the German attaché in Zagreb, demonstrate that Archbishop Stepinac was often identified as a "traitor" by the Nazis and the extreme Ustashe.[31]

From the testimonies given by Hinko Mann to the National Commission in 1945, as well as of Amiel Shomrony and other survivors, it is clear that the Archbishop was called to act on behalf of the Jews in the concentration camps on many occasions; he always responded favorably but, very often, his interventions were unsuccessful since he was considered a "Jew lover" by the regime. Obviously, the regime had no interest in assisting him, particularly when the cause involved helping the Jews. Stepinac's efforts were often unanswered because of the conflict of interest between his requests and the goals of the Ustashe and the Gestapo.[32]

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[30] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, Box 10, Srechko Bujas, Sarajevo 27 February, 1945, 243 (40)

[31] Appendices 6.1.11, 6.1.12, 6.1.14: See also HDA, Hans Helm File, 2 documents sent to Berlin informing the authorities that the life of the Archbishop was in danger.

[32] HDA, OP Politeo, 356. See also Shelah, Menahem, ed., *Holocaust in Yugoslavia*, Yad Vashem Jerusalem, 1999, 292-293. (Source Saint-Siege, VIII, 409)

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Every year, the bishops of Croatia gathered in Zagreb for a meeting. The objective was to deal with any pressing issues and to arrive at a set of resolutions that would help solve any mounting problems. Two resolutions concerned the situation of converted Jews: one, the bishops requested that the NDH government give all the Jews who had converted to Catholicism and their family members, all the rights and privileges granted to Croatian citizens (at that time there were thousands of converts); two, the bishops asked that Jewish assets be protected.[33]

On July 7 and on November 16, 1942, the voice of the Serbian Royal family in London was broadcast on the BBC. Speaking in the Serbian language, the royal family expressed their disappointment with the conduct of Archbishop Stepinac, arguing that he had taken a weak stand against the forces of occupation and the Ustashe. The broadcaster stated that Stepinac had not even listened to the voice of the Vatican and that Stepinac stood for the victory of Fascism and Nazism.[34]

On July 7, 1943 another broadcast was made on Radio BBC London in the Croatian language:

> Yesterday the Vatican published two excerpts from speeches delivered by Dr. Stepinac to his parishioners. The Archbishop of Zagreb has strongly and sharply condemned the deportations of Jews and other ethnic groups that were

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[33] HDA, Ivo Politeo, Rezolucija Hrvatske biskupe konferencije of Zidovima, Vrhovni Sud NRH stup 6/1946, 863.

[34] Boban, Ljubo, Hrvatska u diplomatskim izvjestajima izbjeglicke vlade, 1941-1943, knj. Globus, Zagreb, 1996, 29-30, and 30-31.

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> based on earlier Nazi theories and Nuremberg Laws. The Vatican radio announces that Archbishop Stepinac, in his weekly address, stated that every people and every race on earth has a right to exist and to human treatment. If God gave this right to mankind there is no government on earth that can take it away...[35]

When the NDH ordered that everyone should act according to the Nuremberg Laws, Stepinac declared that when a crime was proven, the perpetrator must be brought in front of a court of law. He also preached that nobody had the right to dissolve the sacredness of marriage conducted in the Church. No human authority could pillage or restrict the right of matrimonial union. The Archbishop gave this sermon on March 3 1943 after the Ustashe regime had ordered the imposition of the Nuremberg Laws on all Jews in NDH. Radio Vatican portrayed the Archbishop as a resolute soldier advocating moral justice and freedom.

Words of thanks and gratitude from all parts of the world were delivered to Archbishop Stepinac by the United States via the New York Times on October 15, 1946. The British Broadcasting Corporation, in at least four news broadcasts in Serbo-Croatian addressed to listeners in Yugoslavia, made direct reference to the archbishop's sermons. Not only did the BBC utilize these statements to the full, the Vatican Radio Station also reproduced them. Stepinac's work was acknowledged by Evelyn Waugh.[36]

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[35] Radio New York, 6.1.15: the talk that made the Ustashe angry. See also HDA, MUP RH, I-25, 426-428.

[36] Appendix 6.1.2. See also HDA, MUP RH, I-25, 426-428.

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Stepinac's Correspondence

As early as 1936, Dr. Stepinac supported those Jewish refugees who were fleeing Nazi Germany and Austria. As a young Archbishop, in 1938, Stepinac founded "Action for help to refugees." Stepinac sent a fundraising request to 298 eminent Croats asking for help on behalf of the refugees who were predominantly Jewish. The letter read:

> Dear Sir,
>
> Due to violent and inhuman persecution, a large number of people have had to leave their homeland. Left without means for normal life, they wander throughout the world... Every day, a large number of emigrants contact us asking for intervention, for help in money and goods. It is our Christian duty to help them... I am free to address You (capital you), as a member of our Church, to ask for support for our fund in favor of emigrants. I ask You to write Your free monthly allotment on the enclosed leaflet."[37] Signature: Alojzije Stepinac, the Zagreb Archbishop.[38]

On January 11 1939, Stepinac sent a fund-raising letter to his parishioners, similar to the one quoted above. He informed them that, every day, masses of new refugees from Europe were flocking to the church with requests for help. In his letter, Alojzije Stepinac emphasized the Christian duty to assist those in need.

Archbishop Stepinac's relationships with the Jews bore him the title 'judenfreundlich', "Jew lover:"

> "Archbishop Stepinac [of Croatia] and his entourage are 'judenfreundlich' [friendly to the Jews], and therefore enemies of National Socialism. The same Archbishop had been the protector of Jewish émigrés under the Yugoslav regime, although he paid no attention to the misery of his own

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[37] HDA, Source: Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum, Copia Publica Trans. Proc. S. Virt. et Mart. In the Kaptol Archive it is designated as; CP, Arhiv Postulature, Kaptol 31, Zagreb, sv. CVIII, str. 3140 (preslik).

[38] Appendix 6.1.0.

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> people. ... In August of 1942 at the Vlaska Church in Zagreb, a priest named Pietker preached among other things this: the Jews are the chosen people and have remained so to this very day. There is no other leader than God who has chosen the Jews."[39]

On May 22, 1941, the Archbishop wrote to the Minister of Internal Andrija Affairs, Artukovic, regarding the interpretation of the anti-Semitic legislation:

> ...But to take away all possibility of existence from members of another nation or race and to mark them with the stamp of shame is already a question of humanity and of morals. And moral laws have application not only to the lives of individuals but also to those who rule the states. In these days, general morality does not brand as ill-reputed those criminals who have been released from prisons and who have been sentenced as murderers.....Why treat in this way those who are members of another race through no fault of their own? Furthermore, it is necessary to take into account the fact that, as a result of these measures, the instinct of revenge and the so-called "Minderwertigkeitskomplex" (inferiority complex) will become well developed, especially among the youth who are now growing up and who will be affected by these measures. Do we have the right to commit on this outrage to the human personality?...I ask you, Mr. Minister, to give appropriate orders so that the Jewish laws and others similar to them (the measures against the Serbs) are executed in such a way that the human dignity and personality of every man is respected.[40]

In another letter, written in July and in September 1941, Archbishop Stepinac protested to Pavelic:

> As an Archbishop and representative of the Catholic Church, I am free to call your attention to some events that touch me painfully. I am sure hardly anyone has the courage to point to them, so it is my duty to do so. I hear from many various sides about the inhuman and cruel treatment of non-Aryans... [41]

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[39]Steinberg, Jonathan, *All or Nothing, The Axis and the Holocaust 1941-1943*, Rutledge Taylor and Francis Group, New York, 1990, pp.80 Based on BAMA RH 31 III/12'bev. dt Gen Agram', Fliegennajor, Josef Donegani to Glaise October 7 1942.

[40] Appendix 6.1.1 a personal letter sent from the Archbishop of Zagreb to the Minister of Internal Affairs. HDA, Ivo Politeo Stepinac file, letter written to Artukovic on May 22, 8. A copy of the original letter found in the Archives of the Archbishopric # 30168. OMOT 12, 21- 22. Also in Optuznica Pavelic-Artukovic box 118.

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On March 7, 1942, the Archbishop wrote yet another letter to the Interior Minister, Dr. Andrea Artukovic:

> ...I do not think that it can bring us any glory if it is said of us that we have solved the Jewish problem in the most radical way, that is to say, the cruelest. The solution of this question must provide only for the punishment of Jews who have committed crimes, not for the persecution of innocent people.[42]

On March 6, 1943, the Archbishop wrote a letter to Ante Pavelic, the Head of NDH. In the letter, Stepinac writes diplomatically that he understands that actions against the Jews in Croatia were imposed by external forces and not initiated by the NDH government. He warns that if the government cannot change the course of the events, then the Catholic Church will act:

> But if there is here [the anti- Jewish policy] the interference of a foreign power in our internal and political life, I am not afraid if my voice and my protest carry even to the leaders of that power; because the Catholic Church knows no fear of any earthly power, whatever it may be, when it is a question of defending the most basic rights of men.[43]

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[41] Appendix 6.1.4 letter to the Poglavnik Ante Pavelic. See also Pattee, Richard, *The Case of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac*, The Bruce Publishing Company Milwaukee, 1953, 96

[42] Appendix 6.1.8: See also Skalic-Stambuk, M., Kolanvic, J., Razum, J., (ed.) *Proces Alojziju Stepincu, Dokumenti,* Krscanska Sadasnjost, Zagreb, 1997, 162. Document 6.23.1.

[43] Skalic-Stambuk, M., Kolanvic, J., Razum, J., (ed.) *Proces Alojziju Stepincu, Dokumenti*, Krscanska Sadasnjost, Zagreb, 1997, 164. Document 6.23.2. Among those who would like to conduct further research on the topic that pertains to Archbishop Stepinac, there is a large file under the name Ivo Politeo who represented the Archibishop as his defense lawyer in the 1946 trials.

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Among the letters received, many acknowledged with gratitude and praise the work of the Archbishop on behalf of the Jews.[44] There is one letter from Dr. Meir Tuval Weltmann, representing the Jews in Palestine; Dr. Weltmann was stationed in Istanbul in order to assist in the rescue of European Jews. On June 11 1943, he wrote two letters of thanks, one to apostolic legate Monsignor Angel Rancolli (later Pope John XXIII) and the second to Archbishop Stepinac. Weltmann wrote:

> Deep gratitude, recognition and appreciation to the Archbishop of Zagreb Stepinac for his conduct and assistance to the Jews of Croatia and especially for assisting Dr. Hugo Kon and the Chief Rabbi Dr. Freiberger. A specific request was made to the Archbishop to use his power to convince the regime to allow the Jews to transfer peacefully to Hungary and Italy and from there, to Palestine[45]

In February 1944, the Chief Rabbi Herzog wrote two letters from Ankara on the eve of his departure for Erez Israel (Palestine). One letter is addressed to the apostolic legate, Monsignor Angel Rancolli, and the second to Archbishop Stepinac. The letter to Rancolli reads:

> Gratitude for steps taken on behalf of the Jews: before my departure, God willing tonight, I wish to extend my deepest gratitude for your energetic efforts to rescue our unlucky, innocent casualties from unimaginable fear and enormous power. Relay my appreciations to the Holy See from the bottom of my heart. The Jewish People will never forget the help that His Holiness and his high officials...

A similar letter was addressed to Archbishop Stepinac.

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[44] Appendix 6.1.9, after the burial of Sabina Steiner the Jews made a collection to honor the dead. The sum collected was donated to an orphanage as gratitude and in honor of Archbishop Stepinac.

[45] Appendix 6.1.21. See also Kristo, Jure, *Katolicka Crkva I Neavisna Drezava Hrvatska, 1941-1945, Dokumenti,* Documents 291 and 292, 300.

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> Here I am, for some time now, making an effort to assist our unfortunate brethren and sisters who encounter tremendous persecutions....I beg you, do all you can to save the sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in our most tragic moment in history, one that is still a living proof of God's providence in this world.[46]

The Apostolic Legation in Istanbul to Cardinal Maglione" May 30, 1943:

> In relation to your wire # 153, the Jewish Agency ...Palestine is very grateful to the Holy See for the intervention on behalf of 1,500 Czech Jewish children and informs them that there is an urgent need to intervene with the Hungarian government and to ensure their safe passage to Palestine. The same Agency is requesting the intervention on behalf of 400 Jewish deportees, together with their president, Hinko Kohn, and Chief Rabbi Freiberger. The Agency without delay needs information; it seems that they plan an action to transfer them to Palestine.[47]

Dr. Stepinac's Resolutely Defends Mixed Marriages

On May 3 1943, in the newspaper "Narodne novine" in a bold caption declared:

> Statutory Orders given by the Poglavnik, Pavelic, state that from today onwards, all the customary and legal practices of conversion from one religion to another are abolished. For a conversion to be legal, a person desiring to change his religious affiliation must first notify the local authority and receive an official receipt that the notification was registered. At the same time, a declaration has to be made from which religion a person desires to convert. Only after an approval is given by the Minister of Religion, can a person approach a local church.[48]

As a follow up to the legal decree quoted above on July 30, 1941, the NDH government sent the following circular:

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[46] Ibid, Kristo, Documents 329 and 330, 343-344.

[47] HDA, Ivo Politeo file, subject Alojzije Stepinac

[48] *Narodne novine*, Zagreb, May 3, 1941.

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> The government of NDH is aware that many Jews are registering with the Catholic Churches requesting conversion to Catholicism. But conversion to Catholicism would not have any impact on the status of these individuals in relation to the State. The laws enacted on April 30 1941 preclude Jews from Aryan rights.[49]

Archbishop Stepinac was aware that, no matter what he said and how much pressure he exerted regarding the Racial Laws, the likelihood of their being abolished in Croatia was virtually non-existent. Hitler was determined to follow through with his ideology of ethnic and religious annihilation. But Stepinac was also determined to speak on behalf of mixed marriages in his request that they remain intact.[50] He also tried to obtain permits so that priests could visit the many Jewish converts in concentration camps, and give comfort, as well as last absolution rights to those who so desired.

One of the most serious accusations that have been made against Archbishop Stepinac is that he failed to issue formal statements of condemnation against the Nazi and Ustashe genocide and slaughter of Jews. Yet one reason for this omission could be a letter sent by Pius XII on June 2, 1943 to the Sacred College of Cardinals:

> Every word that We address to the responsible authorities and every one of Our public declarations had to be seriously weighed and considered in the interest of the persecuted themselves in order not to make their situation unwittingly even more difficult and unbearable.[51]

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[49] Appendices 6.1.6, 6.1.7. See also HDA, MUP NDH, Pr. 21378/41, box 25.

[50] Appendix 6.1.16, many individual women together with their families and neighbors fought against the Racial Laws and separation of mixed marriages, the phenomenon was appealing to Stepinac.

[51] Randall, Sir Alec. "The Pope, the Jews, and the Nazis" (pamphlet), London, Catholic Truth Society, 1963, 18.

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Apparently there is sizable documentation that supports Pope Pius XII's fear that a formal and loud statement might affect adversely, rather then improve, the lot of persecuted Jews. Ernst von Wizsacker, the German ambassador to the Vatican during World War II, wrote in his memoirs:

> ... not even institutions of worldwide importance, such as the International Red Cross or the Roman Catholic Church saw fit to appeal to Hitler in a general way on behalf of the Jews or to call openly on the sympathies of the world. It was precisely because they wanted to help the Jews that these organizations refrained from making any general and public appeals; for they were afraid that they would thereby injure, rather than help, the Jews.[52]

Despite implicit instructions from the Pope to act with caution, Stepinac remained vocal and persistent in his attempts to rescue those who embraced Catholicism, focusing on the issue of mixed marriages. The file of Hans Helm, the German attaché to Zagreb, in the section "*Judaism*" written on 22 March 1943, shows that the address of the Rendeli family was the same as that of the Archbishop; apparently this family was sheltered on his premises.[53] However, it is not clear whether the Rendeli family was the only one to reside on the Archbishop's residence. This area requires further research and investigation.[54]

In September 1942, Franz Abromeit, a German SS officer, was appointed to organize the final deportation of all the Jews. The list included those that were essential to the economy, those with special protection, and those involved in mixed marriages.

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[52] Peter White, An Attack on Pope Pius XII, Jubilee, June, 1963.

[53] HDA, Hans Helm File, section Judaism, under letter "R" Rendeli, 77, 22.6.1943.

[54] Cvrlje, Dr. Prof., Vjekoslav, "Stepinac I Zidovi u Ratnom Razdoblju 1941-1945," Zagreb, *Novi Omanut*, August 26 1992.

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Once accurate lists of all the Jews in Croatia were ready, systematic roundups were planned to begin. The deportees were to be detained in the local concentration camp, Stara Gradishka, which would serve as a temporary detention center until all the Jews had been captured. They would then be deported by rail to German camps in the East. When these rumors reached Archbishop Stepinac and the Vatican visitor to Croatia, Giuseppe Marcone, who represented the Vatican at the Bishops' conference, Stepinac sent letters to the NDH authorities—to Pavelic in particular—demanding that they refrain immediately from undertaking such extreme anti-Semitic measures. [55]

Pavelic approached the German Ambassador in Zagreb, Siegfried Kasche, and told him that, due to the intervention of the Catholic Church, he could not permit the continuation of deportations of Jews to the East. Kasche replied that he was aware that the Catholic Church had an enormous influence in Croatia but that he (Kasche) was anxious to see which party was in control—who would have the upper hand: Kasche or the Church. Obviously, Kasche was determined to win. Despite specific instructions given by Ante Pavelic to the German SS to stop the deportation of protected Jews, of converts, and those in mixed-marriages, Kasche reported to Germany that the final *Judenaktion* in Croatia ended "this week," and that the deportation of the last 2,000 Jews would take place in March 1943.[56]

The news that Dr. Stepinac vigorously defended mixed marriages encouraged many Aryan women whose husbands were Jewish to seek his help. Aryan women from

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[55] The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Judgment part 31 of 70. On behalf of the Accused [Adolf Eichmann] Section (T/907, 1142 of his statement T/37), Abromeit dealt with these matters in cooperation with Hans Helm the German Police attaché at the German Embassy in Zagreb.

[56] Eichmann Crimes in Yugoslavia, Facts and Views, 125, 1961, 8-9.

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Osijek, Zagreb, Sarajevo and other places in NDH, begged and pleaded with Stepinac to act on behalf of their husbands. On March 1943, Hubner, a German agent, wrote to Hans Helm, the German attaché in Zagreb, saying that he had received the following information from his agents, code names Mravunac and Gosnjak:

> "As a result of the registration of Jews involved in mixed marriages some of them turned to Archbishop Stepinac and requested his protection. It is also said that the Archbishop promised protection and that he sent a letter to the Pope in Rome. According to the "dogmas" of the Catholic Church, a couple in a mixed marriage cannot be separated. And if the Croat government undertakes action against mixed marriages, then in protest against such acts, the Archbishop will close all the Catholic Churches for a certain period. Such acts he [Stepinac] considers interference in the internal affairs of the church." Furthermore, the rumors circulating in Zagreb are that the Pope turned personally to the Fuhrer to obtain assurances that no actions would be taken against mixed marriages. For the time being, verification of this information cannot be obtained. But it is probable that this information is accurate *because it is acknowledged that Stepinac is a protector of the Jews.*[57]

A similar letter was sent to Reichsfuhrer SS, the Chief of Police in Germany – RSHA-Amt VI, Amt IV, Berlin: Subject: Mixed Marriages in Croatia, 25.3.1943

> The Croatian government instructed that all Jews be registered, including those involved in mixed marriages. As a result of this order some Jews turned to Archbishop Stepinac for protection. The Archbishop promised full protection, sending a memorandum to this effect to the Pope. In case action is taken against the Jews involved in mixed marriages, as a sign of protest, Stepinac declared he would close for a certain period all the churches in Croatia. In his opinion, this action by the government would constitute interference in the internal affairs of the Church. Although not as yet confirmed, the Pope intends to take up this matter with the Fuehrer. But since it is known that *Archbishop Stepinac is a great friend of the Jews*, it can be assumed that he would involve himself on their behalf.[58]

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[57] Appendices 6.1.10, 6.1.11, entry in the file of Hans Helm March 24, 1943, re: mixed marriages. HDA, Hans Helm File, Subject Mixed Marriages, 24.3.1943, 267.

[58] HDA, Hans Helm File, Subject Mixed Marriages sent to Berlin, 25.3.1943, 266.

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As Archbishop of Zagreb, Dr. Stepinac intervened strongly on behalf of all the Jews, but specifically on behalf of those involved in mixed marriages where the financial support of the family depended upon the Jewish husband and father.[59] Due to his personal intervention, many converted Jews in mixed marriages were rescued. Often, reasons other than being Jewish accounted for the fate of some of those who were not saved—for example, that they were Communists or were aiding the Partisans. Efforts made by other religious leaders to rescue Jews who had converted to Catholicism and Islam resulted in moderate success. However, Jews that had four Jewish grandparents fared little better than Jews who did not convert, particularly if they lived in locations where it was well known that they were Jews.[60]

Sermons, Actions, Documents—A Glimpse into Stepinac's Activities

From documents sent by the diplomatic core stationed in Zagreb, NDH—the French Consul, Gueyraud, the American diplomat Philips, the British ambassador, Osborn,[61] and other diplomats that were still in the country—it seems that many foreign diplomats were alarmed by the developments in NDH and by the control that Germany exercised over Pavelic. The American diplomat, Morris, wrote to the American Secretary of State on April 10 1941: "Germany Contemplates Independence for Croatia." On May 3 1941, the French Consul in Zagreb, Gueyraud, wrote to the French Secretary of State, Admiral Darlen:

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[59] Appendix 6.1.15

[60] Hrvatski narod, May 6, 1941, AIHRPH, zbirka NDH, cartons 278, 291.

[61] First names were not mentioned in the documents that were sent from these diplomats to their respective countries.

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> The Ustashe, using the Nazi blueprint, implemented their first legislative ordinances that promulgated the "act" known as the "Protection of the purity of the Croatian blood and the State." These ordinances laid the groundwork for establishing a legislative system in which their civil rights were taken and the murder of Jews was legally justified.[62]

As soon as Archbishop Stepinac realized that Nazi Germany and, to a lesser extent, Fascist Italy were in control and that Pavelic was no more than a puppet seeking power, he distanced himself from the NDH authorities. On May 17 1941, Pavelic traveled on a diplomatic mission to Italy to invite the Duke of Spoleto, a cousin of the King of Italy, to accept the "crown of Zvonimir," a medieval Croatian king, and to seek recognition from the Holy See. Pavelic's delegation should have included the Archbishop but, since the two already had a strained relationship and Stepinac was determined not to join, Bishop Salis-Seewis was asked to take his place. On September 9 1967, in an interview for the semi-official biweekly of the diocese of Zagreb, *Glas Koncila,* Salis-Seewis was asked about the reasons for the animosity between Pavelic and Stepinac. Salis-Seewis stated:

> The relations between Pavelic and Stepinac were from the beginning tense, and the Archbishop chose not to be a part of Pavelic's delegation. I was selected. I objected, arguing that I didn't like the idea of being mixed up in this business...I didn't like anything about it. I knew that the people from the Peasant Party were against it; those people were already in sympathy with the English and French. The Archbishop, however, just said: that's the way it's got to be' (Kaije, je)...at that moment we couldn't all withdraw and someone had to go as a matter of form.[63]

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[62] Kristo, Jure, Katolicka Crkva I Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska 1941-1945, Dokumenti, Hrvatski Institut za Povijest, Dom I Svijet, Zagreb,1998, Vol. II, 37.

[63] *Glas Koncila*, 16.9.67, interview with Bishop Salis Seewis.

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From a historical and moral perspective, Archbishop Stepinac was against Hitler's philosophy and Pavelic's political aspirations based on racial divisiveness; he saw that it greatly endangered the moral and humanitarian fabric of society. Stepinac also expressed his fears of Communism at every opportunity. Addressing in 1940 these two competing ideologies in the page *Hrvatica,* Stepinac writes:

> We are retreating to old desecrations. And with desecration there is a return to brutality and slavery. Concentration camps, like in the old establishment forced labor in which millions would be taken, all these are new names for a very old principle.[64]

In this context, in a Circular Letter # 1722a dated February 4, 1942 Stepinac, acting for the archdiocese of Zagreb, warned all priests—as he had done on February 12, 1935 and August 10, 1938—against participating and siding with any party. The policy of the church was based on old Church principles:

> This Church of Christ gives us our general directives and also sheds light on those questions which trouble the world today, and on the chaos of war, a war that would not be if the voice of the teacher had been heeded. The questions are these: (a) the freedom and worth of the individual as an independent entity; (b) the freedom and respect for religion; (c) the freedom and respect for every race and nationality; (d) the freedom and respect for private property as the basis of the personal freedom of the individual and independence of the family; and, finally (e) the freedom and respect for the right of every nation to its full development and to independence in its national life.[65]

Clearly, the Archbishop had no argument with the ordinary people; it was with the political ideologies of both Fascism and Communism that he took issue. Dr. Stepinac recognized that, among the few thousand Jews that had converted to Catholicism

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[64] Hrvatica # 3, March, 1940 Archbishop Stepinac

[65] HDA, Ivo Politeo, Predmet Stepinac

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between 1938 and 1941, a considerable number chose to convert because they believed their lives and those of their children would be spared. Moreover, as seen in the opening quote, Stepinac instructed his clergy to issue certificates of baptism to endangered Jews and Serbs whenever they asked for them.[66] Acting on the instructions of Archbishop Stepinac, the head of the Church of Sv. Blaze, Dr. Mijo Selec, soon understood that conversion to Catholicism was no longer a guarantee of survival. Those who came to him, he shielded and protected in various church premises. For his conduct, Dr. Mijo Selec was granted the award of "The Righteous Among the Nations."

In his sermon in Zagreb Cathedral on the Feast of Christ the King on October 26, 1941, Archbishop Stepinac, without mentioning names, clearly referred to Ante Pavelic, the Ustashe and those misguided priests who followed the Ustashe philosophy and tried to appeal to the masses by using the Catholic religion. The Archbishop stated:

> ...Within the past ten years, certain theories and atheistic ideologies have succeeded in infecting so much of the world that hate has become, so to speak, the main incentive of all human actions. The danger exists that even those who glory in the name of Catholic, not even to speak of those who glory in a spiritual vocation, may become victims of passion, of hatred, and of forgetfulness of the law which is the most beautiful characteristic trait of Christianity, the law of love.[67]

In his sermons, he attempted to clarify his position regarding both ideologies, fascist and communist. At the end of May 1942, Stepinac preached:

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[66] Despot, Zvonimir,"Zupnik Koji Je Spasavo Zidove" je Mijo Selec, *Vjesnik Vecerni List, 10.6. 1997.*

[67] Zagreb Cathedral, a speech delivered by Archbishop De. Stepinac on October 26, 1941. Also used by Dr. Ivo Politeo who served as attorney for the defense of Archbishop Dr. Aloysius Stepinac before the Special Council of the People's Supreme Court at the proceedings on October 8, 1946 in Zagreb.

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> It would be an absurdity to speak of a new order in the world, no matter what its source, if human personality is not valued in that order, the immortal soul of man, which surpasses all systems and for which nothing can ever be substituted: the soul which has its inalienable rights which no human power can or ought to limit. It would also be an absurdity to think that the Catholic Church could be afraid of any human force in defending the elemental rights of human individuality and the freedom of conscience.[68]

On October 25, 1942, Archbishop Stepinac states: "How then must we judge individuals who arrogantly behave as if God no longer exists on the earth..." All those who listened to the sermon understood whom he was addressing. It is not surprising that Ante Pavelic, the Poglavnik of NDH, visited the Cathedral only once during the entire four years. It was not a place where he would have found solace or words of comfort and encouragement. But the Archbishop had no fear, he continued:

> That is why the Catholic Church has always condemned and condemns today all injustice and all violence whether committed in the name of theories of class, race, or nationality. One cannot exterminate from the face of the earth the Gypsies or the Jews because one considers them inferior races...[69]

Archbishop Stepinac did not have to mention the names of the perpetrators; it was self evident; his listeners comprehended that the sermon was directed towards Hitler,

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[68] Document II, full text available in Process Alojziju Stepincu, Dokumenti, 264-266.

[69] Archbishop Stepinac, in his sermons on the Feast of Christ the King, on October 25, 1942. He alluded to Pavelic himself, whose wife seems to have been a Jew (Pavelic's mother-in law was Jewish - Ivana Herzfeld), as well as 12 other highest state officials, whose wives were either Jewish or Serbian. See also, Jure Kristo, 141.

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Mussolini and Pavelic. Stepinac spoke against all those who aimed to gain power by dividing mankind into races.

The following sermon was delivered in the Cathedral of Zagreb on October 25, 1943 during the time when the Nazis controlled for more than a year the deportations to concentration camps. Archbishop Stepinac delivered the following sermon:

> And what, before God, are the peoples and races of this world...The first thing that we affirm is that all nations, without exception, are as nothing before God.... The second thing that we affirm is that all nations and all races have their origin in God. Only one race really exists and that is the Divine race. Its birth certificate is found in the Book of Genesis. The third thing that we affirm is that all nations and all races, as reflected in the world today, have the right to lead a life worthy of men and to be treated with the dignity with which one treats a man. ....All of them without one exception, whether they belong to the race of Gypsies or to another, whether they are Negroes or civilized Europeans, whether they are detested Jews or proud Aryans, have the same right to say "Our Father who Art in Heaven![70]

Archbishop Stepinac's sermons were not known to many outside his church, but it seems reasonable to assume that, for some, his sermons gave encouragement to continue to fight against the forces of occupation. In 1942, the First Secretary of the Italian embassy in Zagreb noted:

> The general public in Croatia feels great distrust towards the new regime and is adversely affected by the repeated illegal activities of the unscrupulous Ustashe officials. The Croatian people are reacting very negatively to the anti-Jewish measures and are very skeptical about the further course of events.[71]

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[70] HDA, Alojzije Stepinac, fond Ivo Politeo, Documents prepared for Yad-Vashem.

[71] Source: Kolanovic, Josip. HDA, Roma, ASAE, AG Croazia 35: Condizione degli ebrei in Croazia VI.1941-V.1943. "L'opinione publica croata non sufficientemente preparate ad una campagna razziale ed ancora diffidente verso il nuovo Regime ma sopratutto impressionata da un continuo susseguirsi di atti illegali compiuti da fuzionari

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Others rebelled against the Archbishop, considering him a traitor to their cause.[72] Stepinac's sermons and attacks on the regime led to rumors that the Archbishop had been imprisoned.

> On December 24 1943 announcement of the imprisonment of Stepinac December 19 No. 60, states: In Belgrade it was confirmed that Stepinac, with his sermon, openly attacked and judged the Ustashe regime. It is said that such accusations, in case of a change of regime, would not help; this he had to state from the start, but nevertheless it was good that he spoke out now.[73]

The Archbishop of Zagreb kept the Vatican abreast with what was happening under the NDH regime as seen in the following letter from Cardinal Maglione to Archbishop Stepinac:

> The Vatican, June 17, 1943
>
> Most Reverend Excellency: I have noted with great interest the abundant documentation sent to me by your Most Reverend Excellency regarding the work carried out by you in favor of the Serbs and Hebrews in Croatia. In thanking you heartily, I beg you to continue to keep the Holy See informed in the matter adding, if possible, some news also regarding the work of the other Croatian Bishops. Sentiments of particular and sincere esteem, Of Your Most Reverend Excellency Servant, L. Cardinal Maglione.[74]

The Vatican received information from Croatia not only from Archbishop Stepinac but also from other bishops and from the apostolic representative to Croatia,

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ustasci snza scrupuli, reagi piuttosoto negativamente contro queste misure antiebraiche, osservando con molto scetticismo lo svolgersi degli avvenimenti."

[72] HDA, ZKRZ, GUZ, carton 45, no. 2235/21a, Ibid, carton 284, no. 28640;

[73] HDA, MUP-RH, I-22, also MUP-RH, I-25 and MUP-RH, I-49, in this news report there is an indication that there was a quarrel between Stepinac and the representative of the German Army.

[74]Kristo, Jure, Katolicka Crkva I Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska, 1941-1945, Document 59, 73.

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Monsignor Giuseppe Ramiro Marcone. From letters sent by the Osijek clergy, it is apparent that Archbishop Stepinac was not the only one to assist the oppressed, although many clergymen turned to him when action was required. Menahem Shelah, known as the harshest critique of the NDH regime and the Croatian people, agrees with Falconi's description of the character and nature of Archbishop Stepinac:

> Stepinac was a man of God, righteous and loyal. More than that, he lacked all personal ambitions. He was accused of not missing any opportunity to participate in the affairs of the government as demonstrated in numerous photographs. However, upon careful examination of these photos, one can see his pale and gaunt face, his eyes turned towards the ground expressing both his unease and revulsion. At those times in which he is seen with political leaders and high army officers from his country and foreigners, one can notice his lack of confidence and unease, standing on the side without pride.[75]

Shelah argues that the assessment of Stepinac by Falconi, a former Catholic priest, was in principle accurate, and that Stepinac was an ethical man who was thrown into circumstances beyond his control. He was in a serious dilemma in that he had to choose between his moral values and those of the Independent State of Croatia which he initially supported, where the privileges of the Church would undoubtedly fare better than under Communism. Eventually he recognized that the Ustashe regime was morally totally wrong for the Church and for Croatia. At the same time, he abhorred the Nazi regime, and he feared Bolshevism.[76]

The NDH regime prohibited the printing and distribution of Archbishop Stepinac's sermons. Nevertheless, the message of the sermons was spread to the masses

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[75] Falconi, Carlo, *The Silence of Pius XII*, London, 1970, Secret Documents, 247-253.

[76] Shelah, Menahem, ed., *Holocaust in Yugoslavia*, Yad Vashem Jerusalem, 1999, 283-284. (Shelah quotes Falconi's report "Tajni Dokumenti"

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in secret. Glaise von Horstenau, a German Nazi general in Zagreb, declared: "If any bishop in Germany spoke this way in public, he would not come down alive from his pulpit!" And when Stepinac visited the Holy See in 1943, he was warned that the Nazis marked him as a traitor and that his life was in danger. While in Rome, Archbishop Stepinac met Ivan Mestrovic, a famous Croatian sculptor, to whom he said: "With God (farewell), it is most likely that we will not see each other again. My life is threatened, either the Nazis will kill me now, or the Communists will kill me later."[77]

The documents of Hans Helm and also the files of Ivo Politeo,[78] who headed the 1946 defense of Archbishop Stepinac against Tito's government, assert that neither the Nazis nor the Communists had much love for the outspoken Stepinac. He was a man who was disliked by the Nazis as well as the Communists for refusing to compromise the interests of the Catholic Church to the regimes of the moment. Stepinac was aware of the fact that both the Nazis and the Communists were plotting to kill him but his response was always that he was not afraid to die for ideas that he strongly believed.[79] After the war, but before his trial, the New York Times wrote:

> When the Nazis occupied Croatia, Archbishop Stepinac risked his life to aid the Jews. With his aid, hundreds of Jews were smuggled out of the country and obtained the repeal of an order that all Jews must wear a yellow tag. He denounced the "Nazi Racial Laws." He worked with the International Red Cross to rescue Jews in other countries, concealed these victims of racism under his own roof, and many of his priests did likewise.[80]

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[77] HDA, Ivo Politeo file, Stepinac's Defense.

[78] HDA, Fond Hans Helm, under Alojzije Stepinac, Ivo Politeo file on the defense of the Archbishop.

[79] Pattee, Richard, *The Case of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac*, 79.

[80] HDA, Ivo Politeo, Predmet: A Stepinac"New York Times," Oct. 15, 1946.

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Section 6.2: Rescue Efforts by Ordinary Citizens

Ordinary Citizens to the Aid the Jews in NDH

Groups of individuals from all walks of life and residential areas also demonstrated their discontent with the government's decrees, rules and regulations. Many wrote letters to the authorities expressing their objection and dismay that such injustices could take place in their Croat society. In the Croatian National Archive (HDA), I found 120 letters written by Croats and signed by hundreds of people from all over the country on behalf of their Jewish comrades and neighbors. It is likely that many other letters with similar content can be found in other sections and files of the archives. All those who signed the letters hoped to bring back their neighbors and friends, paying scant attention to the dangers their signatures provoked.

It is not clear how many Jews were rescued from the concentration camps as a result of these letters. It is probable that some of the victims did not know that letters had been written on their behalf and that hundreds had signed them in the hope of obtaining freedom and justice. The following letters are just a few examples. The first letter was signed by 103 citizens residing in the village of Velika Kopanica in the district of Slavonski Brod in protest against the government's unjust treatment of one Jewish citizen:

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"To the Minister of Finance, Zagreb May 4, 1942

> In the village of Velika Kopanica, district of Slavonski Brod, there exists a small store owned by Branka Spizer, Jewish by origin. The Spizer family has lived in Kopanica for approximately 50 years and during all this period they owned this small enterprise. In the course of years they established friendship and customers due to their honest conduct. Currently the owner is Branka Spizer who, with great difficulty, has to support herself, her crippled mother and a brother who are incapable of self-support. But in recent days, the government has appointed a trustee over her store who requires that payment and also a portion of the profits is given to the commissariat. Since the store cannot support more than one family, we the farmers of Kopanica request that the store be left only for Branka and that the trustee be removed. We, the citizens' committee, who worked with the family Spizer, recognize that this poor family, even though Jewish, managed to live in the midst of Croatian people without ever harming anybody while helping many.[81]

The following letter was addressed to the Head of the District of Zagorje in the city of Varazdin and signed by 72 individuals from the local community. The letter describes the good character of the Jewish residents who had just been taken to the concentration camp at Gospic. The following information is described in the letter:

> The couple Josip and Josipa Klein and their two sons Ivica, Miroslav and the brother of Josipa, Ljudevit, lived in a house in Dolic, a village near Krapina. The couple had a guesthouse and a local pub and they engaged in commerce. They were all born in Croatia and most of them lived in the same district for all of their lives. Their commerce was conducted honestly and efficiently so that it was of great value to the local peasants to whom they gave food during the winter on trust and under most favorable terms. Because of their generosity, they had nothing else but the house they lived in and the plot around it. Because Josip Klein and his family acted no differently than any other Croat they were socially accepted in our midst. Also, both are approaching 60 and are not in good health. Due to all the reasons mentioned above, we their neighbors and peasants who know these decent people well are asking for the release of Josip and Josipa Klein and all their family members from the concentration camp and their permanent return to their home.[82]

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[81] Appendix 6.2.7, a letter written and signed by the residents of Velika Kopanica and all the signatures. HDA, PONOVA, Jewish Section, 386/1076 5.4. 1941. Branka Spizer.

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Friends and neighbors who knew and respected the Jews in their community took these risks and wrote to the authorities. Croats who wrote to the authorities on behalf of their Jewish neighbors argued that the government was arbitrarily taking punitive measures against innocent people who lived by the law and contributed to the well being of the community. For example, the case discussed below deals with the widow of Ljudevit Bauer who had passed away and whose wife was being treated in the hospital. Although not stated explicitly, it is understood that the Ustashe intended to deport her. Some of her neighbors found this offensive and decided to protest. The letter begins with a declaration:

> The undersigned citizens of Croatia, residents of Podravska Slatina, state that it is true that in 1939 Ljudevit Bauer, a printer and an owner of a paper goods business for forty years, passed away. His upright conduct is still remembered fondly by the citizens of Slatina. .....His wife is very ill and is currently in the care of the nuns in the hospital of Sestara Milosrdnica in Slatina. For all the reasons mentioned above, the undersigned citizens of Slatina recommend to the Ministry of the Interior to resolve the issue favorably.[83] (8 citizens signed the request.)

The next example is a letter written on behalf of former officer who fought heroically in World War I and always sided with Croat National causes. Now, his comrades from those days wanted to rescue him from concentration camp.

> "Adolf Svarc, commercial assistant, born in Vaska/ Podravska Slateina/on 24.I. 1899 son of Jakob Svarc, who recently resided in Zagreb, was sent by the orders of the Ustashe to a concentration camp. Without taking into consideration that Adolf Svarc was an officer in the once 53 infantry division in Zagreb and was awarded the highest recognition on 5.XII, 1918 when he fought against the Serbs

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[82] Appendix 6.2.16 through 1.20.4. HDA, RUR 252 No. 28026 ZO 4178, 29. VIII. 1941.

[83] HDA, RUR 252 No. 27673 ZO 1342, 14. VII. 1941.

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> in Zagreb. Because of this act, he was sentenced to prison for a period of 3.5 years. Since throughout the war, he was an outstanding soldier known for his bravery, we request from the Ministry that Adolf Svarc be released from imprisonment and that measures taken against the Jews should not be applied to him."[84] [Signed individually by 11 people in Zagreb on 23.VII. 1941]

Major General Dr. Stjepan Steiner described an incident that took place when the Ustashe captured his father and sent him to a detention center in Zagreb. Apparently his father was a greatly admired and respected veterinarian who worked hard for the local peasants. In addition, he was a friend of the former head of the Peasant Party, Dr. Vladko Macek. When the news spread that Dr. Steiner had been arrested and brought to the detention center, Dr. Mack, together with 1,000 peasants, descended on the prison on Savska Street screaming and shouting that they wanted their veterinarian to be released. The next day Dr. Steiner was released and with him all those that were in his cell.[85]

The conduct of hundreds of Croatian citizens who wrote letters on behalf of their Jewish neighbors, friends, employers, managers, husbands and wives demonstrates that many people did not approve of the conduct of the Ustashe regime. The new government was imposed upon them by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy; they did not elect the regime of NDH. The fact that thousands of people from among the Croats joined the forces of liberation also indicates great dissatisfied with the Ustashe regime.

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[84] Appendix 6.2.13, HDA, RUR 252 No. 28704 ZO 278, 23. VII. 1941. See also Appendices: 6.2.0, 6.2.1, 6.2.2, 6.2.3, 6.2.4, 6.2.5, 6.2.7, 6.2.8, 6.2.9, 6.2.10, 6.2.11, 6.2.12, 6.2.14, 6.2.15, 6.2.16.

[85] Steiner, Stjepan, interview, December 16 2002, Zagreb Croatia.

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Section 6.3: Religious Institutions and Humanitarian Organization
Rescue of Jews

Nuns Rescue Jews in Djakovo and on the Island of Rab

The nuns of the convent of the Holy Cross in Djakovo came to the aid of women imprisoned in the concentration camp in Djakovo. The nuns were especially kind to pregnant women. At the end of their term, pregnant women were brought to deliver their babies in a building (formerly a teachers' college) that the nuns had placed at their disposal. Having given birth, they remained outside the camp for long periods of time. Since they were not placed under special surveillance, they often vanished with their babies by escaping into Slavonia."[86] Apart from one mother Zlata Romano, who was let go from a concentration camp because of her pregnancy, and who gave birth in a hospital in Zagreb from which she was given a chance to escape, I did not find any names of women who escaped Djakovo after delivery, but it is possible that some may have survived. The former rabbi of Osijek, Rabbi Steckel wrote that while 516 victims died in Djakovo, there were several women who were saved because they were sent to the hospital in Osijek before the Ustashe took over the camp and from there they were given a chance to escape. Since most of the hospitals were managed by nuns one can assume that they provided assistance to these women who managed to reach the Hungarian border.[87]

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[86] Lengel – Krizman, Narcisa, A Contribution to the Study of Terror in the So-Called Independent State of Croatia: Concentration Camps for Women in 1941-1942, Reprint from Yad Vashem Vo. XX, Jerusalem, 1990, 35.

[87] Steckel, Charles. Destruction and Survival, 31.

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In front of the National Commission for Investigation of Crimes in Zagreb, Edit Armuth, a survivor of both the camp on the island of Rab and of Auschwitz testified what happened on Rab on March 19, 1944. Without encountering any resistance, the Nazis encircled the island, landing at five different locations. In no time, they rounded up approximately 180 Jews who had remained on Rab after many others had left with the Partisans. Upon landing, the Nazis threatened the local population, demanding the immediate surrender of all remaining Jews. Many refused to heed the warnings, but eventually most of the Jews were found. They were then taken to the port of Rijeka and from there to Auschwitz.[88] However, the Atias family from Mostar survived because of the defiance of eight Franciscan nuns on the Island of Rab who refused to hand over the Jews to the Nazis. The nuns' story of rescue stayed buried in their memories until in 1993 a local journalist Vladimir Isaic exposed it.

A few days prior to the arrival of the Nazis in March 1944, the Atias family from Mostar approached a local nun to ask if they could hide in her monastery. The nun was not in a position to decide on her own, but promised to talk with her mother superior. Without exception, eight nuns agreed to take the task of rescue upon themselves. Since they ran a school, they decided to shelter the Jews in one of the rooms within the confines of the school. The room where they hid the Atias family was in the center of the building where access was inconspicuous. The nun appointed to care for the family was Leandri Erjavec, the same nun that had originally brought the request to the other nuns in the monastery. The family remained in hiding for three months until the summer of 1944. With the help of the District Commander, the nuns then arranged for the family, under

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[88] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/12-45, box 11, Logor Rab elaborate OK. Hrv. Primorje, 1238-1258.

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assumed names, safe passage via Zagreb to Sarajevo, which was already in liberated territory.[89]

The International and Local Red Cross (IRC)

In Zagreb, the Ustashe police directorate permitted the Croatian Red Cross to receive parcels for the incarcerated Jews. The Red Cross was also allowed to oversee the needs of prisoners in transports en route to Gospic, which had been detained at a siding of the Zagreb railroad junction. Until August 11, 1941, the Red Cross sent many parcels to Gospic; the local Ustashe police confirmed their arrival. However, on August 22, 1941, the Red Cross sent a letter to the Ustashe police headquarters in Zagreb stating that, although they had confirmation that some packages had reached the camps, there were a large number of complaints that parcels had not reached the people to whom they had been addressed.

In view of these charges, the Red Cross asked to be allowed, "to attach forms to the parcels so that the addressee would be able to confirm their receipt." This request was not approved, and the parcels sent to the camps via the Red Cross continued to be stolen and violated—valuables and vital foods were taken.[90] The Red Cross was also responsible for mail delivery to and from the concentration camps, an invaluable service for the families and the inmates. Dr. Hinko Gottlieb, a writer and representative of the Jews, who had been freed from the Italian concentration camp in Rab, wrote the following prototype letter (poem) from an inmate in a concentration camp to his family.

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[89] Isaic, Vladimir, " Honorary Act Performed by Franciscan Nuns on the Island of Rab," Bilten"# 45-47, 11-12, 1996, 6.

[90] HDA, RUR 252 box 284, # 28631 (old number document # correct)

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A Letter from a Concentration Camp

Today again I am allowed to write a letter.
I am healthy and do not worry about me.
Thank you for the package,
But as far as the salami is concerned,
leave it for yourself, none of us is hungry.

I will soon get out.
And therefore, dear wife, I need nothing more.
Tell mother that she should not write anymore.
Is she better with her heart?
And did you pay for the apartment?

Our acquaintances here are as it may be
Katz was yesterday ...released to freedom.
Every day two or three are gone.
And so will I ....

On Hans, I beg of you, take good care
When you reach with him the doctor please let me know,
I am afraid that he has lungenspickatar
And believe me,
This is the only thing
That still concerns me.

Little boys rarely tolerate the German climate.
From my top coat,
If it hangs in the closet
And if otherwise you did not use it,
Give it to make for him a coat for the winter.

In the spring he will know much and he will know how to talk
And he will ask all kinds of questions and a lot he will want to know.
Attempt to reach Grunewald with him (if you are permitted)
Show him the grass and flowers, water and the forest
And tell him a bit about his father.[91]

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[91] Gottlieb, Dr. Hinko, "A Letter from a Concentration Camp" JA, Confederation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia1954, 198. Gottlieb poem, seems as a summary of many letters sent to and from the concentration camps during the years 1941 and 1942. .

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In the above poem, Gottlieb expresses the content and the essence of the messages sent to the families from concentration camps; telling the family to stop sending packages since food was no longer needed. Soon they would no longer be among the living. There are also hidden meanings in the poem—where to find money, instructions as to how best to proceed in order to survive, to go to the doctor and get help, referring to the Partisans or the Italian Zone, to escape to the mountains where the air was clear, as oppose to that in the concentration camps, because little children cannot tolerate the German climate of brutality and starvation.

International Humanitarian Organizations

The International Red Cross in Geneva sent the Zagreb Jewish Community "three large and magnificent shipments" with medicine and, most importantly, special prescriptions that were not available in Zagreb. In addition, 1,200 containers with various food products such as sardines, sugar, pasta, and canned foods were sent to the camps in the hope of alleviating pain and misery.[92] The Portuguese Red Cross sent parcels from Lisbon for the concentration camps containing over 300 kg of vegetables as well as 370 cartons of canned food.[93] It was not clear whether this was a onetime shipment or part of ongoing assistance.

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[92] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, Zapisnik Zagreb, June 9 1945 testimony of Josipa Shulhof, one of the remaining employees in the Jewish Community in Zagreb, testified that from mid 1942 the community received via the International Red Cross over 1,200 containers of food and medicine.

[93] A more extensive treatment is to be found in Sjeverozapadna Hrvatska u NOB. 156-159,246-248,373-376; N. Lengel-Krizman, "Organizacija I rad'okrajinskog I Mjesnog odbora Narodne pomoci u Zagreb: 1941-1942: 1941-1945, Zagreb, 1984, 22, 129-130.

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A letter sent to the delegation of the International Red Cross (IRC) in Zagreb from an invisible addressee, dated December 24, year unmarked, states that three Jewish women and 20 Jewish children aged 18 months to 13 years, were still in the area, living in great misery and in dire need of provisions. They were staying with strangers. The writer of the letter indicates that, since the children were spread over different locations, assistance should be sent to the address of the writer. Whether the Red Cross followed up on the request is unknown since no follow-up information was found regarding the destiny of these children.[94]

Until the beginning of 1944, the Red Cross center in Geneva opposed any planned action by its representatives on behalf of the Jews. The reason given was that the Red Cross did not have the international standing that permitted it to take action on the behalf of civilians. Nevertheless, the representative of the Red Cross in Croatia, Mr. Schmitlin, took action on his own initiative. He aided in obtaining foodstuff and medicines and delivered it to the Home of the Jewish Aged in Zagreb under the protection of Cardinal Stepinac.

During the summer of 1944, the Red Cross in Geneva made a request to the Croatian government to give a permit for Schmitlin, the Croatian employee of the Red Cross in Croatia, to visit Jasenovac; the request was granted. Since the Jasenovac authorities were informed of the visit, they prepared the camp so that it appeared as if nothing was wrong; no atrocities were discovered during the few hours of the visit. The facilities were cleared and the whole presentation staged and the effort made by Schmitlin to verify the conditions of the inmates and report back to the International Red

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[94] JIM, 5493, K.62-6-1, 1-270, Chapter 4, Section 2, Part 3.

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Cross led to no improvements in the conditions of the inmates.[95] In 1943, the representative from DELASEM Switzerland succeeded in working out an arrangement with the International Red Cross (IRC) to send parcels to Zagreb under its supervision. The food was to be delivered to the inmates of the various concentration camps and also to the few remaining members of the various Jewish Communities.

Throughout the war and to varying degrees, humanitarian organizations provided indirectly moderate financial assistance to the Jews of NDH. Very few countries established diplomatic relationship with NDH which prevented a free flow of capital and donations to the region. Until the late summer of 1942, JDC (The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) gave almost no help to the Jews of Croatia. This was due both to a conflict between the two centers in Lisbon and Hungary and to an issue of how to transfer funds to a country like NDH. With the Croatian government's permission, Aleks Klein, the secretary of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, went to Budapest in July 1941. Rosenberg, the deputy head of the Jewish community in Zagreb and Klein traveled again to Budapest in January and April of 1942 to persuade Blum and the Hungarian Jews to help the Jews of Zagreb.

The Budapest JDC office then sent to Zagreb an amount equivalent to $ 2,000 as well as some other small sums totaling 8,700 sfr. These were transferred by RELICO[96] in the late summer of 1942. While the contribution was disappointing and amounted to less than a third of the budget of the Zagreb Community that was in deep financial trouble the

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[95] Shelah, Menahem, Final Solution Ph.D. Dissertation, Tel-Aviv University, Israel, 1980, 313-315. (He describes the unsuccessful visit that aimed at improving the life conditions of the inmates. The Ustashe staged situation gave the visitors an impression that all was well and while conditions were not perfect they were livable.

[96] RELICO, Committee for Relief of the War-Stricken Jewish Population.

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guarantee that more was to come was sufficient for the government officials to provide financial advances due to their expectation that they would be reimbursed in the near future.[97] DELASEM was practically the only humanitarian organization that assisted the Jews of former Yugoslavia throughout the war. This subject will be revisited in Chapter 7, The Rescue of Jews by the Italians.

Rescue of Jews in Hospital

In his file, *Notification Number 20*, Hans Helm noted that, in the sanatorium for the mentally ill of Dr. Juraj Vranesic, there were Jews, "so called patients, who stayed for more than two years and enjoyed a good life." Their expenses were paid on a monthly basis. They received visitors regularly and, at times, some of them even ventured into the center of Zagreb. Helm's list includes forty names, some of which do not appear to be Jewish names; thus, it is difficult to ascertain whether all of the inmates were Jews who had changed their names. Some inmates may have been Serbs.[98] SS Stubaf Korndorfer delivered the list of names to Hans Helm. It was addressed to the "Einsatzkommando Zagreb" on 1.IX, 1944 and signed by an agent M 1.IX. 1944, SS Ostuf. As the list was not updated but still in circulated, one can assume that some of the Jews remained in the sanatorium at least until 1944. It is not clear how many

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[97] Bauer, Yehuda, *American Jewry and the Holocaust, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939 –1945*, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry The Hebrew University, Jerusalem: Wayne State University Press Detroit 1981, 280.

[98] HDA, Hans Helm Folder, *Izvjestaj* br. 20, Zabreb, 15.IV. 1943, 355-357

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survived. However it is certain that two Jews, Milan Sachs, the conductor of the Zagreb Opera, and his wife were in the sanatorium from 1941 until the end of World War II.[99]

In the Belgrade Jewish Historical Museum (JIM), there are many documents that show that Jews were hidden in other hospitals in Zagreb and its environs. Such acts of rescue usually depended on the will of one or a few people who took great risks in their urge to assist others. Several hospitals treated Jewish patients for long periods; the funding of the services came from the Jewish Community. I attempted to gather additional information from the Community Hospital, *Opca Bolnica Sestara Milosredinica,* but I was not successful. Perhaps the primary commitment of the hospitals was to maintain confidentiality. However, the rescue of Jews in hospitals is an important subject to investigate since pregnant women were sometimes transferred from concentration camps to various hospitals, and after delivery, were set free.

Whether to protect the identity of those people who sent money to support relatives and friends or because the hospitals did not want to depend on individuals for payment, payments were first sent to the Jewish Community who in turn paid the hospitals. Those hospitals most frequently cited in archival documents are: Community Hospital, "*Opca Bolnica Sestara Milosredinica*";[100] State hospital, *Drzavna Bolnica na Sv. Duhu,*[101] Municipal Hospital for Contagious Diseases, *Bolnica za zarazne bolesti;*[102]

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[99] HDA, Hans Helm Folder, *Einsatzkommando Zagreb*, 1.IX. 1944. 354.

[100] JIM, K62.6-1, 1-76, K62.6-1, 1-179, K62.6-1, 1-155, K62.6-1, 1-126, K62.6-1, 1-127, K62.6-1, 1-120, K62.6-1, 1-87, K62.6-1, 1-65, K62.6-1, 1-191, K62.6-1, 1-244, K62.6-1, 1-251, K62.6-1, 1-213, K62.6-1, 1-107, K62.6-1, 1-183.

[101] JIM, K62.6-1, 1-112, K62.6-1, 1-142

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Management of the Clinics of the Medical Faculty Zagreb, Nadstojnistvo *Klinika med. Fakulteta Zagreb*,[103] and the management of the regional hospital on Rebro, *Uprava Zakladne bolnice na Rebru*. Individuals that found shelter in these hospitals, however temporary, were probably saved. Despite the seeming high rate of rescue in hospitals, the survival rate of Jews in hospitals is unknown and the subject needs be further investigation.

Several documents show that a considerable number of physicians shielded Jews in their hospitals and outside. The doctors' letters of recommendation often provided individual Jews with opportunities to relocate to the Adriatic coast for health reasons; keeping them in contagious diseases wards, transferring them from one department to another, and curing them of various fabricated ailments and diseases. From among the sick and the pregnant women who gave birth in hospitals, as in the case of Zlata Romano, their escape was made possible by the doctors who signed their release.

In my interview, Dr. Ante Fulgozi, told me that during World War II as a medical student he was assigned to a hospital in Gospic. His post provided him with an opportunity to rescue fifteen inmates who were sent to him for treatment from the local concentration camp, "Maksimovic-logor" in Gospic."[104] Fulgozi attributes the success of the rescue effort, to the help he received from the nuns that worked in the hospital and were willing to cooperate. Using his position, Fulgozi recommended that some of the inmates required treatment in specialized hospitals. Fulgozi also obtained forged documents and travel papers for some of the people in his care. Fulgozi's actions saved

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[102] JIM, K62.6-1, 1-204

[103] JIM, K62.6-1, 1-249

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the lives of Dr. Emil Freundlich, who still lives in Israel, Elza Polak, and Eva Krajanski-Akerman, who were, at some point, his patients.

Dr. Fulgozi also rescued his friend, Davor Band. Since Fulgozi originated from Dalmatia, he had an Italian identification card. He offered this card to his friend Band; they then removed Fulgozi's picture, replacing it with Band's picture while leaving the name Ante Fulgozi. Band lived for four years peacefully as Ante Fulgozi in Split, under Italian occupation, while the real Fulgozi ran the risk of being caught without proper documents.[105] There are endless episodes and stories like these in which individual physicians and others rescued Jews and provided them with the opportunity to reach their next temporary shelter. Some of the Jews rescued by these physicians, who put their lives in harms' way, were probably caught later on or even killed in battle. The rescue effort of the medical personnel has to be recognized and acknowledged as a heroic act.

[105] Fulgozi, Dr. Ante, Interview March 3, 2003 Zagreb, Croatia

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE RESCUE OF THE JEWS BY THE ITALIANS, 1941-1943

Map 7.1: Italian Zones of Occupation



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Section 7.1: Rescue by the Italian Army

Historical Background

Despite the complexity of the issues and the fact that many historians have explored the subject matter of the rescue of the Jews by the Italian Army, there is more to the story than the simple humanity of the Italians. The documents, letters, testimonies all suggest that the Italians did not blindly rescue the Jews exclusively for humanitarian reasons. In mid 1942 the Italian Army was fully aware first that the Germans were failing in their battles on the Russian front and second, the Nazis were committing heinous crimes against the entire Jewish population. They made careful assessments about what they might gain and lose if they handed the Jews over to Nazi Germany. The decision to rescue the Jews was also based on insult: the fact that the agreement to deport the Jews from the Italian controlled territories was signed between the Croats and the Germans without prior consultation with the Italian Foreign Ministry dealt a severe blow to the status and prestige of the Italian Army.

Out of the 9,500 Jews who were from the territories of NDH, approximately 7,500—maybe even more—were rescued either in Italy or while passing through Italy en route to Switzerland and in the Italian Zones of occupation. This statistic was responsible for the research conducted from the end of World War II to the present. Historians, journalists and others have aimed to find answers to the following questions: "Why did the Italian Army choose to rescue Jewish refugees? Why did generals and administrators in the fascist regime risk their careers to rescue non-Italian Jews? Why did the Italian military and civilian authorities betray their major Axis partner, Nazi Germany, by sabotaging their efforts to annihilate the Jews?" While

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these questions are vitally important and I touch on them briefly, nevertheless the question of paramount interest in this chapter is less speculative: it deals with how rather than why. How did the Italian Army (*Supersloda*) rescue those Jews who reached their sector of occupation? Where did they accommodate them in the face of the mounting pressure from Nazi Germany and the NDH Ustashe to extradite them? Who took the leading role in providing monetary and financial assistance?

The subject of the rescue of Jews by the Italian Army first came to public attention in 1944, in a short article written by Roberto Ducci and signed Verax.[1] Roberto Ducci served as the head of the "Croatian Mission" in the Italian Foreign Ministry before the capitulation of Italy to the Allied armies. Apparently, he was one of the Italian officers involved in the rescue of Jews in the Italian Zones of occupation in Croatia. Before leaving Zagreb in September 1943, he managed to collect some important documents that testified to events in the Italian Zone during the years 1941-1943. A few months after the end of the war and following the publication of Ducci's article, the Italian Foreign Ministry published a memorandum on the activities of the Italian Army: "to protect the Jewish refugees who arrived first to Italy and later to the Italian Zone of occupation during the years 1938-1943."[2] In 1951, Jacques Sabille wrote an article on "The Attitude of the Italians toward the Persecuted Jews of Croatia."[3] The

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[1] Verax, "Italiani ed ebrei in Jugoslavia," Politica Estera, I, Rome, 1944, 21-29 (The original name of Verax is Roberto Ducci).

[2] Relazione sull'opera svolta dal Ministero degli Affari Esteri per la tutela delle Communità Ebraiche (1938-1943), n.p., n.d.

[3] Sabille, Jacques, article was based on eleven documents relating to the period from July 24, 1942 until April 10, 1943. Sabille discovered the documents in the archive of the German Foreign Ministry. His documents were incorporated into a book.

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article was groundbreaking. It became a milestone in the research into the activities of the Italian Army.

Although the documents discovered by Sabille were authentic, the first reaction of the public was one of disbelief and suspicion. It seemed impossible that Hitler's Allies would dare to oppose the Nazi ideology. It was in Croatia that the Italian attitude toward racial persecution first took shape and, only later, was it implemented in other Italian occupied territories. The focus in these documents is on the general diplomatic campaign launched by the Italian Army to rescue the Jews. The reports that documented the rescue activities of the Italian 2nd Army were in fact written by Germans diplomats in Zagreb and sent to officials in Berlin. Since these reports were written by Germans, the Italian story seemed credible and believable.

The documents discovered by Sabille in 1951 shed new light on the relationships within the triangle of Italy, Germany and Croatia under Pavelic during the Holocaust. As mentioned in Chapter 3, following the Blitzkrieg of Belgrade on April 6, 1941, Yugoslavia was occupied by the Axis powers, and divided among the partners into various zones. Several tracts of land from the previously held Yugoslavian territories were annexed by the junior partners, Hungary and Bulgaria, while Serbia and Croatia were supposed to become independent states established in the remaining territories of Yugoslavia. Serbia never gained independence and fell under German military rule. Croatia, however, gained independence. In 1941, the Italians helped to establish the Croatian state in the hope that it would become a base for expanding

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Poliakov, Leon and Sabille, Jacques *Jews Under Italian Occupation*, Editions Du Centre, Paris 1955, (English Edition.)

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Italian political and cultural influence in the Balkans. Germany initially had no interest in the territories of former Yugoslavia, but later its plans for the region changed to the disadvantage of Italy.

A compromise had to be reached, a sort of "partition agreement" which was signed by Ciano and Ribbentrop[4] in Vienna on April 21 and 22, 1941.[5] According to the agreement, "independent" Croatia was to be divided into two spheres of control; the German Army would lead the control of the northeastern section and the Italian Army would control the southwestern section. To appease the Italians, the Germans maintained that the agreement was made because of the current security situation and was to last only for the duration of the war. On April 24, 1941, Ciano, the Italian foreign minister, wrote:

> I resume my notes. I have made an appointment with Pavelic for tomorrow at Ljubljana. The object is to find out what the Croatians think more than to reach any definite conclusions. It will not be easy. In Italy, too, there is strong propaganda in favor of the acquisition of Dalmatia, which is carried out by the usual agitators. To be pro-Dalmatian is a profession for many. Nevertheless, we have prepared two solutions: one that involves a continuous stretch of territory from Fiume to Cattaro, and one limited to historic Dalmatia. This last-named portion should be integrated by a political contract which would practically put the whole of Croatia under our control. The attitude of the Germans in all this is ambiguous. When we met at Vienna they gave us a free hand. But up to what point are they sincere?[6]

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[4] Ribbentrop Joachim von, Germany's Foreign Minister during World War II, worked very closely with Hitler.

[5] Ciano, Galeazzo, *Diary 1937-1943*, Enigma Books, New York, 2002, 415. (Ciano Foreign Minister in Mussolini's government as well as his son in law.)"I resume

[6] Ibid, Ciano, 417.

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On April 25 1941 Ciano met Pavelic, the leader of NDH, in Ljubljana, Slovenia to determine and set the borders of the Italian and German sections. After this meeting, Ciano entered in his diary:

> I saw Pavelic, surrounded by his band of cutthroats. He declares that the solutions proposed by us would get him thrown out of government. He makes a counterproposal.... that Spalato and Ragusa, (Split and Dubrovnik) in addition to some islands, would remain Croatian.[7]

On April 30,1941, the Italian General Staff warmly advocated a political solution with Croatia; any extremist and antagonistic step regarding Dalmatia could backfire and result in local uprisings.[8] Nevertheless, the Italians were certain that the Duke of Spoleto, who had been appointed by the King of Italy, would become King of Croatia. According to Ciano's assessment, the Italian government would have to keep tight rein over Croatia.[9]

The agreement reached between Ciano and Pavelic was meant to be signed by Pavelic and Mussolini on May 18, 1941. The signing of the agreement was designed to serve as a basis for friendly relations between the two states. It soon became clear, however, that the initial successes of Italian diplomacy were meaningless. On the day the agreement was signed, Ciano wrote:

> ...Maybe I am mistaken in my personal impression, but there is a feeling in the air that Italian domination in Croatia is to be temporary." [10]

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[7] Op. Cit, Ciano, 418.

[8] Ibid, Ciano, 420.

[9] Ibid, May 14, 1941, 425.

[10] Ibid, May 18, 1941 an agreement with Pavelic was signed, 426.

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From the very beginning, the Italians were prevented from extending their influence over the territories of the Croatian State because of the opposition of Germany. Nazi Germany suddenly decided that the territories of former Croatia could serve as a base for German influence in the Danube Basin. On June l0 1941 yet another change of plan that led to a conflict of interests between the two major Axis partners. Ciano described Mussolini's mood as follows:

> What a strange anniversary of our entry into the war! Using as a pretext the increased German meddling in Croatia, Mussolini uttered the harshest charges against Germany that I have ever heard from him. He was the aggressive Mussolini, and hence Mussolini at his best. "It is of no importance," he said, "that the Germans recognize our rights in Croatia on paper, when in practice they grab everything and leave us only a little heap of bones. They are scoundrels in bad faith, and I tell you that this cannot go on for long. I do not even know if German intrigue will allow *Aimone* [the duke of Spoleto] to actually ascend the Croatian throne. Besides, I have been thoroughly disgusted with the Germans since the time List signed an armistice with Greece without our knowledge and the soldiers of the *Casale* division...I've had my fill of Hitler and the way he acts.[11]

As far as the Italians were concerned, the Germans were far from being loyal and trustworthy partners. In his book *All or Nothing,* Jonathan Steinberg summarized the nature of Hitler's greatest crime, the first being the attempt to exterminate the Jews and the second, which was of no lesser evil, his manipulations of human "bestiality" when he sanctioned the murder of one people by another."[12]

Initially, it was decided between the Germans and the Italians that all the territories of Croatia were to be ruled by the Italian King. However, with a short time, the territory was divided into several parts. The Independent State of Croatia, Zone A—

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[11] Ibid, Ciano, 434.

[12] Steinberg, Jonathan, *All or Nothing, The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941-1943*, New York, Routledge, 2002, 32.

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a small stretch of land on the Adriatic coast—was annexed by Italy. The second part was a strip of shore of about 50 kilometers wide along the Adriatic which included Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina; this section was to be administered jointly by the Italian and the Ustashe.[13] The Italians controlled the security and the military while the Ustashe handled all the administrative tasks; this territory was defined as Zone B. As early as August 1941, the Italian Army was forced to take over all the administrative duties from the Ustashe in Zone B because of gross brutalities committed by the Ustashe against the Serbs. The Italian government recognized that NDH has lost control over its destiny; Germany was in charge nevertheless, for a while longer, the Italians were willing to play the game. On December 15, 16,1941 Ciano wrote in his diary:

> ...It all depends on the Germans. If they keep their obligations according to which Croatia has become a Zone of Italian influence, a great deal can be accomplished by us yet. If, on the contrary, they should again try to force our hand and press their penetration, there is nothing for us to do but to haul down our flag and return home. The Croatians are very friendly toward us. Pavelic also likes us, but all of them are terrorized by the Germans, and it does not even occur to them to offer resistance to any pressure from Berlin.[14]

After January 9, 1942,Ciano made no entries that mentioned Pavelic although certain territories were still jointly held.

The Persecution of the Jews of Croatia

The persecution of Jews began shortly after the establishment of NDH and information regarding their plight reached the Italian Foreign Ministry early in the

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[13] HDA, HR, 1547, Zbirka RSUP, "Sluzba drzavne sigurnosti" Prilike u Anektiranoj/ Talijanskoj/Dlmaciji na granicame ove, 2-18 .

[14] Ibid, 474.

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summer of 1941. The reports included descriptions of the brutal behavior of the Ustashe and of Croatian government officials toward Jews and Serbs; these documents also express deep aversion towards the bestiality of the Ustashe. At these early stages, the acts of inhumanity towards the Serbs and the Jews were not taken seriously by the Italians despite their knowledge of massive brutalities that were reported, in long memoranda, to the Italian Foreign Ministry by the Jews of Sarajevo and Split.[15]

In the early days of the fall of 1941, the extermination of the Jews in NDH gathered momentum; on September 3 and 4, 1941, mass deportations from the Ustashe territories began taking place and the deportees were sent to Ustashe concentration camps. Particularly difficult was the situation of the Jews of Sarajevo, who barely could adjust to their new predicament, and where they still presumed that a *modus vivendi* could be worked out and that evacuation was not necessary. From the discussion in Chapter 4, Sarajevo, it is clear that this assumption was incorrect. According to the testimony of Judge Srechko Bujas, the trustee of the Sephardic Jewish community in Sarajevo, the Jewish leaders failed to urge their fellow Jews to leave despite warnings by Bujas and the Zagreb Jewish community of the up and coming deportations. Only a small percentage of Jews left, but the majority stayed; they simply could not believe that they would share the same fate as the Jews of Austria Germany and Poland.[16]

Despite the failure of the Jewish leadership in Sarajevo to urge their members to leave, the news that the Italians were kinder then the Nazi and the Ustashe traveled fast.

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[15] Appendix 7.1.0: See also Carpi, Daniel "Le Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Split u-be-Sarayevo (Te'udot Hadashot min ha-Shanim 1941-1942)," Yalkut Moreshet, No. 10, 1969, 109-121.

[16] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/ 45 Box 10, Srechko Bujas.

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After the first deportations, hundreds of Jews who had even a small amount of money and a realistic picture of what would happen if they stayed in the Nazis and Ustashe territories fled, hoping that they would never return. But since the borders kept shifting, the outcome of their journeys was not always as planned. The Jews, who reached the Italian controlled territories in Zone A, experienced no danger of extradition; however, those that reached Zone B were frequently deported back to the NDH territories.[17]

Dr. Emil Freundlich, who was initially rescued in Gospic, Croatia, by Dr. Ante Fulgozi, describes how he and his parents survived. Without hesitations, they hired a taxi with a driver to go from the small town of Gospic to the town of Crikvenica on the Dalmatian Coast. From there, by boat, they reached the town of Susak, believing that a smaller town would be safer since the number of refugees would be small. Little did they know that Susak had been designated in Zone B, where civilian and administrative authorities were in Ustashe hands. Emil Freundlich accounts how, on their second day in Susak, he and his parents were captured and arrested by the Italian police and deported over the border into NDH territory. Since they had money and good contacts, they were back on Italian soil in no time, but this time they insisted that their destination be Italy proper.[18] Countless numbers of Jews who were expelled from Zone B were far less fortunate than the Freundlichs; for many, the return to Italian territory was almost impossible, particularly for those who had spent all their money on the first trip.

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[17] Shelah, Menahem, "The Italian Rescue of Yugoslav Jews 1941-1943, in Herzer, Ivo, The Italian Refuge, Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust, The Catholic University, Washington, DC 1986, 205-218.

[18] Freundlich, Dr. Emil, written testimony sent to Esther Gitman, August 20, 2003 from Nahariya, Israel.

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Without essential funds, they were usually delivered to the Ustashe who deported them without delay to concentration camps.

The National Croatian Commission for the Investigation of Crimes in the territories of former Yugoslavia states that, in Zone B, the Italian police and military until mid 1942 contributed to the perpetration of the Ustashe crimes.[19] Charles Steckel, the former Rabbi of Osijek, and many others testified that the Italians in many instances made it impossible for the Jews to save themselves. The Italian soldiers gathered all the new faces they saw, handing the new arrivals over to the Ustashe. In addition, Steckel argues that in Dubrovnik, Crikvenica, Susak as well as other locations in Zone B, the Italians tolerated the implementation of Pavelic's Racial Laws. Furthermore, Jewish property was seized by the Italians and the Jews were sent to the Ustashe concentration camps.[20]

Emilio Tolentino, the secretary of the Jewish Community in Dubrovnik who testified in 1945 in front of the National Commission, describes the hardship experienced by their small but vibrant community. One hundred and twelve people lived in the Dubrovnik community at the beginning of the war, out of which 83 lived in the confines of the old city and the rest on the periphery. In May 1941, the Ustashe assumed administrative control of Dubrovnik; unleashing anti-Semitic propaganda through the swift implementation of Racial Laws that were followed by deportations.

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[19] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45 box 10, logbook (Zapisnik) June 9 1945.

[20] Steckel, Charles W., Destruction and Survival, Delmar Publishing Company, Inc. Los Angeles, California, 1973, 21. Source: The National Commission for the verification of Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against Jews in Yugoslavia, Belgrade, 1957, 22-24.

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The Ustashe also informed the public that those found assisting Jews would be shot. However, the Gestapo and Ustashe threats against the population were not a sufficient deterrent to prevent many from providing assistance to their Jewish friends.[21]

In his testimony to the National Commission, Emilio Tolentino testified that, despite the assistance from friends and neighbors, out of the 112 Jewish residents of Dubrovnik, only 23 survived.[22] Because of the atrocities committed by the Ustashe in the Dubrovnik region, in September 1941, the control of the city was transferred to the Italian authorities. The situation improved only slightly because the city was still flooded with Ustashe and Gestapo agents. Despite the evidence given by both Emilio Tolentino and Rabbi Charles Steckel of the atrocities committed against the Jews not only by the Ustashe and the Gestapo but also by the Italian soldiers in Zone B, historians Leon Poliakov and Jacques Sabille portray a different picture:

> The Italian officers and men whose wonderful rescue work calls for recognition and admiration were careful not to leave evidence in their official documents. That is why this period is veiled in legend, in which the black nightmare of the gas chambers and the crematorium ovens is repeatedly illuminated by flashes of heroism and humanity. The eyewitness accounts of this period, a small part of which exist in writing, bear all the characteristics of a folk-saga, compelling an objective historian to be extremely wary about using them as real records. Yet if there is a lack of authentic documentation about the period, the eyewitness accounts fully corroborate the knowledge we have of the main course of events of that tragic summer of 1941.[23]

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[21] Ercegovic, Misliv, interview, May 27 2003, Zagreb, Croatia. See also the personal diary of Elvira Khon who was one of the survivors in Dubrovnik all due to the generosity of people like the Ercegovic family.

[22] HDA, ZKRZ, GUZ, 2235 18/2-45. The Jews of Dubrovnik HDA a long history in the city; their ancestors began to arrive in larger numbers during the sixteenth century.

[23] Poliakov, Leon and Sabille, Jacques, *Jews Under Italian Occupation*, 132.

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Over thirty years later, Menahem Shelah, the Israeli historian born in Zagreb Croatia, has also given a very glowing report:

> Italy's behavior toward the Yugoslav Jews represents something unique in the annals of the Holocaust, for it consists of protection and rescue rather than persecution and slaughter. ...As historians, Jews, and humanists, we have a historical and moral obligation to illuminate those noble and humane deeds that shone through a political firmament blackened by savagery and death camps.[24]

In order to understand the claims of both sides, it is important to distinguish the conduct of the Germans and the Ustashe from the conduct exhibited by the Italians towards the Jews particularly from mid-1942. It is also important to compare the rate of rescue in Nazi and Ustashe territories with the rate of rescue in the Italian territories of occupation.[25] For the Nazis, the Jews were an inferior race that had to be eradicated; the Jews were the enemy. In a meeting between Slavko Kvaternik and Hitler in July 1941, Hitler outlined the Nazi perception of the Jews:

> These people cannot be included in a regular society or within the framework of a normal society. They are parasites (Shmarotzer) on the body of a healthy society; they live by using honest and hard working people. One cannot expect of them to be integrated in a society that aspires to law and order. Therefore, the only thing that can be done with them is to destroy them (Vernichten). Thus when people of consequence sacrifice themselves in battle, it would constitute a crime to spare the corruptors (Schurken). There is a need to expel them or, if they are not dangerous, to lock them up and never let them get free.[26]

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[24] Shelah, Menahem, "The Italian Rescue of Yugoslav Jews 1941-1943, in Herzer, Ivo, *The Italian Refuge, Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust,* The Catholic University, Washington, DC 1986, 205.

[25] Shelah, Menahem, edi. *History of the Holocaust—Yugoslavia*, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 1990, 227.

[26] Hillgruber, Andreas, ed., "Staatsmaner und Diplomaten bei Hitler, vol. II, Frankfurt a/M, 1970, 611. (The protocols of the discussions between Hitler and Slavko

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At the same time, the Italians conceived of the Jews as helpless refugees in need of help and protection. The statistics on the rescue of Jews under the Italian control show that approximately 7,500 Jews had found shelter in Italy and Italian territories of occupation. In NDH, only a few hundred Jews of mixed marriages and a few converts to Catholicism and Islam survived. Whenever possible, the Italians offered assistance to the Jews. First and foremost, they provided them with travel documents, identification cards, and monetary allowances usually provided by DELASEM.[27]

Nevertheless, the story of the rescue of the Jews in Croatia under the Italian occupation is much more complicated than the somewhat simplistic picture portrayed by Poliakov, Shelah and Hannah Arendt. Arendt comments:

> What, in Denmark, was the authentically political sense, an inbred comprehension of the requirements and responsibilities of citizenship and independence, was in Italy the outcome of the almost automatic general humanity of an old "civilized people.[28]

What, then, were the inherent motives of the Italian government and the Italian Army in providing assistance to the Jews? Was the motive an "almost automatic general humanity of an old "civilized people" as suggested by Arendt? If the latter is correct, then we should perhaps consider whether the whole Italian Army should be

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Kvaternik were translated to Hebrew by M. Shelah, see The History of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia.)

[27] See Chapter III section 2, the story of rescue told in an interview by Zuzi Jelenik, interview January 23, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

[28] Arendt, Hannah, Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil (London, 1963), 161.

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included in the "Righteous Among the Nations." This is Shelah's position: "As historians, Jews, and humanists, we have a historical and moral obligation to illuminate those noble and humane people." In light of the historiographic outpour of admiration for the Italians the question that need be considered is: Is the humanitarian aspect the only aspect for historians to consider? The documents suggest that further research and analysis are required.

The Italian Civilian and Military Authorities

As mentioned above, the persecution of the Jews of Croatia began shortly after the creation of NDH. Information regarding their plight reached the Italian Foreign Ministry early in the summer of 1941. In the early days of NDH, the fleeing Jews began to congregate in the resort city of Crikvenica. Within two months, there were approximately 2000 Jews in the city, all from the interior of NDH. Most of the Jewish refugees lacked proper travel documents and identification cards. The initial dangers facing the Jews without proper documents arose from the additional problem that the civil authorities were changing hands from the Ustashe administration to the Italian administration. Despite the harassment and threats by the Ustashe, the Jews were determined to remain in the Crikvenica region where they immediately formed "The Representation of Jewish Refugees" located on the premises of "Villa Klara." This organization assisted all those Jews that turned to them with legal difficulties.[29]

Although the number of the Ustashe in Crikvenica on July 11, 1941 was only 108, they caused major difficulties for the Jews. The Ustashe sent an urgent message to

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[29] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/20-45, box 12, 1915.

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the Governor of Crikvenica, informing him of the status of the Jews in the town. For legal purposes, the Ustashe requested that all Jews abide by the following requests: one, all Jews must wear identification ribbons; two, all Jews should be prohibited from using public areas and from engaging in business transactions; three, Jews were forbidden to approach and converse with NDH soldiers; four, Jews should not be seen on the streets after 9 p.m., after which a curfew would be imposed. Warnings were posted informing the Jews that those found in violation of these decrees ran the risk of being shot.[30] In addition to the problems encountered from the Ustashe, many younger Jews had to struggle with extreme poverty. Many refugees could barely scrape together enough money for travel, leaving nothing for their daily upkeep.[31]

Yet, from the file of Hans Helm, the German attaché to Zagreb, one gets the impression that the Jews enjoyed an almost normal life; working to bring the two enemies, the Italian Army and the Partisans closer. The following letter was sent from Karlovac on June 5th 1943:

> The Jews that escaped Croatia to Italy are mostly concentrated in Crikvenica; they enjoy all rights and privileges and have freedom of movement. Many suspect that the Italians are using the Jews to establish contact with the Partisans, because many Jews have been seen looking to the Partisans to provide them with information; and then bringing back information is then given to the Italian authorities.[32]

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[30] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/20-45, Box 12, 1916.

[31] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/20-45, Box 12, 1920.

[32] Appendix 7.1.2, see also HDA, Hans Helm File, 285-351, documents from June 10, 1943 to September 12, 1944 reports provided to Hans Helm by various Nazi agents and reports from Hans Helm to Reichsfuhrer SS, RSHA, Amt VI, Berlin.

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The Nazis in Croatia were unsuccessful in their attempts to convince the Italians that the Jews should be eliminated. Failing in their efforts and probably fearing the reaction from Berlin, they attempted to instigate Berlin to act. People of the likes of Hans Helm and Abromeit alluded that the Italian and the Partisans are cooperating and that the Jews are the facilitators Jews.

On May 15 1941, Giuseppe Bastianini, the civilian governor of Dalmatia, sent an official report to Rome. The report stated that thousands of Jewish refugees had already settled in Dalmatia. He asked the Foreign Ministry and the Italian Army in Croatia to act quickly and to find an immediate solution to the Jewish refugee problem.[33] Thus, within a short time, several departments within the Italian government, that were destined to play a role in the rescue of Jews in the Italian territories had been activated: the Foreign Ministry in Rome, the liaison office attached to the Italian Army Headquarters in Croatia and Dalmatia, the Italian Legation in Zagreb, the Italian civilian governor of Dalmatia, and the headquarters of the Second Army in Croatia and Dalmatia.

The Italian Army gradually became aware of the German intention to exterminate the entire Jewish people. This revelation could have made a profound difference to the way the behavior of the Italian political class. At the same time, those in power were certainly aware that Germany's progress, on several fronts, was disappointing. As a consequence, it could be suggested, that the realization that matters

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[33] Carpi, Daniel, "Rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of Occupied Croatia Rescue Attempts During the Holocaust," Jerusalem, Proceedings of the Second, Yad Vashem International Historical Conference 1971, 475.

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had taken a turn for the worse in North Africa and on the Russian front, and that the Germans were facing the prospect of defeat, made them to reconsider their attitude towards the Jews. Some historians among them Jonathan Steinberg attributes the Italian attitude towards the Jews to culture:

> ...to the totality of Italian experience— to political institutions, social practices, personal habits, language, values and norms.[34]

In a matter of weeks the initial awareness of Jewish suffering changed to the full knowledge of their annihilation. On August 1941, the Italians took over the territory of the Island of Pag, formerly an Ustashe concentration camp. The Italian authorities sent a commission of professionals to investigate what was going on and whether crimes were being committed on the Island. They found unimaginable atrocities— thousands of people had been heaped one above the other in deep ditches, 50-70 people in each ditch. To prevent the spread of disease, the Italians had to burn the bodies, 2-3 ditches per day; it took 18 days to complete the task.[35] The copies of the report were handed to the Heads of the Army, the Foreign Office, and, apparently, to Mussolini; uncensored photographs made a stark impression upon all those that saw the pictures.

During our interview, Branko Polic told me how his mother had daily conversations with the wife of an Italian officer living in the same hotel. One morning

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[34] Steinberg, Jonathan, All or Nothing, The Axis and the Holocaust 1941-1943, New York, Rutledge Taylor and Francis Group, 7-9. Steinberg does not attribute the conduct of the Italians to the realization that matters had taken a turn for the worse in North Africa and on the Russian front, and that the Germans were facing the prospect of defeat.

[35] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/11-45, box 11, Jews on the Island of Pag, .24. (Simple calculation suggests that on the Island of Pag the Ustashe annihilated approximately 4,500 Serbs and 2,000Jews.)

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in late August 1941, Branko's mother found the woman sobbing and crying. Branko's mother approached her gently and asked what had happened. Between sobs, the wife of the officer replied that she had seen the pictures from the concentration camp on the Island of Pag. "The pictures," Branko added, "must have awakened the Italian sense of justice."[36] In response to the Ustashe massacres, the Italian Army started to reoccupy Hercegovina, offering protection to the local Serbian and Jewish population. On the island of Pag, the Italians discovered the bodies of 4,500 Serbs and 2,000 Jews.[37] From the documents cited above, we may conclude that the atrocities discovered and photographed on the island of Pag led to a dramatic turning point in the attitude of the Italian authorities, particularly the military, towards the Jews.[38] From September 1942 onwards, the heads of *Supersloda* (the Italian Army), stationed in Croatia, and the heads of the Foreign Office in Rome decided that they must, at all, cost prevent the handing over of the Jews to the Croats and Germans. The Italian General, Vittorio Ambrosio, gave his word of honor to protect the Jews in areas under his command.[39]

On September 17, 1942, the Committee for Jewish Refugees in Crikvenica sent a letter of protest no. 229/42 to the authorities of the district of Crikvenica; it was filed under number 6325 as an official complaint. The Committee argued against the decision to extradite the Jews to the NDH territories, as requested by the local Ustashe:

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[36] Polic, Branko, interview, March 23, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

[37] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/16-45, box 12

[38] Levental, Zdenko, (ed.), Zlocini Fasistickih Okupatora i njihovih pomagaca protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji, Beograd: 1952, 227.

[39] Polic, Branko, Interviewed on February 22, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia

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> The treatment that the Jews and their young children have been subjected to by the Ustashe is unfair. It precludes them from receiving the most fundamental rights of protection that should be guaranteed to every person.[40]

Many letters from individuals were added to these reports, describing the cruel and inhuman conduct of the Ustashe toward both Jews and Serbs. A detailed memorandum was sent to the Italian Foreign Ministry by a group of refugees from Sarajevo;[41] the Chairman of the Union of Jewish Communities of Italy (Union) also sent a memo. However, the letters of complaint received no immediate attention.

Information about the Ustashe atrocities also reached the office of the executive for the district of Rijeka under the jurisdiction of Dr. Temistokli Testa. A group of Royal Carabinieri protested against the "terrorist regime undertaken and conducted by the Ustashe against the Jews." The finger of blame was pointed at the police agent, Mate Peko, who demonstrated great brutality by accusing the Jews of actions of which they were not guilty. Because of these and other criminal acts, Testa stated: "a policeman in the Italian society is required to appear in front of a military court where he will be tried and shot."[42] On grounds of justice and morality, concerted efforts were made to stop the atrocities by bringing to trial all those involved – from the level of junior officers in the field to the generals at the top of the hierarchy. The testimonies given to the to the National Commission for the Verification of crimes in Crikvenica—

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[40] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/20-45, Box 12, 1918.

[41] Carpi, Daniel, "Le toldot ha-Yehudim be Split u be Sarajevo, teoudot hadashot min ha-Shamayim 1941-1942, Jerusalem, Yalkut Moreshet, # 10, 1969, 109-121. (Under the following there are two document one sent by Engineer Morpugo, the head of the Jewish Community in Split to Alicia Krajljesheirm in Italy).

[42] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/20-45, box 12, 1918.

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on camp Kraljevica, the camps on the islands of Rab, Pag, and on Susak— point to the difference between the brutal and inhuman conduct of the Ustashe and the indignation of the Italians when witnessing, in their words, "such beastliness."

Bastianini, the Italian civil governor in Dalmatia, initially believed that, due to logistics, internal security and politics, the thousands of Jewish refugees should not be allowed to remain in Dalmatia. He, therefore, ordered the army to block the entry of additional refugees and to expel those who had already arrived. The plan to expel the Jews from the Italian occupied territories was apparently initiated by Bastianini and, shortly thereafter, the plan was approved and confirmed by the Interior Ministry. Nevertheless, though very detailed, these directives were not implemented. It was recognized that the hand over of hapless refugees to the Ustashe was equivalent to murder.

Thus, we can assume that in no other region did the Jews of Yugoslavia experience the contrasts of tolerance and persecution, hope and despair that they did in the Italian Zones of occupation. At times, the tolerance extended to the Jews seemed to be based on military and political interests—on the friction that existed internally in Rome and also on the frictions between Rome and Berlin. General Roatta and his 2nd Army consistently provided genuine humanitarian assistance. The refugees in the Italian occupied territories encountered the hospitality of both the Italian military and the population. Some survivors testified to the National Commission that the Italians had historically rooted sympathy towards the Sephardic Jews. Yet rumors were

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spreading that the Italian 2nd Army was cooperating with the German, Ustashe, and the Chetniks.[43]

In a report written on August 22, 1942, Roberto Ducci—pseudonym Verax—from the Italian Legation in Zagreb, proposed that all the refugees be concentrated in Zone B, i.e. in the area of Croatia controlled by the Italian Army. His concern arose from the deportations that were being carried out by Nazi Germany. The NDH government agreed to pay the Germans 30 reichsmark for every Croatian Jew deported to Auschwitz so as to defray the cost. In exchange, they received all the property of the deportees. This was in accordance with the German's official "territorial principle," applicable to all European countries, whereby the state inherited the property of each murdered Jew who had resided with it boundaries, regardless of his nationality.[44]

The report also stated that the Archbishop of Zagreb and the Vatican representative in Zagreb, Monsignor Marcone, had intervened via diplomatic channels in an effort to stop the deportations, but their interventions produced no change in German policies.[45] Ducci, a member of the Italian legation in Croatia, noted that

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[43] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2137/45, box 9 br. 2053-2234. Iznosimo pismena dokumeta, koje su nase vojne jedinice zarobile u vojnim arhivama italijanske vojske, odnosno komande SUPER SLODE, sto znaci: Comando Superiore FF AA Slovenia-Dalmazia. (Documents were found in the archives of the Italian Army which demonstrate that the Italian Army cooperated with the Germans, Ustashe, and Chetniks.

[44] Arndt, Hanna, Eichmann in Jerusalem, The Destruction of Croatia's Jewish Community, 142.

[45] Poliakov, Leon-Sabille, Jacques, *Jews Under Italian Occupation*, p. 146. Kasche wrote to Germany: "The Italians intend concentrating the Jews on a number of small islands; Lopud, near Dubrovnik, has been mentioned. The Italians stated that it is a very difficult and delicate measure to carry through, because of the American Jews, who are giving financial help for the people here (in Dalmatia). Every attempt made from the Croatian side to interfere or to collaborate in carrying out these measures is also repulsed by the Italians."

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Kasche, the German Attaché in Zagreb, had approached him with the request that the Jews of Croatia, who had fled to Zone B, be included in the deportations.[46]

On July 24, 1942, six weeks after the incident in Mostar, Siegfried Kasche the German Ambassador in Zagreb wrote a memorandum to von Ribbentrop stating that an agreement had been reached between Germany and NDH on the deportation of all the Jews of Croatia, including the Jews in Sector B.[47] Kasche indicated that the operation would possibly include 4,000 to 5,000 Jews; for this to occur, the Croatians would need German support and intervention in dealing with the Italian authorities. While not explicitly written, it seems that the NDH regime was aware that the Italians would oppose handing over the Jews.[48] Kasche also stated that, even without Italian approval, the German Government would soon take formal steps to deal with the matter of the Jews in the Italian Zone B.[49]

Proposals to derail the German plan were forwarded by various individuals in the Italian diplomatic service and army. Ducci's idea, mentioned above, greatly appealed to General Roatta, the head of the Army; however, he disagreed with the

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[46] Ibid, Poliakov and Sabille, 164, Document CXXVa—, 67a Assistant State Secretary Luther, Confidential, demonstrates that the Ustashe were in full agreement with Germany that the Jews from Zone B should be included in the transports leaving Croatia.

[47] Ribbentrop, von Joachim, Foreign Minister of Nazi Germany who worked closely with Hitler.

[48] Report of the Italian Legation in Zagreb, August 6, 1942, Archives of the Italian Foreign Ministry (IFM).

[49] HDA, Hans Helm File, re: Intervention on Behalf of the Jews, letter signed by Kasche sent to several entities among them to the RFSS-Kom. Sipo Ostufaf Heman. The letter of Kasche confirms what was writer by Ducci, 351.

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choice of location. Roatta recognized that, by the middle of 1942, the 2nd Army was losing control over the territories in Zone B and he had doubts the Army's capacity to protect the approximately 2,000 Jewish refugees that were spread over the region of Crikvenica.[50] Thus, General Mario Roatta recommended that the Jewish refugees be interned on one of the islands off the coast of Dalmatia in Zone A (zone annexed by Italy). This first round of correspondence had no practical consequences. Bastianini, the civilian governor of Dalmatia, rejected Roatta's suggestion out of hand, claiming that it could not be implemented.

Thus, while the Italians were wondering how to respond to the ongoing German requests to hand over the Jews in the Italian occupied territories in Zone B, they encountered once again the duplicity of the Nazis. By accident, the Italian Army learned that since the Italians were slow to give the Germans a clear answer regarding the Jews in their territories, the Germans in NDH were plotting to deport the Jews from the Italian territories without prior consultation. One document found in the Italian Foreign Ministry reveals that a group of German officers and engineers, serving in a unit of the TODT Organization in charge of mining bauxite in Mostar (Zone B), was housed in the staff headquarters of the Italian "Murge" Division. During a discussion at the officers' club, one of the German officers, General Schnell, told his Italian colleagues that his government and the NDH government had signed an agreement under which the Jews of Croatia, including the Jews in the territory occupied by the Italians, would be handed over to the Germans.

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[50] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/20-45, box 12, 1914.

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General Schnell justified the German decision to liquidate the Jewish population of Mostar because of "the need to requisition housing accommodation which was urgently needed" (Mostar-Bauxite and ore were needed for military industries). Schnell went on to further describe the "harmful" activities of the Jews in Mostar, who "constitute the most dangerous source of disturbances." On July 24 1942, General Schnell reported to Berlin

> We have evidence of the effective resistance of the Italian authorities to the anti-Jewish measures of the Croatian Government, in favor of wealthy Jews. In addition, the Chief of the General Staff in Mostar has declared that he cannot give his approval to the deportation of the Jews, because all the inhabitants of Mostar have been given assurances of equal treatment.[51]

Despite the explanations given to the Italians by General Schnell, the Italians considered the agreement a "let down" to the status and authority of the Italian Army and a further attempt by both the Ustashe and the Nazis to disregard Italian policies in the occupied territories. Because of what they had heard on June 23 1942, the officers of the Italian Murge Division in Mostar reported the incident to the headquarters of the 2nd Army. In turn, the 2nd Army contacted the Foreign Ministry in Rome, expressing the opinion that the agreement reached in the absence of the Italian delegation with regard to the Jews of Zone B should not be carried out. The Italian Army expressed defiance over the notion that they might be considered puppets of Nazi Germany by the international community.[52]

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[51] Poliakov, Leon-Sabille, Jacques, *Jews Under Italian Occupation*, 164-165. (Document CXXVa—, 67a).

[52] Memorandum to Ciano, November 3, 1942, AIFM

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On June 23, 1942, the first cable concerning the "agreement to extradite all the Jewish refugees including those in the Italian territories" reached Ciano, the Foreign Minister in Rome. On June 28, Ciano's personal secretary, the Marquis Blasco Lanza d'Ajeta, replied that Ciano had declared void the agreement reached between the governments of Pavelic and Hitler. It was not to be implemented in the areas under Italian occupation."[53] From this brief account, it appears that the reason for the rescue of the Jews in the Italian Zones of occupation was not entirely humanitarian. The Italian Army also needed to protect its independence from Germany and its honor. Motives for the rescue of Jews by the Italian Army will be discussed in the following sections.

Why Did the Jews Doubt the Sincerity of the Italian Rescue Efforts

As mentioned earlier, Bastianini, the Governor of Dalmatia, insisted that the refugees be extradited from Dalmatia and handed over to the NDH government. He made this demand in the middle of 1942. The Ustashe gave assurances to the Italian Foreign Ministry that no harm would come to the Jews.[54] But neither the Italian Foreign Ministry nor the Army believed that the Ustashe were capable of giving these assurances. And even if guarantees had been made, there was nothing to prevent the NDH authorities from handing the Jews over to the SS or the Gestapo and from deporting them to the Jasenovac concentration camp. The Ustashe were neither credible nor trustworthy.

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[53] Poliakov, Leon-Sabille, Jacques, *Jews Under Italian Occupation*, (English edition 1955), 164-165.

[54] Ibid, Poliakov and Sabille,168.

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On August 21, 1942, a memorandum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was sent to Mussolini informing him that von Bismarck, the advisor to the German Embassy, had submitted a request. The request, written by von Ribbentrop, asked that all the Jews in the Italian occupied territories should be extradited to the German forces so that they could be included in a transport leaving for Russia. Even though Ciano noted that von Bismarck had hinted that the Jews were destined for liquidation, Mussolini wrote two highly quoted words: "Nulla Osta" (no objection). With these two words, Mussolini had sealed the destiny of the Jews in Dalmatia.[55]

While Mussolini absolved himself entirely from any responsibility towards the Jews after his "Nulla Osta" declaration, Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, disregarded Mussolini's decision. He suggested that the Jewish refugees be concentrated in Zone B, as proposed by Ducci from the Italian Legation in Zagreb. This idea had merit, but those that made the suggestion were possibly unaware that the Italian troops were overextended and embattled with the Ustashe, Chetniks and Partisans. The only practical and safe solution was to transfer the Jews to Zone A, as General Roatta had suggested earlier. While none of this correspondence resulted in a direct decision regarding the fate of the Jews, many Jewish refugees, with the help of DELASEM, were accommodated for the time being. Oral and written testimonies by survivors published in various magazines, such as "Ha-Kol"[56] Novi-Omanut, Bilten[57] and others, describe

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[55] Appendix 7.1.1: the most recognized documents signed by Mussolini and one which the Italian 2nd Army rejected. Carpi, Daniel, "Rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of Occupied Croatia Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust." Jerusalem, Proceedings of the Second Yad Vashem International Historical Conference 1971, 512.

[56] Fischer, Vera, "Kupari 1942-43," Ha-Kol, # 53-54, March-April, 1998, 16.

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Jewish life under the Italian occupation as relatively pleasant, particularly for children and teenagers who attended school and classes and enjoyed plenty of homemade social and cultural activities. The pictures that accompany some of the testimonies show happy young people, dressed well, and enjoying life in beautiful settings.

In the middle of 1942, the Ustashe transferred responsibility for the deportation of Jews to Nazi Germany. The Germans felt that the Ustashe had lost their resolve regarding the Final Solution. Of particular concern to the SS were those Jews involved in mixed marriages as well as Jews with "special protection" whom the Ustashe had refused to deport. Once the responsibility for the deportations was transferred to the Germans, renewed pressure was placed on the NDH government to reclaim the Jews from the jointly held territories in Zone B.

At the same time Galeazzo Ciano, the Foreign Minister, who tended to minimize diplomatic vacillations over the issue of the Jews in the Italian territories, entered in his Diary on June 10, 1942, a few sentences regarding the loss of morale among the Italian soldiers:

> In Dalmatia the situation is very tense. The rebels, after having overwhelmed one of our brigades at Knin, are advancing toward Zara. Bastianini, who hurried to Rome, says that there isn't a minimum of forces to engage the rebels, thus their occupation of Dalmatia is to be feared.[58]

The Jews were sensitive to rumors of Italian weakness. What would happen to them without the assistance of the Italians? The Italian Army seemed to have lost its grip on the situation. The endless skirmishes with the Ustashe, Partisans, and even the

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[57] Goldstein, Zlata, "Sjecanjima na Karaljevicu," "Bilten" ZOZ, 1993.

[58] Ciano, Galeazzo Diary 1937-1943, 528.

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Chetniks, with whom the Italians at times cooperated, depleted the Italian manpower, exhausting their resources and supplies. The Army was not in a position to act decisively without the explicit orders from the Italian Foreign Ministry.[59] Consequently, the morale of the army was low. In light of the unstable situation in Zone B, it was difficult, if not impossible, to provide security for Jewish refugees—even for those in Crikvenica, let alone those dispersed throughout a region full of enemies.

Rumors of the cooperation between the Italian Army and Nazi Germany traveled fast. No wonder that, when the Italian Army began rounding up the Jews, many Jews became panic stricken and the number of suicides rose sharply.[60] The Jews were naturally terrified of being deported to Ustashe and German camps. But while the Italian Foreign Office gave orders not to carry out requests from Germany, the matter was still under negotiation with the German command. The oscillating *Yes* and *No* to the deportations was extremely difficult. Naturally, the Jews were concerned about their future and anxious to know whether Italy was serious about protecting them.[61] Orders to this effect were sent by the Italian Foreign Ministry to Von Mackensen, the German Ambassador in Rome.[62]

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[59] HDA, Zbirka RSUP, Sluzba drzavne sigurnosti, HR 1547, 5.

[60] There is no reliable or quantifiable data as to how many Jews, out of sheer fear and anticipation of the imminent arrival of the Nazi and Ustashe, committed suicide. However the fact that General Roatta hurried to the region to comfort and reassure the refugees that he personally would guarantee their safety may confirm that the situation and morale of the Jews was low and the suicide rate was high.

[61] HDA, Hans Helm File, 303 sent to the Police Attaché signed Kasche.

[62] Poliakov, Leon-Sabille, Jacques, Jews Under Italian Occupation, 138-139.

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On September 11, 1942, Castellani, the liaison officer between the Foreign Ministry and *Supersloda*, wrote a letter to his superiors in Rome. The essence of the plan was to round up the Jews and start classifying them into groups according to their place of birth, a well designed plan, as a delay tactic, devised by the Italians. Those Jews who arrived to Croatia after 1933 were to be excluded from the lists prepared for the Germans, since the request was only for the deportation of former Yugoslav citizens. Castellani also informed the Ministry that the tactic of the Army was to follow a process of "bureaucratic incompetence," reassuring the Germans, that they were cooperating while, at the same time, taking time to accomplish the mission of rounding up all the Jews. The Jews were not privy to this correspondence; neither were they aware that preparations for their deportation were nothing more than a "delay" tactic.

In answer to the questions posed earlier about the motives for the rescue of the Jews by the Italians, it seems that "automatic humanity" does not provide a sufficient explanation. Although the Italian Army was concerned about the Jewish refugees in Dalmatia, they were also concerned with the consequences of their agreement with Germany. Above all, they were concerned about the effort involved in the extradition of the Jews from the Italian Zone to Zagreb and other areas; the effort seemed totally out of proportion to the number of refugees involved. Furthermore, an extradition of the Jews would cause inestimable damage to the good name and prestige of the Italian Army in Croatia and throughout the Balkans. It would naturally be interpreted as a renunciation of the obligation assumed by the Italians to ensure that no one would be discriminated against because of religion or race in the areas under their occupation."[63]

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[63] Carpi, Daniel, "Rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of Occupied Croatia," 515.

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The extradition of the Jews would have aroused the suspicion and fear of the Serbian and Slovenian population that were under the Italian protection. Once the Jews were extradited, other minorities would be next in line to be handed over to the Ustashe.[64] The upheaval would have been huge and the battle for survival in all territories, including those outside Croatia, would undoubtedly destabilize the region.[65]

The Italian Foreign Ministry gave orders to the 2nd Army to round up all the Jews, approximately 5,000, and confine them on one of the islands along the Adriatic. But, once the task was completed and the Jews were rounded up in several centers, there was no guarantee that they could be effectively protected under the status quo. A special committee at the Italian Foreign Office devised ways to circumvent the pressure from Germany. Even so, during their stay in Rome, the German leaders Himmler (in October 1942), Joachim von Ribbentrop (in February 1943) and the head of the Gestapo Heinrich Muller (in March 1943), demanded unequivocally the implementation of Mussolini's original agreement.[66]

It seems that the reaction to the news of the probable extradition of the Jews to the German authorities had different effects on the Jews, the Italian officers and the

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[64] Report to "Supersloda," November 8, 1942, AIFM.

[65] Letter to the Italian Foreign Ministry, November 4, 1942, AIFM.

[66] Carpi, Daniel, "Rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of Occupied Croatia" 512. Several archives contain documents that deal with the issue of Jewish extradition from Italy back to NDH and the discussions between the Italian 2nd Army and the Foreign Ministry. Copies of these documents are available in the archives of Yad Vashem. Among the documents are copies from the German Military Archives, the Italian Archives of the Foreign Ministry. The Croatian National Archive (HDA) in addition to correspondence a large number of testimonies that were given by survivors to National Commission immediately after the war.

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Croatian population. Needless to say, the Jews agonized over their fate; panic-stricken and terrified, they reacted with outbursts of despair.[67] Branko Polic's recollections of November 27, 1942, are vivid; he remembers the visit of General Mario Roatta to Kraljevica (camp in Porto Re) to which the majority of the Jews had been sent. On this occasion, the General reaffirmed his commitment to protect the Jews from the Ustashe. Branko further recalls the exact words of General Roatta: "If I would had submarines in my command, I would transport them all to the safety of Italy." Roatta asked the detainees not to despair, promising that the 2nd Army would transfer the Jews to the safety of Rab.[68] The Italian officers as well as the regular soldiers, who had no knowledge of the delay tactic, were in no position to understand why, suddenly, Italy seemed to have developed such great admiration of Germany. They could not understand how their commanders could so cruelly hand over women and children to be murdered. In Croatia, as mentioned before, other ethnic groups anticipated that they, too, would become targets for deportation.

On November 5, 1942, the Foreign Ministry received a letter signed by Raffaele Guariglia, the Italian Ambassador to the Vatican. The letter stated that it was now public knowledge that the Secretariat of State d'Ajeta had received a demand from the German government to hand over 2,000-3,000 Jews, including women, children and the elderly who were in the Italian occupied zone of Croatia. The Vatican asked the Foreign Minister to do whatever was necessary to prevent their extradition.[69] On November 13th

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[67] AIFM, Report by Castellani, November 18, 1942.

[68] Polic, Branko, Interview, February 22, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

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Cardinal Maglione, the Vatican nuncio, wrote to his counterpart Monsignor Borgongini-Duca in Italy asking him to intervene on behalf of the Croatian Jewish refugees who are currently in Italian occupied territories.[70] On November 14, 1942, General Giuseppe Pieche, the commander of the Carabinieri in Northern Italy, wrote to Mussolini telling him that all the Jews from NDH that were handed over by the Ustashe to the German SS and placed in railway cars were poisoned (gassed) while on the train. Pieche stated that something must be done soon.

The Italian authorities were well aware of the atrocities committed against the Jews from the Pag investigation, the General Schnell incident, the letter from the Vatican and from General Pieche among many others. The news strengthened Roatta's resolve to rescue the Jews under his control. Possibly, the sympathy that developed between the Jews and Italians arose not only because the Jews so urgently needed protection. From the documents and the literature it appears that the camaraderie may also have developed because to the local population—whether in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia or Slovenia— the Italians were forces of occupation, while for the Jews they were their liberators.

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[69] Carpi, Daniel, "Rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of Occupied Croatia," Rescue Attempts During the Holocaust, Proceedings of the Second Yad Vashem International Historical Conference (Jerusalem), 1971, 521.

[70] Kristo, Jure, *Katolicka Crkva I Neavisna Drezava Hrvatska, 1941-1945, Dokumenti,* Documents 221 and 292, 229. See also Marchione, Margherita, *Yours Is a Precious Witness, Memoirs of Jews and Catholics in Wartime, Italy*, Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1997, 87, Marchione quotes Professor Mario Toscano who explains in his prologue to *Uncertain Refuge*, that demonstrations of solidarity in Genoa were not lacking. "DELASEM, with the fundamental assistance of Catholics in religious orders, was able to bring help to large numbers of the persecuted. According to Marchione Cardinal Borgoncini Duca was most helpful with documents needed by DELASEM, 87.

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In early December 1942, General Roatta visited Rome and, during a conversation with Mussolini, expressed his opinion that all the refugees should be transferred to camps located in Italy proper. However, there was a very low probability that Roatta's suggestion would be executed. The danger of transporting thousands of people by sea, as well as the high cost involved in such an operation, made Roatta's suggestion unappealing and practically impossible.

The Conflict Between the Italian Civil Authorities and the Military

In 1943, when pressure from the Nazis was mounting and the Allies were also increasing their power over Europe, the Italians decided to evacuate almost all the Jews from Zone B to Zone A. Some of the Dubrovnik and Split refugees as well as those who had recently arrived in the Italian Zone were transferred to the Island of Korcula. Those that were accommodated on the Island of Korcula, in the towns of Korcula and Vela Luka were free to roam the island; there were no fences. However, strict rules of curfew were maintained. The rescue transports from the Island of Korcula to Italy began already in December 1941 and continued throughout the war until two weeks after the capitulation of Italy.[71] The number of Jews confined on the Island of Korcula was as follows: In the town of Korcula there were 294 Jews, of whom only 22 children were under the age of 12.[72] Throughout the confinement, many young people left the island to join the Army of Liberation (NOV); excluding 81

[71] Mosic, Aleksander, written testimony submitted personally to Esther Gitman, subject Jews on Korcula, August 22, 2001, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

[72] JIM, 4560, K.24-4B-5/2

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women, children, and the few men who did not join the Partisans.[73] In the town of Vela Luka, the total number of refugees was 218, of whom 24 were children under the age of 12.[74]

From March to the beginning of April 1943, the various entities of the Italian civil and military hierarchy debated how best to handle the issue of the Jewish refugees from Kraljevica and other northeastern areas of the Adriatic. Finally a compromise was reached, whereby the Jews would be concentrated on the island of Rab (Arbe) in Zone A. From the testimony given to the National Commission after the war, the eye witnesses described their journey to the camps. As the trucks loaded with Jews moved with a slow and deliberate pace along the coast, the Jews waited with great anxiety to see if they took the right or the left turn. The right fork meant that the convoy would leave the coast and head for Croatia and certain death. If they took the left fork the Jews would remain under Italian protection and live. The trucks took the left fork and delivered them to Italian concentration camp.[75] The transfer of the people to this site was carried out in two stages. The first group consisted of 1,489 people. It was decided that the second group of Jews under the jurisdiction of the Italian Fifth Corps, who were already concentrated in Kraljevica (Porto Re camp), would remain there for a few additional months until arrangements could be made for their safe relocation to Rab.

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[73] JIM, 4559, K24-4B-5/1. (The number of rescued young children under 12 is similar to the percentage of children rescued in Sarajevo, less than 10 percent.)

[74] Maestro, David (Dado), Vela Luka Personal Diary, (Vale Grande) 1941-1943, Kibbutz Ein Shemer, Israel 1996.

[75] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45, Talijanska Zona.

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However, the process of transferring both groups to Rab was completed in a shorter time than anticipated.

The first group of internees from the Dubrovnik camp, totaling 110, arrived in Rab on May 28, 1943. The Dubrovnik transport was followed by several other transports from various areas of the Adriatic coast. In the period from June 19 to July 21, 1943, a total of eleven transports reached the Island of Rab. 2,353 persons—1064 males, 982 females and 307 children—arrived.[76] The data found in the Italian Archives mentions 2,660 Jewish inmates on the island of Rab, but this data seems to have not included the immigrants to Croatia from other European countries or it is also possible that some documents are missing.[77] According to the data compiled by the Partisans, 3,366 people were rescued from Rab, of whom 149 were children under the age of 15. However the data presented by both Daniel Carpi and Jacques Sabille, which is based on German documents, suggest that the numbers of the detainees in Rab reached 3600, which seems a more realistic figure.

The Camp on the Island of Rab (Arbe)

The camp in Rab, officially entitled "Campo di concentramento per internati civili di Guerra–Arbe," was a large camp, in which approximately 28,000 Slovenes and

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[76] HDA, Hans Helm file, letter sent to Berlin to Reichsfuhrer SS Director of German Police June 10, 1943. Subject: Jews in Karlovac: An agent informed this office that Germany HDA asked for the extradition of the Jews to be induced in a transport leaving for Poland. The Italians claimed that the Jews were their prisoners of war. Naturally the Jews were satisfied with their new status.

[77] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa: "Destiny of Jewish Survivors from the Rab Concentration Camp 1943-1945" Voice, fall 1998, 67.

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Croats were imprisoned under much harsher conditions than existed in the Jewish section of the camp.[78] Jasa Romano, a survivor of the camp and a historian, has described in detail the life of the Jewish inmates—the internal organization, social and cultural activities, the educational facilities as well as the daily contact between the Jews and the camp internal management.[79] For Romano, the Rab period serves as a prelude to his major work: Jews in the War of Independence. The Rab experience was one of preparation for where important contacts were made with the Partisans and with the Slovenian and Croat inmates of the Rab concentration camp. During the months that the Jews were adjusting to living in confinement—to wire fences, guards and sea (the Adriatic)—the general military and political situation in the Italian Zones changed. Mussolini was no longer in power. A new government emerged led by General Pietro Badoglio which had its own problems to resolve.[80]

On the eve of the capitulation of Italy, the question confronting the new Foreign Ministry and "Supersloda" was how to protect the Jews? What contingency plans could be made for their security in case the Italian army was recalled and had to leave Dalmatia? As expected, the military and political authorities had different solutions to the same problem. The Supersloda insisted that women, children and the elderly as well as the professionals, who could be productive and contribute to the economy, should be transferred to Italy. But, the Foreign Ministry needed to resolve the issue of refugees

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[78] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/12-45, box 11, Zidovi u Logoru na Otoku Rabu, Zrtve Fasizma I Taljinskog Imperialisma, 1229-1258.

[79] Roman, Jasa "Jevreji U Logoru Na Rabu I Njihovo Ukjučivanje U Narodnooslobodilači Rat" (Jews in the Rab Camp and Their Participation in the Liberation War), Zbornik, No. 2, 1973.

[80] De Felice, Renzo, *The Jews in Fascist Italy*, 428-430.

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with other entities in the government—for example, the Ministry of the Interior. At issue was the question of Italy's policy regarding such a large number of penniless refugees? And there was also the issue of how the government should act towards ethnic and religious groups who were also in danger of being murdered?[81]

As in the past, the Foreign Ministry had reservations. On August 19, 1943, Augusto Rosso was appointed the new Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry. The Badoglio government that replaced Mussolini made rather feeble attempts to deal with the rescue of Jews in Dalmatia, most of whom were on the island of Rab. Nevertheless, in a cable message to the Commander of the 2nd Army on August 19, 1943, Rosso stated:

> We must avoid abandoning the Croatian Jews or leaving them to the mercy of foreigners, deprived of all protection and exposed to the danger of reprisals, unless they themselves wish to be set free outside our zone of occupation. [82]

Badoglio authorized the army to "examine benevolently" individual cases and to give each Jew the opportunity to "decide his position according to his own personal situation within the limitations of the present conditions."[83]

On September 7, 1943, the day before the capitulation of Italy, in a desperate attempt to forestall the tragedy which they believed was imminent; the officers of "Supersloda" decided to send Major Prolo, one of their officers, to Rome. Prolo's

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[81] Steinberg, Jonathan, *All or Nothing, The Axis and the Holocaust 1941-1943,* 157. The first paragraph was published in 1944 essay by Roberto Ducci under the pseudonym 'Verax' in Politica estera, vol. 1 no. 9 (1944), 28.

[82] Ibid, Steinberg, 158.

[83] De Felice, Renzo, *The Jews in Fascist Italy*, 431.

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directive was to expedite Badoglio's proposal and to convince the Ministry of the Interior to agree to its immediate implementation. However, it was too late. On the evening of September 8, 1943, the Allied Command suddenly announced the surrender of the Badoglio government. The Italian Army laid down its arms and the German Army immediately took over most of the former Italian territories in Croatia. Six months after the capitulation of Italy, the island of Rab also fell to the Germans and to the Croatian Ustashe.[84]

In light of the above information, it seems unclear who was responsible for allowing the Jewish refugees to remain unprotected and stranded on the Island of Rab. Many arguments took place between the various branches of the Italian government; the decision was made that the 2nd Army could not act without instructions from either the Interior Ministry or the Foreign Ministry. All the suggestions seemed dangerous particularly to have ships sailing the Adriatic full with Jews, exposed to the German Navy. Eventually, Italy capitulated to the Allied Forces, the Italian soldiers left in a hurry and the Jews remained on Rab with no protection. This subject will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Section 7.2: Rescue of Jews on Italian Soil

The Jewish Communities in the Rescue of Jews

After the massive deportations in August 1942 of the Jews of Osijek the reaming Jews could not continue to be actively involved in the rescue of Jews. The task

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[84] Haimovic, Milos. " O Razlikama u Odnosu I Tretmanu Ustaske Nezavisne Drzave Hrvatske Prema Jevrejima u Bosni I Hercegovini 1941-1945," Zbornik, Jewish Studies, Studije Arhivska I memoarska grada, Beograd, JIM, 1997, 199-209.

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relegated to the Jewish communities on the Adriatic coast, particularly in Dubrovnik and Split. However, after the capitulation of Italy these two communities practically disappeared. But the community that came to the assistance of the Jews in both the territories of NDH and in the Italian Zone was "The Union of the Italian Communities" (Union).

In order to understand the importance of the Union, it is essential to describe briefly the process of its reorganization and revitalization. On November 13, 1939, after a long period of inactivity the Union of the Italian Communities held a dramatic board meeting in Rome, following which the leadership structure of the Union was completely overhauled. Dante Almansi agreed to act as head. The historian, Renzo De Felice, attributed the success of the Union to the firmness of Almansi and to his transforming it, once again, into a catalyst for saving the Jews. Although Italy was ruled by a fascist regime from the end of 1939 until the liberation of Rome on June 4, 1944, many Italian Jews held prominent, dignified and active positions in the country. Thousands of foreign Jews were generously and effectively helped both while they were in Italy and when they sought to emigrate.[85]

Dante Almansi was nominated president, and a Christian attorney Lelio Vittorio Valobra became vice-president of the Union.[86] The collaboration of these two individuals produced untold achievements. For example, in the past, passports had been very difficult to obtain; now, all of a sudden, everything became easy and passports were reissued to Italian Jews wishing to emigrate. Also, Almansi cooperated with the

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[85] De Felice, Renzo, The Jews in Fascist Italy, 413-414.

[86] Marchione, Margherita, *Yours Is a Precious Witness, Memoirs of Jews and Catholics in Wartime, Italy*, Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1997, 75.

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U.S. embassy in Rome. The Union then obtained assurances from the Italian government that German Jews would not be "repatriated" and that the flow of refugees would not be blocked at the Italian border.[87]

The most noteworthy success of the Almansi-Valobra partnership was to secure the permission to replace the defunct Committee for the Assistance of Jews in Italy with the Union-sponsored Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants, the highly respected organization known as DELASEM. With government approval and assistance, the organization rescued many thousands of Jews during the war years. Furthermore, because DELASEM was part of the Union, it extended its work beyond the Italian territories into the occupied territories of Yugoslavia. "Assistance" amounted to comprehensive backing: it included material help such as food, clothing, blankets and medicine. DELASEM also gave assistance relating to specific religious rituals and objects associated with religious holidays such as prayer books, matzoth for Passover and other essential items. DELASEM also provided moral support including searching for relatives, followed by communication with them.[88] This humanitarian organization contributed generously to the material and spiritual well being of the Jewish refugees of the former countries under German occupation including NDH.

Furthermore, because of the leadership of DELASEM, refugees could count on the help of several important international Jewish organizations such as HICEM and the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). These organizations were in a position to attract

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[87] De Felice, Renzo, *The Jews in Fascist Italy*, 417.

[88] Ibid, De Felice, 416.

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large sums of foreign currency to Italy.[89] The American Joint Distribution Committee continued to provide financial assistance through Sally Mayer in Switzerland and through the U.S. representative to the Holy See, Harold Tittmann.[90]

In September 1939, the Union distributed their offices to several locations, the Delegation for the Assistance to Jewish Emigrants, DELASEM, established its offices in Genoa. During the second half of 1941, DELASEM assisted about 6,700 Jewish refugees; 2,500 were living in Slovenia and Dalmatia. Assistance continued throughout the war. Valobra, the manager of the DELASEM, visited Dalmatia and Slovenia three times. Valobra had close contacts with the Italian military and political authorities—specifically with General Emilio Grazioli, high commissioner for the region of Ljubljana which was occupied by Italy. These contacts were very helpful in the rescue process, especially of the Jews who gravitated to the Italian Zones of occupation.

During the summer of 1942, through the Slovenian Red Cross, Valobra obtained permission for the transfer into the Italian Zone of over fifty children and adults located in the no-man's-land at Lesno Brdo (high Alp Mountain on the border of Slovenia and

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[89] Appendix 7.2.5, Benedetto, Capuchin 159 via Sicilia July 20, 1944 a short summary of the activities of DELASEM by Father Benedetto. From a circular, dated January 24, 1942 it appears that the operating agencies at that time were those of Alessandria, Ancona, Bologna, Casale, Monferrato, Durazzo (Albania), Ferrara, Florence, Fiume, orizia, Legborn, Lubiana, Mantua, Milan, Modena, Naples, Padua, Parma, Pisa, Prishtina (Albania), Rodi, Rome, Spoleto, Turin, Trieste, Venice, Vercelli, Verona.

[90] De Felice, Renzo, *The Jews in Fascist Italy*, 418.

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Austria).[91] Valobra's contacts with the military commanders and the Chief of Police, Carmine Senise, as well as the local DELASEM workers and correspondents assured that the conditions of the refugees in these regions were brought to the attention of the Italian military authorities in Croatia and in Rome.

After the capitulation of Italy, the organization was forced underground when the Germans occupied the city of Genoa. The treasury of DELASEM amounted to 5 million lire and was entrusted to Father Giuseppe Reppetto, secretary to the archbishop of Genoa; a fifth of this sum was put in the hands of a Catholic priest Benedetto who was the newly appointed president of DELASEM, who took the money to Rome on April 20, 1944. The cooperation and the trust established between the Union DELASEM and the Catholics made the joint operation a success. Despite the occupation of Italy, DELASEM continued its operations from its new headquarters in Father Benedetto's residence in Rome with the help of the International College of Capuchins in Rome, through the contacts with the International Red Cross, the Pontifical Relief Commission, and the Italian police. Father Benedetto with an unrelenting work of several individuals and DELASEM set to work in manufacturing false documents and establishing contact with sympathetic Italian, Swiss, Hungarian, French, and Romanian officials.[92] Beyond the material assistance approaches were made in September 1941 between the DELASEM and Father Tacchi-Venturi to help the Yugoslav Jews.[93]

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[91] Ithai-Indig, Josef, "Children of Villa Emma", Herzer Ivo, ed. *The Italian Refuge Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust,* The Catholic University, Washington, D.C., 1989, 184-186.

[92] Robert Leiber, S.J., *"Pio XII e gli ebreidi Roma, 1943-1944"* (reprint), *Civilta Cattolica,*1961, I (2675), 452-455.

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In his autobiographical novella, "Dollar per Day," Danko Samokovlija portrays through the voice of his main character, Albert, the experiences of the Jewish refugees in the Italian concentration camp on Rab. He describes how the inmates were oblivious to what was happening around them. Not one of the refugees in Rab mentioned or even questioned who funded the daily sustenance of the inmates? Who paid for their medical care? After all, 3,600 people were fed three meals daily; such an undertaking would be taxing even under normal circumstances, let alone during wartime. In the novella, "Dollar per Day," Albert visits the camp's infirmary and asks the physician to arrange an appointment with the head of the hospital. He is told politely "I think all that we provide costs exactly one dollar per day."[94] Suddenly, it dawns on Albert that someone other than the Italian Army must have been responsible for the daily upkeep of the refugees and that the organization was DELASEM, the organization that had helped since they had become penniless refugees. Thus, the rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of occupation was also made possible by the efforts of International Jewish humanitarian organizations who worked in cooperation with many other non-Jewish international organizations.

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[93] De Felice, Renzo, *The Jews in Fascist Italy, A History*, New York, 465-466. DELASEM administration transferred to Father Benedetto was the French Father Marie-Benoit, who had gone to Italy when his grand plan to help the Jews in southeastern France collapsed under the German Occupation of the region.

[94] Samokovlija, Danko, Dolar Dnevno, (One Dollar Daily, 92. ("Mi pare, tuto ke damo per voji e bastanca, per un dolaro al dorno") It seems that we are giving you enough for one dollar per day.) DELASEM existed on donation collected from all over the world, mostly JOINT.

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Rescue of Jews in Italian Concentration Camps: Ferramonti

The following discussion focuses on the concentration camp in Ferramonti Tarsia in Calabria. The objective is not to conduct a comparison between the camps in Nazi Germany and those of Italy, since this comparison cannot be made. The German and the Ustashe were death camps, with little likelihood of survival, whereas the Italian camps provided a temporary confinement where life continued. Life in the Italian concentration camps seemed like a temporary encroachment on one's freedom to move and to travel, without any desire to cripple one's mind, or desire to arrest the intellectual and artistic talents of individuals.

The only concentration camp in Italy to be well documented is the concentration camp known as "Campo di concentramento Ferramonti de Tarsia" in the region of Calabria in the southern part of Italy. Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the authority on this camp, stated that the camp was established in 1938, when more than 4,000 non-Italian Jews were interned there. The majority were from Germany, Austria, and Poland. With the spread of war to Greece and Yugoslavia, the camp included people from the Balkans. On July 31, 1941, a group of 127 Jewish internees arrived at the camp; most of them came from Slovenia. In time, more people arrived from other parts of the former Yugoslavia. From the testimony of Dr. Emil Freundlich, who was born in Zagreb, I learned that smaller groups of Jews from NDH were frequently sent to the camp, particularly when their safety in the little Italian villages, where they found shelter, could no longer be guaranteed.[95]

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[95] Freundlich, Dr. Emil, written testimony sent to Esther Gitman, 20/8/2003, Nahariya, Israel.

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After being smuggled to Italy across the border near Trieste, members of the Freundlich family decided to give themselves up to the questuri (police) to be arrested as refugees. They had learned from previous experience that it was not very smart to allow themselves to be caught. The friendly Italians police told them that they would be placed under "house arrest" in the village of Cocconato in the province of Asti Piemonte, not far from the town of Torino. In Torino, there were 12 families from Croatia, totaling 60 individuals. Although they were under so-called "house arrest," they were free to visit the local stores. After fourteen months under house arrest, they were transferred to the concentration camp, Ferramonti, at the beginning of March 1943.

Dr. Freundlich's recollections of the camp are similar to those told by Miriam Steiner Aviezer[96] and other survivors. Despite the harsh environment, and overcrowding, the treatment was not cruel. Israele Kalk, a Latvian Jewish engineer, helped Jewish refugees since 1939 and dedicated time and energy to Jewish causes. He frequently took a special interest in assisting refugees. On his visit to Ferramonti in August 1942, he spoke to the internees:

> I don't think anyone will contradict me if I say that fate has been good to you and that your condition as internees in Italy is probably better than that of other brothers of ours who are still free in other European countries.[97]

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[96] Aviezer-Steiner, Miriam, born in Zagreb Croatia, interview, October 2, 2003, Yad Vashem Office, Jerusalem Israel.

[97] De Felice, Renzo, The Jews in Fascist Italy, enigma books, New York, 2001, 408.

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Kalk's statement was really intended to communicate that there was a major difference between the concentration camps in Germany and Italy. Kalk emphasized that, in the Italian camps, "a gentleman's agreement" existed between the internees and the guards; the message was: "Do whatever you want as long as appearances are safeguarded."[98]

The internees were free to organize their lives as they saw fit. In order to stay occupied, they engaged in agriculture, draining the land and growing crops by devising water systems and plumbing.[99] At Ferramonti, there were three synagogues for the various groups of worshipers. Thus, despite overcrowding and the acute shortage of food, the camp was able to fulfill its intentions—the provision of shelter with security. But most importantly, nobody died from malnutrition or harsh conduct from the guards. Capogreco described the people in the camp as resourceful and creative:

> In spite of everything, the Ferramonti community proceeded with its social and cultural development. The painter Michel Fingesten obtained a shed from the camp director, which he equipped as a studio, organizing shows and teaching the art of painting to some of the young people. Musical life was nurtured with passion by Maestro Lav Mirski, formerly director of the Osijek Opera in Yugoslavia. He directed both the synagogue "choir" and that of the Catholic chapel, which gave concerts of the highest artistic level. Even sport had a big impetus, with soccer in first place.[100]

When, on September 3, 1943, the vehicles of the Herman Goering Panzer Division appeared on the horizon, the deputy camp commander opened the gates to

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[98] Ibid, De Felice, 407.

[99] De Felice, Renzo, The Jews in Fascist Italy, 408

[100] Capogreco, Carlo Spartaco, "The Internment Camp of Ferramonti-Tarsia" Herzer Ivo, ed. *The Italian Refuge Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust*, The Catholic University, Washington, D.C., 1989, 171.

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allow the internees to flee. Nearly all the 2,000 internees scattered in small groups through the hills to the neighboring villages where they received help from the local population. One of the most courageous episodes of the entire war period took place when the camp was almost deserted during the approach of the German Panzer Division. Some old and sick people who were unable to escape remained in the camp, but they were not alone. A group of young people chose to stay and defend them. They had some useless old guns at hand but nothing that could defy a Panzer Division. But they had imagination and a keen desire to live. They developed a plan, which they immediately put into action. It was actually so simple, the inmates needed to deceive the German Panzer Division and prevent them from entering the camp. They did this by simply hanging on the gate a white and yellow cloth on which they wrote "Cholera Epidemic" the Germans turned around and left the area.[101]

Emil Freundlich and his family were among those who ran out from the Italian concentration camp in Ferramonti. After some trial and tribulations along the way they managed to reach Campo Bari, a large camp in southern Italy secured by the Allied forces. Emil and his family celebrated a joyous reunion with some of their countrymen who also managed to survive.[102]

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[101] Ibid, Capogreco, 174. This story passed from those who witnessed it to many others who were empowered by the story of courage.

[102] Freundlich, Dr. Emil, written testimony sent to Esther Gitman, August 20 2004, Nahariya, Israel.

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The Children of Villa Emma

The project of rescuing Jewish children began in 1937. Thousands of children were brought from Poland through Germany to Zagreb, Yugoslavia, en route to Palestine. In 1938, Recha Freir conceived and put into action the concept of rescuing of the children from the war-stricken countries in Europe within the framework of Youth Aliyah (young people leaving for the Holy Land).[103] Towards the end of 1940, it became clear that this plan could not continue since, even in Yugoslavia, anxiety over the war was increasing. The original intention was to transfer children across Europe to Palestine without creating an international incident. The children took a roundabout route, trying to cover their footprints. Josef Indig joined the adult team as a member of the youth movement, "Hashomer Hatzair." His task was to wait for the arrival of groups of children from Germany, accompanied often by a German guide, in a suburb of Zagreb.

The last group that Josef Indig expected to meet before the outbreak of war was a group of sixteen girls. Most of the girls came from Berlin. They were scheduled to arrive at the end of January 1940. However, they failed to arrive. The team in Zagreb was panic stricken. It was a bad time for a group of sixteen girls without proper documents to be lost. After searching the border-crossing and the routes the girls had to

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[103] Recha Freier created the idea of the Aliyath Hanoar (Youth Aliyah) in 1933 in Berlin, when she began to send the first youth groups to Palestine. When this experiment succeeded, an office was established in Jerusalem under the direction of Henrietta Szold, the founder of the Jewish Women Organization, Hadassah. Recha Freier remained in Berlin and contributed a great deal to the rescue of Jews originally from Poland, as well as their children. She organized groups who first went to Yugoslavia and then, as children of the Youth Aliyah, proceeded to Palestine.

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pass, Indig discovered that the Yugoslav police had imprisoned the girls in the town of Maribor on the Slovenian-German-Austrian border. The Yugoslav police insisted that the group should be turned over to the German police.

While still in Maribor, a border policeman, Uros Zun, defiantly refused to obey the orders from Belgrade. The story of the orphan girls was printed in the local papers and the entire community rose up. The following day, the newspapers declared: "We will not give up our little girls." So the girls obtained the necessary papers to stay in Yugoslavia.[104] From this point on, Indig attributes all successes of rescue and survival to this one incident stating: "We owe our lives to both good luck and to the many Gentiles who helped us and strengthened our thoroughly shaken faith in mankind."[105] Another statement made by Indig is important to our understanding that rescue would have been virtually impossible without the ongoing help of the Croat, Slovene, and Italian Gentiles:

> We had the good fortune, however, to come across other Righteous Gentiles as we were buffeted by our destiny. There were many more who sympathized with us and gave us help on our long journey. It was important for our children to see that not only Nazis existed in this world, but also good people who had not lost the faith and courage to be humane.[106]

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[104] Indig-Ithai, Josef, "Djeca Bjeze" (Children on the run), Jevrejski Almanah 1963-64, Savez Jevrejskih Opstina Jugoslavije, 129-136.

[105] Ithai-Indig, Josef, "Children of Villa Emma," Herzer Ivo, ed. *The Italian Refuge Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust*, 180.

[106] Op. cit., Ithai-Indig, 180.

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On March 27, 1941, a group of 90 children left Zagreb equipped with all the necessary papers and sufficient money to see them through to Palestine. Upon his return to Zagreb, however, Indig found a new group of orphans without papers awaiting him. On the eve of World War II, this group left Zagreb for Slovenia, which was by then under Italian occupation. Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, was the seat of the Italian High Commissioner, Emilio Grazioli. Eugenio Bolaffio, the representative of DELASEM in the Ljubljana office, told the Commissioner about the plight of the children. He agreed to issue travel papers for the group. While in Ljubljana, Indig telephoned the offices of DELASEM and spoke with Nathan Schwalb in Geneva who was the representative of the Histadrut (Jewish Labor Federation) and the kibbutz movement in Europe.[107] For these children, Nathan was both a symbol and a helping hand. Indig also telephoned Joseph Schwartz of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in Lisbon to inform the JDC of the atrocities that were being committed in Yugoslavia, and to tell them about his group of children. In Ljubljana, Indig's contact with DELASEM was Dr. Enrico Luzzatto, the secretary of the organization. All these entities knew that a 400-year-old Hapsburg hunting castle awaited them on the mountaintops of Lesno Brdo.

In a letter to Ilva Vaccari of the Instituto Storico della Rsistenza, Lelio Vittorio Valobra, the head of DELASEM describes how, on the day of their departure from Zagreb, the children's morale was very low. Yet again, these children were leaving for the unknown. But after they reached the border between Croatia and Slovenia, a

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[107] Appendix 7.3.3, Lelio Vittorio Valobra letter to Ilva Vaccari, the 8-page letter written in Italian describes accurately the "story" of the Villa Emma Children. Source of the document Yad Vashem Archive, Dalmatia M.70/107-109, Jerusalem, Israel.

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surprise awaited them. The Italian soldiers were expecting the children and, once the truck came to a full halt, they were showered with candies and sweets. This small gesture was a welcome change to what they had hitherto experienced from people in authority.[108] In June 1941, the children began their long journey with instructions to be quiet, to be good actors, and not to cry. The Children arrived at Lesno Brdo where they remained from July 1941 until July 1942. Initially life was hard for the children despite the help extended to them by DELASEM and the Italians. There were serious food shortages but the local peasants taught them how to survive on berries and other foodstuffs that grew in the forests. Italian officers brought them a radio; usually in the evening they listened together to the BBC news. At that time six adults from the Jewish Community in Zagreb joined them. Each served in a different capacity. The Jewish group established contacts with the local Partisans who provided them with protection while they provided the Partisans with a warm place to sleep and medication received through DELASEM. In mid 1942, the battles became very intense in the area and an order was received from the Italian quarter that the children should be relocated to Italy.[109]

On the way to Modena, the group with their teachers was delayed in Mestre, near Venice. Little did the children know that the Italians and the Nazis had conducted a heated discussion regarding their destiny? Based on a letter sent to Ilva Vaccari by Valobra we learn that:

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[108] Appendix 7.3.3, 2-3.

[109] Picini Ombretta –Voigt Klaus, I ragazzi Ebrei di Villa Emma Nonantola Comunedi Nonantola, Archivio Storico,2000, 8-9.

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> The Germans demanded that the car that carried the children be directed to Verona. The general of the Carabinieri, Giuseppe Pieche, having been informed by DELASEM of their plight, stepped in resolutely and, defying the Germans, ordered the car to be taken to Modena in Nonantola.[110]

Before the arrival of the Jewish children, the local Jewish community, with the help of DELASEM and the Red Cross, acquired a villa in the town of Nonantola, near Modena.[111] However, when the Yugoslav children reached Nonantola, Villa Emma was not available for them although the president of the Jewish Community in Modena, Gino Friedmann, had made the necessary arrangements with the authorities. While they were sitting outside tired and exhausted from the long trip and the many unpleasant incidents that had occurred on the way, the local police commander of the Carabinieri ordered all the locks to be smashed so that they could enter. "All necessary permits and orders will come later." Friendship and assistance came from the entire community; all were eager to help the orphaned Jewish children.[112]

On April 14 1943, 33 orphans, mostly from Sarajevo with a few from Croatia were added to the original Lesno Brdo group. They arrived from Split with the

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[110] Vaccari, Ilva, wrote the first version of the story of the children, *Villa Emma, Modena*, Istituto Della Resistenza e Provincia, 1960. In pp.19-20 she informs the readers that after the war General Pieche received the gold medal of recognition from the Union of the Jewish Communities of Italy for his rescue of the children and for his help in other matters concerning the Jews in Italy.

[111] Marchione, Margherita, *Yours Is a Precious Witness, Memoirs of Jews and Catholics in Wartime,* 209.

[112] Ithai-Indig, Josef, "Children of Villa Emma," Herzer Ivo, ed. *The Italian Refuge Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust*, 189.

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assistance of the Split Jewish Community and DELASEM.[113] During this period, very close relationships were formed between the Jewish adult community and the local church authorities, particularly with priests at the local abbey. Similar relations of goodwill were established with Don Arrigo Beccari and the late priest from Modena, Don Rossi. The children were kept busy studying and working. The teachers and guides made sure to give a definitive structure to their lives. From conversations with Eliezer Kaveson-Hadas, it seems that the children had many tasks to perform.[114] They had academic classes, and they also learned a few trades in preparation for their future life in Eretz Israel. Of special benefit were the two training workshops provided by ORT.[115]

For security reasons, the offices of DELASEM were transferred from Genoa to Nonantola. For the children and their teachers, this was an important event since they were the first to be given information and assistance. Villa Emma suddenly became a center for assistance to Jewish emigrants; contacts were established with other groups of young children. Of particular importance was the friendship that was formed with a group of Jewish children from Florence. They also established contacts and special relationships with existing organizations in Istanbul, Hungary and He-halutz in Geneva.

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[113] Picini Ombretta –Voigt Klaus, I ragazzi Ebrei di Villa Emma Nonantola Comunedi Nonantola, Archivio Storico, 2000, 10.

[114] Hadas-Kaveson, Eliezer, interview September 27, 2003, Bet Zaid, near Jerusalem, Israel.

[115] ORT, International Jewish organization for vocational education, founded in 1880 in St. Petersburg. The ORT organization was active during World War II. The children in Villa Emma were taught carpentry with a master carpenter in a workshop provided by ORT. It was important for them to acquire new and practical skills. [The skills Eliezer acquired in Villa Emma came to good use upon his arrival to Israel. Carpentry provided the means of livelihood for Eliezer and the family he established after his arrival to Israel in 1945].

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relationships with existing organizations in Istanbul, Hungary and He-halutz in Geneva. Moreover, the Villa Emma group planned a joint venture with other groups to organize a direct emigration to Palestine from Italy without having to wait permission from various bureaucracies.[116] He-halutz sent funds to Villa Emma through the DELASAEM office so that the children could continue their Zionist education. For the children and for the adults it was an exciting year with many promises of a better future.[117]

All this came to a sudden end when Marshal Badoglio signed Italy's surrender to the Allies on September 8, 1943. The adults in Nonantola as well as the children braced themselves for major change. It was clear that the Nazis would not stand by and watch Italy fall into the hands of the West. There was an immediate need to evacuate the premises of Villa Emma and to remove the 100 children and adults. In a group meeting, it was decided that the older children should disperse and look for a shelter among the locals all over the countryside, while the little children were accepted into the Abbey of Nonantola. Indig recalls the morning he came to Monsignor Pelati, the abbot of Nonantola, with a request to open the gates of his Abbey to the children. The Abbot replied:

> Well, of course, actually our archbishop forbids us to help you, but we are Christians so let the boys come'. Indig continued, "Monsignor, Our little girls, they too want to live!" The abbot replied: "Indig, this is difficult, for almost one thousand years there were no girls here; but, so be it . . . in the name of God, the Son and the Holy Spirit," Our old Pelati crossed himself, 'Let the children come'.[118]

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[116] Hehalutz, the Zionist organization supporting settlements of pioneers in Palestine)

[117] Ithai-Indig, Josef, "Children of Villa Emma," Herzer Ivo, ed. The Italian Refuge Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust, 193-194.

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The clergy with whom the group formed particularly close relationships discussed how to rescue these children; an answer had to be found. One idea was to dress them as orphan Italian children and bring them to the border with Switzerland. Attempts were made to obtain legal papers from the Swiss border patrol; they agreed to issue such visas but large sums of money were required: 120,000 lire. Since the telephone lines with Switzerland were cut, there was no way to obtain the money. Eventually money was obtained, and the whole group started the long march to the border. Eliezer remembered Yom Kippur (the Jewish Day of Atonement) of 1943 when they marched and prayed. After a few hours of walking in the mountains, they reached the point where they had to cross the border from Italy to Switzerland. It was a difficult moment since they had to thread themselves through a little window that had been left open for them. But all managed to pass through. The children finally reached a place known as Bex-Les-Bains, where they stayed until the war was over. On May 8, 1945, they left for Barcelona, their final stop before arriving in Eretz Israel (Palestine). The rescue of the Jewish children could be attributed to individuals from several countries, to the armies of several countries, and to humanitarian and religious institutions of several countries.

This story of the "Children of Villa Emma" has been mentioned by many historians and was told by Josef Indig-Ithai who led the group from 1940 through 1945. Yet there is still more to add and to learn, particularly from those who lived through the experience and survived to tell the story. In conversation with me Eliezer Kaveson-

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Hadas, a survivor of the Djakovo concentration camp, described how the first stage of his rescue was made possible through the help of the Jews of Osijek. About 700 children were deported in August 1942; among them was Eliezer's twin brother, no one survived.

Considering the enormity of this tragedy, the members of the Jewish Community of Osijek who survived the deportations decided to send the remaining children from Sarajevo either to their relatives or to the Jewish Community in Split. Since Eliezer had no surviving family members, he was sent to the Split Jewish Community who then arranged for him to stay with a local Jewish family. Eliezer's adoptive family found for him employment so as to bring in pocket money. In September 1943, after the capitulation of Italy, the Jewish community in Split with the help of DELASEM transferred approximately 40 orphans from the former Italian occupied territories in Croatia to Italy. These orphans from Split joined a group of European orphan children who were already living in the Nonantola region of Modena. Thus, though Eliezer did not spend his early years with any of these children, he soon learned a great deal about the good and bad things that had happened to them.

The first person Eliezer met upon arrival at Nonantola was Josef Indig-Ithai. Josef accompanied the group of children from 1940 onwards, hoping that together they would reach Palestine. Eliezer and the other children were to wait five long years to reach this goal. As demonstrated above, the story of this group of children is long and complicated; they were together for years, traveling through several countries and changing continents.

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One Thousand Jewish Refugees Enter the United States

The Executive Order # 9417 charged the "The War Refugee Board" (WRB)

> ...with carrying out the policy of this Government [which is] to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war." The order also specified, "It shall be the duty of the State, Treasury and War Departments, within their respective spheres, to execute at the request of the Board, the plans and programs [developed by the board]. It shall be the duty of the heads of all agencies and departments to supply or obtain for the Board such information and to extend to the Board such supplies, shipping and other specified assistance and facilities as the Board may require in carrying out the provisions of this Order.[119]

This order describes the main task of the War Refugee Board (WRB) which was created for the purpose of initiating and executing rescue operations through its representatives in Europe. Another important task was to appeal to the Allied leaders to issue war-crimes warnings to all countries collaborating with Nazi Germany, primarily the countries that formed the Axis Powers as well as to Spain.[120] Spain was one of the few European countries to open its gates. In spring of 1942, Franco's regime was interested in repatriating Sephardim with genuine Spanish names and those descendants of Spain; women, children and elderly would have preference. Eventually, as far as the Jews of Yugoslavia were concerned, none was in a position to take advantage of the

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[119] Federal Register, 1/26/44,935.

[120] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, HR, Zagreb 1547 Zbrika, RSUP, Sluzba drzavne sigurnost. Br. 63/42.B.B.*Top Secret* Report from the NDH Ambassador to Rumania to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Mladen Lorkovic, covers the material from 11, X-18.X, 1942. regarding pressure placed by both the U.S. Government and the Vatican to stop immediately the deportation of Jews or be faced with harsh punishments once the war was over and extradition of all the Romanian refugees from U.S. WRB diplomatic pressure backed by its program of psychological warfare, were instrumental in the rescue of thousands Jews in Transnistria who were moved to safe areas of Rumania. Similar pressures helped end the Hungarian deportations.

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offer. Hitler requested from Franco to negate on the offer. Threats of retribution once the war was over may have had some impact on those leaders who already recognized that, by 1942, Germany had virtually lost the war. But these warning had little effect on those countries such as NDH that were heavily involved with Nazi Germany. Thus, the two central tasks of the WRB were to search for havens for refugees and to send relief supplies into the concentration camps. However, the WRB soon realized that there were many obstacles on the path of rescue. Jewish refugees were welcome nowhere, and so relocation was extremely difficult. Nevertheless, the WRB had played a crucial role in saving approximately 200,000 Jews.[121]

The results of WRB financing programs unquestionably contributed to the survival of thousands of people. The WRB presence in Europe gave an added dimension to the activities of JDC and IRC; it cooperated with these entities in places like Lisbon in transferring Jews from France via Spain to North Africa. Also jointly they acted in Istanbul, where attempts were made to get Jews out of the Balkan countries.[122]

In April 1943, the Bermuda Conference of several nations urged Libyan authorities to offer Libya as a Jewish sanctuary for a short period. But the British authorities had failed to take action. Since the British were responsible for the Mediterranean, in 1944, almost a year later, the WRB pressed the British to take action so as to expedite the relocation of Jewish refugees. Nothing happened. During April

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[121] Wyman, David, S., *The Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, 285.

[122] Bauer, Yehuda, *American Jewry and the Holocaust, The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939-1945*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1981, 405-408.

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1944, most of the daily newspapers in the United States, for example the *New York Post,* (NYP) raised the issue of "free ports" in their editorials and news articles wrote about the plight of the European Jews. The journalist Samuel Grafton, whose column appeared in many newspapers, wrote in the Post:

> A 'free port' is a small bit of land, a kind of reservation, into which foreign goods may be brought without paying customs duties. . . .Goods brought into it from overseas are destined either for transshipment to other countries or for temporary storage. Why couldn't we have a system of free ports for refugees fleeing the Hitler terror? The refugees, Jewish and other, ask only for a few fenced-in acres of the poorest land in America. They don't want to keep it. They just want to sit on it until they can go home again.[123]

In his book, *Abandonment of the Jews*, David Wyman writes that *The New York Herald Triune*, the *Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and numerous other papers soon joined the call for free ports. To this list was added the entire Hearst chain, syndicated columnist Dorothy Thompson, several radio commentators as well as the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, the *Commonweal* and *Christian Century*. The Jewish press and all major Jewish organizations supported the plan. Many others also advocated "free ports" the Federal Council of Churches, the Church Peace Union, the National Board of the YWCA, the Catholic Committee for Refugees, the Friends and Unitarian service committees, the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, the AFL, the CIO, and the National Farmers Union. While support for the idea grew and public opinion was in agreement with the media and humanitarian organizations, nevertheless the WRB failed to react.[124]

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[123]NYP and NYT, Grafton's Column, April 23, 1944.

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On May 11, after many editorials, private discussions and debates, President Roosevelt decided to temporarily open the United States borders to 1,000 refugees congregated in Italy. The refugee problem in Italy was immense; a bottleneck had been created which prevented other rescue missions from succeeding. After numerous discussions, with various government and private entities, President Roosevelt together with a few Army officers decided that the best place to relocate the refugees from Italy was an empty Army camp along the eastern seaboard.

At a meeting on May 26, 1944, representatives of the Army told President Roosevelt about the precarious situation of the refugees in Italy. Roosevelt immediately ordered the Army to reopen the refugee flow across the Adriatic. Finally, the President agreed to bring 1,000 refugees to the United States. After several possible locations that were presented, Roosevelt recommended the Fort Ontario camp in Oswego. This camp seemed appropriate since it also had some symbolism from the Civil War era. Not long after the camp was selected, Roosevelt sent a letter prepared by the WRB to Congress explaining the dire situation that was created in Italy. Roosevelt also explained to the Congress and the nation that it was a temporary arrangement; once the war was over the refugees would return to their homes overseas.

Ruth Gruber, a journalist who accompanied the refugees from Italy, writes: "on August 3 1944, 982 refugees looked out to the horizon to catch the first glimpses of New York harbor." But before it appeared she recited to them a poem written by Emma Lazarus:

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[124] Wyman, David, S., *The Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, 263-264.

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> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door.[125]

Soon the ship, Henry Gibbins, docked after the long journey from Naples to New York. The disembarkation began with a fanfare of photographers, journalists and reporters; all came to see the refugees. For a while the news of their arrival occupied the columns of the newspapers and magazines. The "excitement" and the anticipation of families being reunited permeated in every corner of the ship all were joyous the refugees, the wounded soldiers, and the officers. Soon they were on their way by train from New York to the camp Fort Ontario, located on the shore of Lake Ontario not far from Syracuse and adjacent to the town of Oswego.[126]

Luna Kabiljo Kahana, originally from Sarajevo, was part of that unique journey to the United State of America. She was barely five years old when she arrived with her family to Fort Ontario but she remembers the traumas and ordeals experienced by seeing the wires encircling the camp. Life in Fort Ontario was in sharp contrast to the virtual image of a country that was symbolized by the Statue of Liberty and represented freedom with its skyscrapers that appeared as symbols of light and human achievement. Yet they, the refugees, immediately upon arrival in America were confined in a camp known to them as "Fort Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter in Oswego, New Jersey."

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[125] Gruber, Ruth, Haven, *The Unknown Story of 1000 World War II Refugees,* The Signet Book, New American Library, 106-107

[126] Ibid, Gruber, 117-122.

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The conditions in the camp were adequate for soldiers but not for raising families. Approximately 75 percent of the refugees belonged to families. The refugees were familiar with camp life; hundreds had survived Dachau, Auschwitz and other concentration camps. From conversations with survivors and from written testimonies, it seems that they naturally did not want to go to another camp; it had too many associations and bad memories for them.[127] They complained and were dissatisfied and unhappy. They came from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia, and other countries. Their ages varied from age eighty to infancy. Young men of military age were notably absent. The majority were Jewish, about 89 percent and the rest were Catholic.

The most difficult experience for them was that they were allowed only to leave the camp and go into the town of Oswego and for no more than six hours; they had to be back by midnight. Visitors were permitted to enter the camp. The 190 children attended the Oswego public schools and were well adjusted. Some of the older children, approximately 30 attended the Oswego State Teachers College free of charge. Matters concerning postwar repatriation had been clearly conveyed to the refugees before they left Italy, but not the requirement that they stay in a camp. Through the last months of 1944, the misunderstanding about confinement to Fort Ontario led to increasing resentment within the camp. The main reason for tension in the camp was the expectation that they would have to return to their former homelands; most felt they could not face this alternative. Many were profoundly alienated from the countries that had disowned them and where they had experienced great suffering, most of all, the loss

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[127] Kabiljo-Kahana, Luna interview August 20 2003, Haifa Israel.

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of family and relatives. The refugees also feared renewed persecution resulting from the anti-Semitism cultivated by the Nazi regime. Furthermore, more than half of the refugees had relatives who lived in the United States. For over 100 refugees repatriation would mean separation from immediate family members: husband or wife in 7 cases, brothers or sisters in 73 cases and children in 35 cases. Fourteen of the refugees had sons in the American Armed Forces.[128]

There were many cases similar to one described by a sixty-year-old woman from Vienna. Her husband had died in Italy in 1942 after their successful escape in 1938 from Austria. The woman's two sons were overseas serving in the American Army. The sons' wives, who lived in California, wanted to take in their mother-in-law, but the law prevented them to do so; she had to be sent back to Austria. Another refugee, in flight from the Nazis, had been separated from his wife who managed to reach the United States.[129] The question posed by President Truman to the Congress and the American people: "Was it right to repatriate all these people?" The President reached a conclusion that it was impractical and morally wrong to act harshly against the 836 European refugees who were already in America. Furthermore, it was wrong since the President appealed to the people of the world with a request to open their gates to refugees. In 1944, following the election of the new British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, Truman called on Britain to permit 100,000 Jews to immigrate to Palestine to help relieve the pressure in Europe. It seemed inappropriate that Truman would ask England to open the

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[128] Wyman, David, S., The Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945, 272.

[129] Gruber, Ruth, Haven, *The Unknown Story of 1000 World War II Refugees,* 132.

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doors to Palestine and make concessions while, for the refugees in Oswego, the doors of America were closed.

On December 5 1945, Truman ruled that the Oswego refugees would be permitted entry into the United States under the unused immigration quotas. The intolerable situation of the refugees gathered support from prominent Americans, including John Dewey, Albert Einstein, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Ruth Gruber writes: "On Saturday morning, December 22, 1945 I worked at my office desk, then tuned on the radio for news. The announcement came quietly: "President Truman will make major statement from the White House this evening on immigration and refugees." The decision announced on December 22, was part of the "Truman Directive," an order issued to set an international example by expediting admission of displaced persons into the United States.[130]

The British argued that strong Arab opposition prevented the Jews from relocating to Libya even for a short spell. In mid-1940 the United States stated that all immigration quotas were closed for all.[131] How these regulations could be bypassed posed a tremendous challenge to those that believed the policy was wrong. The story of the 1,000 (only 982) refugees who arrived in the U.S on August 5 1944, is highly relevant to this dissertation and will serve as an example of the political struggle in the U.S. between the media, President Roosevelt, President Truman and the U.S. Congress. The White House gave the National Refugee Service (NRS) the responsibility for relocating the Fort Ontario refugees; the task was to be completed within a month.

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[130] Ibid, Gruber, 202.

[131] Steckel, Charles, Destruction and Survival, 19.

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Thus, by January 1946, the camp had to be cleared. Despite the short deadline, the NRS and dozens of Jewish communities across the country successfully placed the 834 Jewish refugees. The American Christian Committee for Refugees and the Catholic Committee for Refugees made arrangements for the Catholic refugees. Thus, eighteen months after their arrival to America, the refugees officially entered the United States as permanent quota immigrants.[132] Sixty-six out of the 362 refugees that came from Yugoslavia chose to return home. Luna Kabiljo-Kahana her parents, her aunt Flora Atias and cousin Laura were among those who chose to return and search for surviving family members. Flora Atias met her husband upon her return to Sarajevo.

Despite the predicament and the distress of being held in the Fort Ontario camp the effort of transporting the refugees to the U.S. and fighting on their behalf and eventually granting them the rights to become U.S. citizens set the stage for many other humanitarian acts.

Summary and Conclusions

The story of Jewish rescue by the Italians was first brought to public attention in a short article written by Roberto Ducci just before the end of the war in 1944. The Italian Foreign Ministry released the article signed under the name of Verax. Verax was the pen name of Roberto Ducci who served as the head of the Italian Legation, representing the Italian Foreign Ministry in the "Croatian Office" until the capitulation of Italy in 1943.[133] Leon Poliakov and Jacques Sabille are authors of a book entitled

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[132] Wyman, David, *The Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust*, 1941-1945, 403.

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Jews Under Italian Occupation.[134] This book is particularly significant since it incorporates twelve documents found in the archives of the German Foreign Ministry. The documents cover the period from July 24, 1942 until April 10, 1943, during which high-level negotiations took place between Nazi Germany and Italy concerning the handing over of several thousand Jews who had found shelter in the areas under Italian occupation. While Poliakov and Sabille concentrated on German documents, Daniel Carpi systematically collated material from various other sources, primarily from the Archives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

From the various documents mentioned it is apparent that the focus of the rescue of Jews rested upon the honor of the Italian Army. The Italian honor, independence and tradition were in question: could they refuse the German demands to hand over the Jews that were in Italian controlled territories? The Italian soldiers "hated" the Germans. Josef Indig worked closely with the Italian military in the headquarters in Ljubljana:

> In contact with Italians in Ljubljana, I got to know their mentality. They hated the Germans and they made an effort to admit all the Jewish refugees who were fleeing Croatia; they always let us know that their feelings were on our side. We were yet to see how much the Italian people would do for us; more than anyone else in Europe. Yet the Fascist regime was Hitler's ally—something the Italians themselves did not understand.[135]

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[133] Verax, "Italiani ed ebrei in Jugoslavia," Politica Estera, I, Rome, 1944, 21-29. The Italian Foreign Ministry published a memorandum, which for some reason was classified as "restricted" (Riservato).

[134] Poliakov, Leon and Sabille, Jacques, Jews under the Italian Occupation, Editions Du Centre, Paris, 1955. (English edition)

[135] Ithai-Indig, Josef, "Children of Villa Emma," Herzer Ivo, ed. The Italian Refugee Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust, 184.

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Another motive for the rescue of Jewish refugees was sound logic. It not only benefited the honor of the Army in terms of world public opinion, it also helped them financially. First they received some financial assistance from DELASEM; second, it seemed senseless to transport thousands of Jews to Croatia in order for the Germans to deport them to death camps. It was far more economical to shield the Jews on an island in Zone A than to finance their transport to somewhere in Croatia. The Italian citizens in Slovenia, in small villages throughout Italy, and in the concentration camp at Ferramonti provided assistance and shelter without political motives. Organizations such as DELASM, the Red Cross, and the Union of Italian Communities worked tirelessly to provide rescue and assistance. The rescue given by high government officials, farmers in small villages, and priests and nuns in small communities was heartfelt and humanitarian. To borrow the statement of Mrs. Leiris which resounded a universal truth: "those who survived did so because the prevailing climate was rather more sympathetic than hostile."[136]

Approximately 7,500 Jews—maybe more—were rescued while under Italian protection. Nevertheless, it is important to reiterate that, without the cooperation and assistance of the Croatian Partisans who rushed to the Island of Rab and other locations in the former Italian territories, all the efforts made by the Italians from 1941-1943 would have been in vain. The Yugoslav Partisans, in the fall of 1943 and the spring of 1944, landed daily along the Apulian coast near Bari disembarking refugees in ships, boats, and in Allied planes. In this area there were approximately

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[136] Zuccotti, Susan, *The Holocaust, The French and the Jews*, New York, Basic Books a Division of Harper Collins Publishers, 1993, 5, interview with Mrs. Leiris.

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1,000 Jews, most of whom were interned in Dalmatia during the Italian occupation.[137] After the capitulation of Italy many of those interned on Rab either joined the forces of liberation or, as refugees (Zbjeg), followed them to liberated territories.

Following the liberation of Italy, the care and redirection of survivors was entrusted by the Allied military administration to the Displaced Persons organization and to a few other organizations. In May 1944, a new and permanent entity was formed: a representative of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Under its aegis, officials of the JOINT, the Quakers, and the Friends' Ambulance Unit who had great practical experience, provided aid to refugees in their efforts to return to their homes.

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[137] Gizdic, Drago, Dalmacija 1943, Prilozi historije narodnooslobodilacke borbe, Eropa, Zagreb, 1962, pp.550-575. NA, RG 331, Box 26, Ref. 10,000/100 Allied Military Government, 432 Displaced Person Sub commission, Political Section: Functions of Foreign Internees and Displaced Persons Sub commission Oct. 1943. JDC Memorandum: Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees in Italy and the JDC, June 9 1944.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PARTISANS' ROLE IN THE RESCUE OF JEWS, 1943-1945

Background

On September 8, 1943, Italy capitulated. The government of General Badoglio surrendered to the Allied Forces. The news came as a surprise to the Italian Army who immediately left its posts in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slovenia and rushed to cross the borders into Italy.[1] The day after the Italian Army abandoned the areas under their control, thousands of Jews under their protection were forced to take control of their own lives.

At the same time that the Allied advances brought about Italy's capitulation, they opened up another avenue of escape for the trapped masses in the Balkans. But, without the Italian Army presence on the Dalmatian coast, there was imminent danger of a Nazi attack. It was obvious both to the Jews in their hiding places and to the Partisans that sooner, rather than later, the German Army would launch an attack in an effort to conquer the territories that were formerly under the Italian occupation. There was also no doubt that areas with a high concentration of Jews would be one of the first targets of German attack.

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[1] Carpi, Daniel, "Rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of Occupied Croatia, Rescue Attempts During the Holocaust," Jerusalem, Proceedings of the Second Yad Vashem International Historical Conference), 1971, 508.

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On September 9, 1943, Dado Maestro, in Vela Luka the Island of Korcula, entered into his diary:

> We were euphoric over the news that Italy had capitulated, but this did not last as we were aware that the Ustashe invasion of the Island was imminent. An hour later, a few Partisans emerged and the question we all wanted to know was of course, 'what would happen to us'? The following day, the roar of German planes burst into our ears, to be followed by heavy bombardments. From our experience we knew that they would reappear. In the chaos of the moment, the Partisans appropriated one of the Italian vessels with the intention of escaping the area. Most of the Jews were eager to leave but they were told that only a small number could join them. But it was not until September 30, 1943 that real preparations for departure were made. At dawn, two Italian ships arrived at Vela Luka with the objective of collecting all the Italian soldiers that were still in the region. The Jews, about 250 of them, were told that, provided there was room, despite the explicit instructions that civilians cannot join military forces, they would all be evacuated. The following day the 250 refugees from Vela Luka reached Bari, in southern Italy.[2]

In an interview, Zlata Romano, has described very similar recollections of what took place in the last days of September 1943, when the Partisans searched in small boats for other Partisans as well as for Jewish refugees in the small islands around Korcula.[3] From the smaller neighboring islands, more than 250 Jews were found by the Partisans.

Following Italy's capitulation the 750 Jews abandoned on the island of Korcula and the neighboring islands had little time for deliberation. In small boats of all kinds and shapes, the Jewish refugees from the town of Korcula and the islands, left for a "rendezvous" with an Allied ship that transported them to Bari. Until March 1944, the Allied military cooperated with the Partisans in the evacuation of Dalmatian refugees. The British Navy transported thousands of refugees, including a few hundred Jews,

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[2] Maestro, David (Dado), Vela Luka (Vale Grande) Diary 1941-1943, Printed in Kibbutz Ein Shemer, Israel, 1996.

[3] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/18/3-45, box 12, Zapisnik Zagreb, Br. 1148/45, testimonies regarding the state of the Jews on the Island of Korcula.

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the Adriatic. Some of these refugees were transferred in two troopships to camps at El Shatt and Khatatba, in Egypt. Nearly all these refugees were Yugoslav civilians, including a small number of Yugoslav Jews.[4]

Most of the Jews remained in Italy because the British camp administration in El Shatt opposed the transport of Jews to Muslim territories. However, despite British objections, approximately 122 Jews reached El Shatt.[5] In my interview with Mihajlo Tolnauer, a survivor from the camp in El Shatt, I learned that there were 27,000 Dalmatian refugees in El Shat, most of whom were Christians. The Jews kept their identities to themselves; even those that had known each other before the war merely acknowledged each others' presence with a brief nod. Yet, when they met a few Jewish physicians from Erez Israel (Palestine) who had volunteered to serve in El Shatt, the Jews asked to be treated by them so that they could hear news from the war front as well as news on progress in the Jewish homeland. Mihajlo Tolnaour stated that, in August 1945, all the Croatian refugees on British ships were brought back to Croatia.[6]

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[4] Wyman, David, S. *The Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945* Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc., New York, 1984, 227.

[5] Goldstein, Ivo, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 523.

[6] Tolnauer, Mihajlo, interview November 27, 2002, Zagreb, Croatia. The conversion to Christianity took place in the Maksimir area of Zagreb. With this Dominican group, Minajlo and his older brother were sent to a camp in Bola in Brac where they stayed until the capitulation of Italy. They reached a parochial Dominican school where they styed until the capitulation of Italy. Immediately upon Italy's capitulation, the Partisans arrived to Vis and from there they evacuated all the refugees to Bari. After a brief respite all these thousands were relocated to El Shatt, Egypt. Mihaijlo's immediate family survived the war, while the grandparents on his father's side perished.

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Towards the end of 1943, there were hundreds, possibly thousands, of Jewish refugees who had managed to reach Italy both during the war and immediately following the capitulation of Italy.[7] There was a large number of refugees who managed to reach Italy before and after the capitulation of Italy such as: the former prisoners of the concentration camp in Ferramonti, the children known as the Children of Villa Emma, the 211 Jews from Rab who had rented private boats and crossed the Adriatic. Among them were also the 750 that had been sheltered by the Italians in Korcula or hidden by the Partisans in small villages around Dubrovnik and an unidentified number of refugees that came on their own. For many, the transfer was made possible through the efforts of the Partisans; the Italian Navy that came to the rescue of their own soldiers and in the process also rescued, in the space available, a few Jewish refugees. The Allied forces as well as the assistance of DELASEM all who facilitated their escape to Southern Italy.[8]

Collective Decisions Reached in Freedom

Italian and German documents, as well as historiographic literature, indicate that, when Italy capitulated, the Nazis lacked the necessary manpower to attack the Island of Rab on which approximately 3,600 Jews were concentrated.[9] This period free of German interference gave the Partisans a respite so that they could evacuate most of the Jewish refugees before the arrival of both the German army and the winter.

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[7] Romano, Zlata, interview with Esther Gitman on September 28, 2003, Lod, Israel.

[8] Gizdic, Drago, Dalmacija 1943, Prilozi historije narodnooslobodilacke borge, Epoha, Zagreb, 1962, 762-763.

[9] Torsiello, Mario, Le Operazioni delle Unita Italiane net Settembre-Ottobre 1943, Roma, 1975; also Schreiber, Gerhardt, Die Italienischen-Militaerinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943-1945, Muenchen 1990, 93-214.

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For the Jews on the island Rab, matters did not go as well as they did for those on Korcula. On the day Italy capitulated, most of the Italian guards on Rab were perplexed and bewildered by the rapid change in circumstances. The inmates—Jews, Croats and Slovenians—disarmed the guards and used their weapons for self-protection. But they faced several difficulties: first, the sheer number of refugees made it difficult to find an immediate and easy solution for evacuation; in addition, the sick, the elderly, women and children needed special provisions. The historian, Menahem Shelah, seriously criticized the "Allies" for their refusal to evacuate the elderly, women and children from the Italian concentration camp on the Island of Rab to southern Italy.[10] He writes:

> In this affair we see lack of perception, insensibility and deliberate sabotage on the part of the British military authorities in that locality. The policy was given passive backing by the official British and American authorities. The bureaucratic obstacles heaped upon the route of redemption finally prevented the transportation of the refugees to liberated Southern Italy, and many were left to the mercy of the Germans. On the other hand, Tito and the Partisan High Command were aware of the Jewish problem, but did not possess the means of transportation.[11]

The first general meeting of the Jewish refugees was called for on September 9 1943, the day after the capitulation of Italy. The governing members presented the options open to them. Two issues were resolved: first, a six-member board was appointed to represent the refugees in all negotiations with the outside world. Second a decision was reached as to whom they should turn for help. It was clear that the Allies were not ready

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[10] Shelah, Menahem, "The Italian Rescue of Yugoslav Jews 1941-1943, in Herzer, Ivo, The Italian Refuge, Rescue of Jews During the Holocaust, 217.

[11] Shelah, Menahem, Ph.D. Dissertation, "The Murder of the Croatian Jews by the Germans and their helpers During World War II," Tel Aviv University, Israel, 1980, XIL.

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to assist those stranded on the Island of Rab. Thus, under the present conditions, it was clear that all hope lay with the Partisans, who had already been contacted before the capitulation of Italy.[12] Within days of the capitulation of Italy, the Partisans appeared at the gate of the former Italian Concentration Camp on Rab, and the Jews put their destiny in their hands.

According to the testimony of the historian and camp survivor, Jasa Romano, there were approximately 3,500.[13] The Israeli historian, Menahem Shelah,[14] and the American historian, David S. Wyman, cite the number of survivors at 4,000.[15] The above figures show that it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the precise number of survivors in the camp; the figures vary by as much as 33 percent.[16]

As indicated above, the inmates, together with their selected representatives, recognized that the best, possibly only practical solution was to submit their destiny to the Partisans, who had intimate knowledge of the territory as well as experience with the

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[12] Romano, Jasa, "Jevreji U Loguru Na Rabu I Njihove Uključivanje u Narodnooslobodilači Rat," (Jews in the Rab Camp and their Participation in the Liberation War), Zbornik, # 2 (1973), 1-68

[13] Ibid Romano, Zbornik, # 2, 10.

[14] Shelah, Menahem, The Yugoslav Connection: Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938- 1948, Am Oved Publishers Ltd Tel Aviv 1994, 91-92.

[15] Wyman, David, S. *The Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, 293.

[16] The current Archival data demonstrates that the Italian Foreign Ministry reduced the number of Jews under their custody in order to deceive the German authorities. Based on the figures provided by both Jasa Romano and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman the number of 3,500 seems to be acceptable in the current historiographic literature.

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evacuation of thousands of refugees primarily from Dalmatian territories. Two of the six Jewish board members, Dr. Gustav Jungwirth and an engineer Andrija Mate, were sent to Otochac to the ZAVNOH (Zemaljsko antifasisticko vjece narodnog oslobodenja Hrvatske— the National Antifascist People's Board for the Liberation of Croatia) headquarters, to decide the best course of action.[17]

It was impossible for the Jews to remain at their present location since the Partisans, in the area of Rab, had neither the military capability nor sufficient troops to prevent German attack and conquest. Thus, the abandonment of the Rab Island was the only way to avoid Nazi extermination. Once this decision was reached, the Croatian Partisan Headquarters issued an order to the Marin Staff to prepare vessels, as well as a number of lorries to transfer the refugees to Split. From there the refugees could march towards the mainland.[18] Most young people from among the former Rab inmates joined the Partisans.

Of the 3,500 to 4,000 inmates, 211 Jews decided they wanted an immediate transfer to Italy. Thus they took responsibility for their own destiny renting small boats to sail to Italy. Apparently, for those who still had money, it was possible to rent boats to cross the Adriatic. Another group of 180 to 205 individuals, mainly the elderly and sick, decided to remain on the Island of Rab. Those that stayed hoped that, by mingling within

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[17] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa, Destiny of Jewish Survivors from the Rab Concentration Camp, 1943-1945, Voice, Publication of the Jewish Community in Zagreb (ZOZ), fall 1998, 66.

[18] Yad Vashem Archive, JM/24 October 31, 1943, a collection of document and articles about the period. The National Antifascist Army for the Liberation of Croatia in document # 1444 summarized the "Decision" reached with the Jewish representatives of the camp to evacuate the Jewish refugees from the Island of Rab to the freed territories of Lika and Kordun.

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the local population, they would not be discovered.[19] Edit Armuth remained on the island with her family after the capitulation of Italy. Six months after the liberation of the camp, a sizable force of German troops conquered the island and captured them; they were transferred by ship to Rijeka. From Rijeka they were transferred to Trieste where, together with 330 Jews from Zagreb, they embarked on cargo cars, 75 to 80 people per car. They were deported to Auschwitz.[20] At the time of her testimony, Edit was under the impression that she was the only Auschwitz survivor. However from the testimony of Branko Polic, editor of the Jewish periodical "Novi Omanut," I learned that Edit was not the only Auschwitz survivor; four other women also survived[21] and several other Jews who were sheltered by the nuns on the Island of Rab also survived.[22]

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[19] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/45 Box 10 Auschwitz. In front of the National Commission for Investigation of Crimes in Zagreb, Edit Armuth, a survivor of both Auschwitz and the camp on the island of Rab, testified what happened on Rab on March 19, 1944. Without encountering any resistance, the Nazis encircled the island and landed at five different locations. In no time, they rounded up approximately 180 Jews who had remained on Rab after many others had left with the Partisans. Upon landing, the Nazis threatened the local population, demanding the immediate surrender of all remaining Jews. Many refused to heed the warnings, but eventually most of the Jews were found. They were then taken to the port of Rijeka and from there to Auschwitz. Edit is the only survivor of this group. In her testimony to the National Commission for the Verification of crimes against the Jews, Edit Armuth cites 180, mainly elderly and sick people, who decided to remain on the island of Rab. Most of them were captured, excluding the Atias family and a few others. All those who were captured by the Germans were transferred by sea to Trieste and from there they were deported to Auschwitz. Edit managed to survive Auschwitz due to the support of like-minded Partisan friends, women who were also incarcerated and survived Auschwitz. In her words: "the AFZ women (Association of Anti-Fascist Women) were responsible for my rescue. Their boundless support and protection during my six-week illness delivered her out of Auschwitz."

[20] See Chapter 6, for the story of the Atias family who was rescued by several nuns. This family escaped deportation to Auschwitz due to help they received from the local nuns who also obtained for them identification papers to relocate to Sarajevo, already a liberated territory.

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Of the Jews on the island of Rab most followed the Partisans; approximately 1,000 joined the fighting forces of the Liberation Army and 648 joined the auxiliary units in capacities of physicians, nurses, teachers, journalists, photographers, administrators, and cooks.[23] Those Jews who could not bear arms—the sick, the elderly, women and children—followed the troops into the already liberated territories of Croatia and became a part of large groups of refugees designated "Zbjeg."[24] From the statistical survey conducted by the Partisans, it was determined that 38 percent were men, 47 percent women and 15 percent children under 15. By the end of the war, the number of Jewish fighters from the inmates of Rab reached 1,339, out of which 119 were killed in action and 17 died from various causes. Most survived the war.[25]

Amongst the Jews that joined the Partisans on Rab, there was a group of 243 people that became identified as the *Jewish Brigade*— known as "Rabska Brigada."[26]

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[21] Polic, Branko, interview with Esther Gitman on February 22, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

[22] For further discussion see Chapter VI section on rescue by the church.

[23] Young Jews freed from Rab formed their own combat unit, known as the Jewish Rab Battalion. This battalion consisted of 243 warriors. Strategic reasons as well as concern for individual soldiers led to the dissolution of this unit; they were dispersed into other units operating in the territory of Croatia. During this period, another Jewish combat unit formed as a platoon within the Montenegro Battalion of the First Prekomurje Brigade.

[24] Goldstein Ivo and Goldstein Slavko, Holokaust u Zagrebu, 520.

[25] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa, "Destiny of Jewish Survivors from the Rab Concentration Camp, 1943-1945," *Voice*, Publication of the Jewish Community in Zagreb (ZOZ), fall 1998, 66.

[26] Goldstein, Ivo and Goldstein, Slavko, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 520. It is important to state that the "Jewish Brigade" did not survive long. There are a number of opinions as to why this entity did not survive. Possibly, the Jews did not have sufficient combat

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They strongly wished to express their indefatigable determination to fight for their personal freedom and that of their country.[27] The internal Yugoslav Jewish circular reported on March 7 1945 from Lausanne, Switzerland:

> In December 1943, Dr. Hinko Gottlieb the renowned Zionist publicist and poet from Zagreb suggested to the authorities of Marshall Tito that the refugees from the Croat freed territories should be transferred to Italy since they were in no position to assist in the war of liberation. Most of them needed to be transferred to hospitals and rehabilitation centers. But the conclusion to this debate came too late since the German Navy controlled the Adriatic seacoast.[28]

From the quote above it becomes clear that to transport the Jews by sea was no longer safe since the Adriatic was under the control of the German Navy. Thus, the only feasible way to evacuate those needing special care was by plane. But the British placed a halt on the transfer of Jews to Southern Italy. Also the British were adamant that no information should be passed on to their American partners because of concern that the Americans might reverse mutual agreements regarding the refugees.[29] The British may have feared that pressure would be mounted against them by various Jewish humanitarian organizations in the United States to allow the refugees to emigrate to Palestine.

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experience. The Germans might have intentionally targeted the Jewish Brigade. Why the brigade was dissolved has not been explained satisfactorily.

[27] Demajo, Aleksander, "Jevrejski Vod u prvoj prekomoskoj Brigadi NOVJ," The formation of the Jewish battalion was formed in Bari, Italy in the fall of 1943, *Zbornik 7*, Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej- Beograd, 1997, 185-189.

[28] Croatian History Museum, Zagreb, Lausanne, Switzerland reported on March 7 1945.

[29] FO 371/42760 1807331, Minors Randal, January 1, 1944.

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The Partisans Organize the Evacuation of Jewish Refugees

The Allied invasion of Italy opened new opportunities for the rescue of Jews. Yet the Allies refused to assist the Jewish refugees from Rab. Since it was likely that the Nazis would capture the Jewish refugees, the State Department, at the request of the World Jewish Congress, asked the military to help transfer the sick refugees to Italy. The Joint Chiefs of Staff replied that the Allied forces in Italy were already overloaded with refugees, and that there was no way to aid those on Rab. Wyman writes:

> Even the State Department was taken aback. Stettinius warned Hull that if the response to the Rab situation accurately reflected military policy, the United States might as well "shut up shop" on the effort to rescue more people from Axis Europe. Stettinius thought that the President should inform the military that rescue was extremely important . . . in fact sufficiently important to require unusual effort on their part and to be set aside only for important military operational reasons.[30]

Due to the realization that the German and Ustashe armies would conquer the formerly controlled Italian territories and that the Allied forces refused to evacuate the 1,500 non-combat Jewish refugees to southern Italy, the top echelon of ZAVNOH (the National Antifascist People's Board) determined to take upon itself the immediate evacuation from Rab: First, the Jewish refugees would be assigned to the care of the Anti Fascist Board for the Liberation of Croatia (ZAVNOH). Second, their daily care would be assigned to a newly formed committee for the welfare of Jews—"The Committee for the Evacuation and welfare of Jews."

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[30] Wyman, David, S. The Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945, 294.

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The primary objective of these two ZAVNOH entities was to find a way to evacuate the Jews from Rab. They decided to first evacuate those who wanted to leave the island immediately. The second group was formed of those who were either indifferent about when they would leave or who still hoped to be transferred by the Allied forces to Italy. The evacuation by sea of both groups was completed in October 1943.[31] However, their transfer into inland-freed territories of Croatia was a serious problem because of major shortage of trucks and fuel. Some refugees started to walk on foot over mountains peaks and valleys while others waited a long time for transfer.

The second concern of the Partisans was to find suitable accommodation for the Jewish refugees among the local peasant population, and to supply them with basic necessities. Shortly after the evacuation of the Jews, the Partisans recognized that the Jewish refugees were unlike any other group of refugees they had helped. The Jews had suffered enormous hardships, loss of family members, fear, and anxiety. Furthermore, despite the hardship they had experienced, they were not accustomed to living like peasants without elementary facilities for hygiene. The Partisan's high command of ZAVNOH was in constant contact with the eight-member committee, composed of six prominent Jewish evacuees from Rab, and two representatives from ZAVNOH headed by Dr. Hinko Gottlieb.[32]

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[31] The Jews that were protected by the Italian Army on the Island of Korcula did not wait to be evacuated by the Partisans nor did they ask permission from the Allies. Being in close proximity to Southern Italy, they crossed the Adriatic on small boats rented from the local population.

[32] Croatian History Museum, Kohn, Elvira, Biography and diary written by a former inmate of Rab who, at that time and throughout the war worked as a photographer

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The idea put forward by three individuals—the head of the Croatian Army in Otochac, Vladimir Bakaric, the representative of the British Army, Major Anthony Hunter, and the non-Jewish representative of the Jewish board, Vladimir Loshic—was to transfer the Jewish refugees to Southern Italy by British boats. However, the British refused to transfer the Jews on the grounds that, in the region and around the islands of the Adriatic, German vessels would pose a danger to British ships.[33]

The British, according to Menahem Shelah, were also hostile to the idea of providing the refugees with food and clothing, arguing that, if they were to succumb to one request, they would be obliged to provide assistance to all the struggling peoples of Europe. Nevertheless they sent a request to the Allied Forces Headquarters (AFHQ) in Algiers to parachute food and clothing supplies to the refugees of Rab.[34]

The Jews that were dispersed among the local peasants and refugee population in the territories of Lika and Kordun in central Croatia—territories already liberated by the Partisans—numbered approximately 1,500 people. From documents on this topic cited in

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and journalist. She donated her writing to the "Muzej Revolucije Naroda." Currently her papers are located in the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb.

[33] Shelah, Menahem, The Yugoslav Connection: Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938- 1948, 93.

[34] Ibid, Shelah, 92-93. In another article published in Zbornik 7, Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej- Beograd, 1997, Menahem Shelah states that among the many objectives that exist in writing about the events that took place after the liberation of Rab, the objective is also to expose the negative British attitude towards the rescue of Jewish refugees. Shelah argues that the whole world knew by mid 1943 and 1944 the atrocities committed against the Jews and accordingly one would expect that the British authorities would lend a helping hand. Why British empty planes that were leaving the territories on the Adriatic coast refused to transport the Jewish from the territories that were in danger of falling into German hands was not made clear. It is speculated that if they had transferred to Italy, they would have exerted pressure on the British government to approve their immigration to Palestine, 195-197.

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the above discussion, it is clear that the Jews encountered unimaginable hardships because of the lack of food and clothing, and an unusually harsh winter.[35] Furthermore, the battle for survival among the tens of thousands of refugees from all religious and ethnic groups was keen and merciless; Jews, once again, faced anti-Semitic abuses from hostile peasant populations.[36] Fear of strangers and the visible contacts that the Jewish refugees established with Jews in foreign countries made them a target for attack by other refugee populations, as well as from low-ranking Partisan soldiers.

The ZAVNOH (the National Antifascist People's Board) authorities that cared for the welfare of Jews felt intensely the hardship of having to cope with such a large and helpless refugee population. First, there was a real threat to their welfare in a combat zone where skirmishes with the Germans were daily occurrences and there was constant pressure to evacuate them from one location to another.[37] Second, ZAVNOH had to reduce the level of animosity towards the Jews by issuing successive decrees, and by warning the peasants and other refugee groups that harassment of the Jews must stop immediately. Third, the constant need to find shelter and provisions to feed such a large number of penniless refugees, without any strength to work and without the means to

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[35] JIM, Inv. # 3225. K-38.

[36] Shelah, Menahem, Ph.D. Dissertation: The Murder of the Croatian Jews by the Germans and their Helpers During the Second World War, Tel-Aviv University, Israel, 1980, 359-361. (One of the Jewish paratroopers by the name of Finci from Kibbutz Gat in Palestine who was sent to help the Partisans wrote: "The local authorities do not look favorably on the contacts the Partisans had established with Jews; they have mixed feelings of fear and curiosity").

[37] Shelah, Menahem, The Yugoslav Connection: Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938- 1948, Am Oved Publishers Ltd Tel Aviv 1994, 91.

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purchase food from the peasants, hampered the Partisans efforts.[38] Nevertheless, because of political and humanitarian reasons and the help that they began to receive in the summer of 1944 from international Jewish agencies, the situation became easier and the Partisans kept to their part of the bargain.[39]

But, one by one, plans for the accommodation of the Jews fell apart. The transfer of non-combat Jewish refugees to southern Italy was delayed indefinitely. The second plan to transfer the Jewish refugees to Slavonia, the breadbasket of Croatia, was also postponed due to the harsh winter and German activities in the region. [40] It became impossible to transfer such a large number of non-combatant refugees through enemy lines.[41] Since these original two plans regarding the relocation of Jewish refugees were scrapped, a concerted effort was made by all concerned towards stabilization and adaptation to the new circumstances. This is apparent from the vast correspondence between the ZAVNOH (the National Antifascist People's Board) headquarters and social workers in the field. The ZAVNOH authorities requested that all able bodies go to work in hospitals, schools and soup kitchens, and those who were skilled workers be assigned to building projects such as school and daycare centers and dining areas.[42] Many letters

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[38] Gottlieb, Hinko, "His Ways and Writings" Book I, Tel-Aviv, 1980, p.132.

[39] Krizman-Lengel, Narcisa, "Destiny of Jewish Survivors from the Rab Concentration Camp, 1943-1945," Voice, Publication of the Jewish Community in Zagreb (ZOZ), fall 1998, 66.

[40] JIM, ZAVNOH, Inv. # 3225, K-38, March 4, 1944, Inv. # 3227, K-38, March 5, 1944.

[41] Yad Vashem Archive, JM/24 1197, Split 0.10/91, 69, 73, 118, 66.

[42] JIM, ZAVNOH, Inv. # 3254, K-38, May 7 1944.

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were sent to the regions where refugees were dispersed, requesting that teachers and other intellectuals step forward to fill the sorely needed positions for professionals.

The ZAVNOH authorities were eager and adamant to give structure to the lives of children, and also to energize the victims in order to bring themselves to a position of productive survival.[43] The slogan was "All able bodies mobilize for work." For many survivors, the schools were a miraculous renewal of hope, to see their children attend regular school in the face of enormous shortages of supplies and means of transportations gave a glimpse of a better future. The ZAVNOH board, appointed to oversee the welfare of the refugees, asked the Peoples' Liberation Board why their request, delivered a month earlier, had not been answered. ZAVNOH had asked for improvements in the living condition of the refugees—for example, a premises for public kitchen that would provide meals for the needy Jewish refugees. [44] ZAVNOH pointed out that, since it was unlikely that the Jews would be transferred to Italy, many more kitchens would be needed, particularly in the Glina region. Furthermore, ZAVNOH demanded that work on this project should start immediately.[45]

From many similar letters, it seems that the Partisans were truly concerned about the psychological well being of the Jews. Even before the war started, they had promised that they would not discriminate between various religious and ethnic groups. The Jewish refugees appreciated the conduct of the ZAVNOH administration, even when the level of

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[43] JIM, ZAVNOH, Inv. # 3399, K-39, 3358, K39, no # September 3, 1944, 3533, K-41.

[44] JIM, ZAVNOH, Inv. # 3412, K-40, October 10, 1944.

[45] JIM, ZAVNOH, Inv. # 3412, K-40, October 10, 1944.

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bureaucratic control was sometimes overbearing. For example, in order to obtain a truck to transfer the elderly for treatment or to take wheat to the mill, a special request had to be submitted to the headquarters of ZAVNOH. The ZAVNOH office, in turn, had to instruct the field people in the office of transportation in Topusko to provide the Jewish collective with a truck.[46] Perhaps the bureaucracy could be attributed to the shortage of the very basic commodities in comparison to the supply of manpower. The extensive bureaucratic system provided employment for all.

Despite problems due to the large number of refugees who were unable to work, the Partisans appreciated the contributions of the Jews to every aspect of life—military, economic, social and, primarily, education. From my interview with the former head of the first Partisan military task force to London, General Dr. Vladimir Velebit, I learned about a meeting in December 1943 in Cairo, Egypt in which Dr. Velebit met Jewish representatives from Palestine. In the meeting, the Jewish delegation offered to send a group of Jewish paratroopers to aid the Partisans in their war against the Nazis and also to provide the Partisans with medical supplies.[47] In response to these gestures, Tito responded in kind by declaring his favorable and positive attitude towards the Zionist Movement.

Hinko Gottlieb sent many letters and requests to Tito asking for a meeting in which he hoped to explain the predicament and difficulties of the Jewish refugees in the freed territories. Gottlieb wanted to ask Tito to send him to Italy to mobilize assistance

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[46] JIM, ZAVNOH, Inv. # 3271, K-38, July 7 1944.

[47] Velebit, Vladimir, interview February 4, 2003, Zagreb, Croatia.

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for the evacuation of the sick, elderly and children to Southern Italy. It was a surprise when, in March 1944, Tito sent a telegram to ZAVNOH stating:

> Inform Gottlieb that we approve evacuation of the Jews to Italy the minute it becomes feasible.
> Signed—The President of the National Board, Marshall of Yugoslavia, Tito.[48]

On July 3, 1944, Dr. Hinko Gottlieb, accompanied by his wife, was dispatched to Italy as the representative of the Croatian Red Cross with instructions to accomplish two tasks: first, to find ways to aid Jews from the former territories of Yugoslavia who remained in the country and, second, to find a way to evacuate all the Jews who wished to leave Yugoslavia for Palestine. Gottlieb was equipped with a letter of introduction from the Croatian Red Cross in the form of "To whom it may concern," as well as a general request for assistance in accomplishing these urgent tasks.[49] Gottlieb also received from the offices of ZAVNOH the sum of 10,000 kunas to cover initial expenses. Immediately following the departure of Hinko Gottlieb, the ZAVNOH authorities wrote a letter to Tito letting him know that the matter of the evacuation of Jewish refugees had been sent to Bari for further handling by the president of all the Jewish refugees, Dr. Hinko Gottlieb.[50]

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[48] Historical Archive of the Jewish People, Jerusalem; File Jews and Partisans, 14/153.

[49] Yad Vashem Archive, JM 24 collection of letters and documents from the Zemaljsko Antifasisticko Vijece, Narodnog Oslobodjenja Hrvatske, ZAVNOH 3.VVI.1944.

[50] HDA, ZAVNOH, Predsjednistvo Br. 596, July 8, 1944.

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Expectations on both sides— the Jews and ZAVNOH—were high. The non-combatant Jews hoped that Hinko Gottlieb would find ways to relocate them to Italy. At the same time, the board members of ZAVNOH hoped that Gottlieb would establish contacts that would impact favorably upon the relationship between the Allied Forces and the Partisans. When matters did not proceed as anticipated, the ZAVNOH authorities became disappointed with Gottlieb's progress. And they expressed their dismay in rather harsh language.

At the beginning of June 1944, the military airport in Topusko opened and planes began to land with supplies. On their way back, they transferred wounded Partisans to the Allies' medical facilities. On days when the number of injured Partisans was small, the British transferred the Yugoslav non-Jewish civilian population. But in September 1944, there were still 1,500 Jewish refugees stranded in Topusko, waiting for the opportunity to be transferred to Italy. In this context, Menahem Shelah writes:

> It seems reasonable to assume that the Partisans had a special interest in transferring the Jewish refugees from the battle-ridden territory not only for humanitarian but also for political reasons. The Partisans assumed that aircraft that would land to pick-up some of the Jewish refugees would arrive with provisions for the Partisan troops. Tito calculated that a large number of emaciated Jewish refugees could arouse the sentiments of the Jews in Great Britain and the United States, resulting in pressure on these governments to provide more assistance to the Partisans.[51]

On July 1944, the British Captain Edholm from the Allied Military Liaison informed Tito's representatives (no names indicated) that they must provide AML with details of the most needed supplies. However, Edholm went on to say that these items

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[51] Shelah, Menahem, *The Yugoslav Connection: Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938- 1948*, 95.

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would not be shipped while Yugoslavia remained at war with Germany. In the same letter, though, Edholm wrote that the Allied forces were not interested in politics, and that they intended to fulfill their promise to Yugoslavia. The objective of AML was to send food, medicine, technical supplies, clothing, and possibly medical personnel after the enemy had retreated. The Allies feared that if they were to provide supplies to the Partisans, these might reach the enemy, thus prolong the war.[52]

High Expectations and Disappointing Results

On July 11, 1944, Dr. Hinko Gottlieb sent a letter from Bari to the headquarters of ZAVNOH. In the letter, Gottlieb described the situation of the Jewish refugees in the camps of Bari and Santa Croce in Southern Italy. Jewish refugees had congregated and developed their own communal living, including sharing work and resources. From various documents and circulars it appears that the refugees were free to leave their assigned locations for work, for medical care, or for pleasure.[53] Rations were plentiful, and each group of refugees cooked for its own members. Those who spoke English were employed as translators and succeeded in earning an income.[54] Each camp had some

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[52] Croatian History Museum, (Muzej Narodne Revolucije) July 12, 1944, Inv. # 1132. Edholm managed to send a second letter similar in nature. The letter was sent from Bari on August 15, 1944 Inv. # 1130 under the title "Top Secret" the recipient was not identified. The letter describes the quantities of wheat that would be shipped to them once the German retreat from their territories.

[53] Yad Vashem Archive, JM/24, letter sent from Hinko Gottlieb to the representatives of ZAVNOH on July 22 1944.

[54] Yad Vashem Archive, JM/24 collection of documents that pertains to the Jews of Yugoslavia.

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recreational facilities, and many educational courses were offered: from basic reading and writing skills, to nursing, trades and languages.[55]

The testimonies of Zlata Romano[56] and Erna Gaon[57] are similar in content since they shared a room in Santa Croce. Each had a young son, and both heard from their husbands who were serving with the Partisans. Both corroborated information found in the reports of Dr. Gottlieb, as well as other documents. The accommodations at Santa Croce where Zlata, Erna and approximately 40 other refugees lived were adequate. They lived in a summer home of a wealthy Italian family. While the house was empty and the walls bare, they managed to create for themselves a reasonably comfortable environment. The women took turns in the preparation of food, while the children were busy with studies. The number of men was small; they made themselves useful by transforming old containers into furniture, and by making repairs from plumbing to shoes. Many other refugee groups functioned in a similar type of setting.

Since the Jewish refugees resided near an American Airbase, they had the opportunity to meet many Jewish servicemen that came to visit them. The airmen and other personnel always came with presents and treats for the children as well as for the

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[55] Croatian History Museum,(document unnumbered stamped Muzej Narodne Revolucije Zagreb, title: Izvjestaj o Logoru St. Maria Di Bagno. The four-page document describes in great detail the set-up, the structure of the place, the facilities, the morale, and the physical and education courses. Another 2-page report dates from April 25, 1944. Yet another document from the same Archive: A Yearly Report, a 13-page document, describes the workshops that were erected and the products manufactured and the quantities.

[56] Romano, Zlata, interview with Esther Gitman, Lud, near Tel-Aviv, Israel, October 4, 2003.

[57] Gaon, Erna, interview with Esther Gitman, Zagreb, Croatia June 6, 2003.

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adults; chocolate, canned goods, coffee and other delicacies were plentiful. The refugees found it rejuvenating to have the Jewish young men come and see them and the children; all were longing for the warmth of company and family. Since the refugees sometimes had excess food, they bartered these with the local peasants for fresh produce. Extra food-items were also sold, and the money was sent to family members and friends in Lika, Kordun, Topusko and Banja.[58] These monetary contributions were greatly appreciated and in fact made a large difference to the lives of penniless refugees in the Partisan territories in Croatia. For the first time since the beginning of the war, many of the refugees were in a position to buy fresh produce.

It appears that Dr. Gottlieb may have received assistance from the British authorities since as if by coincidence, the first group of Jewish refugees departed for Palestine shortly after his arrival in southern Italy. On November 11, 1944, 175 Jewish refugees who escaped from Korcula and Vela Luka reached Erez Israel (Palestine).[59] But this first transport was also the last to depart for Palestine. Despite the hard work of many Jewish activists in Palestine and in southern Italy, the emigration issue was painful since the British refused to issue entry visas to Jews, while issuing thousands of such visas to refugees from Poland and Greece. In reference to non-Jews obtaining visas to Palestine, David Wyman writes:

> By 1944, 25,000 Greeks had been evacuated. The largest numbers, reported at between 9,000 and 12,000, were taken to Palestine, mostly to a former army installation at Nuseirat, near Gaza. Palestine also sheltered 1,800 non-

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[58] Appendix 8.1.0, 8.1.1: Donations from Yugoslav Jews in Southern Italy to their family members and friends in Lika, Kordun, Topusko and Banja. All such donation were transferred via the offices of ZAVNOH.

[59] Yad Vashem Archive, JM/24, Spisak.

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> Jewish Polish refugees. While the British, intent on keeping the small White Paper quota from being filled, turned back endangered Jews, they generously welcomed these other victims of the storm.[60]

The leadership of ZAVNOH was aware that transport from all over the Balkans were being sent to Palestine, however they were oblivious to some clauses in the 1939 White Paper.[61] The White Paper, Command 6019, contained three elements: the first was the limitation of Jewish immigration to 15,000 persons a year (including 5,000 refugees), for a period of five years. Further immigration would be contingent upon Arab approval. Since this approval was unlikely, the White Paper guaranteed Jews a permanent minority status, at one-third of the population. The second element was the severe restriction on the acquisition of land in areas where the Jews constituted a minority. Finally, the "Constitutional Clause" in the White Paper promised the creation of an Arab Palestinian state – with vague guarantees for Jewish minority rights.[62] As far as the Jews, were concerned the White Paper was seen as a watershed; it meant the irrevocable British repudiation of both the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate. As such, it also spelled out the elimination of the possibility of rescuing European Jews on a large scale. In this context Golda Meir stated:

> At Evian I realized —perhaps for the first time since I was a little girl in Russia listening in terror to the hooves of Cossack horses thundering through town-that it is not enough for a weak people to demonstrate the justice of its demands. To the question "To be or not to be?" each nation must make its own reply in its own way, and Jews neither can nor should ever depend on anyone else

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[60] Wyman, David, S. The Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945, 339.

[61] ha-Aretz, Tel-Aviv Tuesday, May 17, 1939, 1-2

[62] Teveth, Shabtai, Ben-Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs, From Peace to War, New York, Oxford University Press, 1985, 193-194.

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> for permission to stay alive. ....Obviously, the White Paper was unacceptable. We held protest meetings and strikes and signed manifestos. But also decisions had to be taken. It was not enough to bemoan our betrayal at the hands of the British or to march, sick at heart and with bowed heads, down the main streets of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa. What were we going to do? Were we going to defy the British, and if so, how? Toward what goal was the Zionist movement going to direct its activities now that the British had chosen—in the hour of our greatest need—to wipe their hands of the national aspirations of the Jews?[63]

Of course, comrade Gregoric, from ZAVNOH was oblivious to the fact that a White Paper existed that prevented the evacuation of Jews. He also did not understand the difficulties Gottlieb encountered. Gregoric had his own problems he had to give some concrete answers to his superior regarding the evacuation of the Jewish refugees from the liberated territories. He wrote an angry letter to Gottlieb assuming that it was his tardiness that caused the delays, stating:

> ... Dear Comrade: We have exhausted all the avenues in our attempts to transfer the Jewish elderly, women and children to Italy. As you know, we can only organize their evacuation but the rest depends on the Allies. Most of the Jews here are exhausted and represent the poorest element. Despite our efforts to alleviate their plight we are being criticized from all sides for not doing enough. It does not seem right that all the blame falls on us because of a very small minority. Your letter [referring to Gottlieb] convinced me that we are powerless considering the war situation and other hardships. I am, however, surprised that during your stay in Bari you did not manage to establish contacts with Jewish organization abroad. The only hope we have is that this war will not last much longer and that, with freedom, all these issues will be resolved. Nevertheless, I hope that you will somehow manage to arrange something for the 670 Jews who urgently need rehabilitation and are impatiently waiting to be transferred to Italy.[64]

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[63] Meir, Golda, My Life by Golda Meir, New York, A Dell Book, 1978, 152, 154.

[64] Yad Vashem Archive, JM/24, letter sent from Pajo to Gottlieb on Septembers 3 1944. In hindsight it seems that the British in Southern Italy had a quota for Jews. Any number above the quota could have resulted in requests for exist visas to Palestine.

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Initially, the Partisans had difficulty in understanding the refusal of the British to transfer 670 Jews to southern Italy. After all, the three groups of Jews included the elderly who were in no position to escape to safety should a German attack occur. The second group included individuals who were in need of medical treatment that was not available in the freed territories of Croatia; and the third group included individuals that were foreigners or immigrants to Yugoslavia. It seemed incomprehensible that the British would back out of the agreement to transport the Jews to southern Italy for treatment while, at the same time, they provided planes to move non-Jewish refugees as well injured and wounded Partisans.

The conduct of the Allies was of concern to ZAVNOH also because it seemed that it was the Partisans who prioritized who would leave and when. Although not in control, the Partisans apologized to the Jews for the delays in transporting the Jews to Italy. The Partisans contended that they had done all that was humanly possible for the Jewish refugees and that the "world" had no right to bring charges or insinuate that they had discriminated against the Jews.[65] ZAVNOH authorities provided evidence that, when Jewish refugees waited for planes in the airport at Topusko, it was the British officers who refused to let them embark despite the fact that the planes were leaving for southern Italy empty.[66] It was not Dr. Gottlieb's failure to act but rather the policy of the Allies who refused to evacuate the most disadvantaged who desperately needed treatment unavailable in the combat zones of Croatia.

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[65] The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem, s25/242

[66] PRO, WO 202/294 104438.

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In bringing information about the treatment of Jews and other ethnic groups to the public eye, Tito's objectives were two-fold: first to achieve recognition from the Allies for his leadership capabilities and his humanitarian conduct towards all the refugees and, second, to legitimize his regime.[67] From among the people who contested the conduct of the British in Italy was the chief Military Rabbi of Italy who criticized the British Government for her intention to keep the small White Paper quota to 75 to 80 thousand Jewish refugees in five years.[68]

Partisans Subjected to Economic Embargo

The territories in Yugoslavia were poorly supplied with provisions because the Allies policy was to maintain an economic embargo on all territories that were still at war with Germany. While emigration of the Jews was halted, food and clothing supplies were delivered via the Red Cross. From June 12, 1944 onwards, the first packages of food and money began to reach the Jewish refugees. Once the various entities—such as the Italian Red Cross, DELASEM, JOINT and other international Jewish and humanitarian organizations— were informed of the dire need for food, medicine, clothing, and money, assistance began to trickle in, in the form of small donations. Large amounts of food and clothing arrived later.

On August 1, 1944, Dr. Gottlieb initiated a fund-raising campaign soliciting financial donations from organizations throughout Europe and the United States, as well

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[67] Shelah, Menahem, The Yugoslav Connection: Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938- 1948, 95-96.

[68] PRO, WO 202/294 Minutes December 17, 1944. See also chapter VII re: Oswego Camp.

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as from Yugoslav Jews living in Italy. Monies arrived at the offices of the Red Cross in Bari from private individuals and from the "Jewish Distribution Committee." All monies and packages were sent immediately upon arrival to the offices of ZAVNOH. The instructions were nearly always the same: "Please distribute the money and the packages wisely; first provide for those who most urgently need assistance and those who cannot fend for themselves."[69]

A humanitarian organization in London England learned from the Partisan General, Velebit, of the misery experienced by the Jews in his country. This humanitarian organization sent a letter to Dr. Gottlieb asking what was needed, and how they could help; however, I did not find further evidence that aid was received. The "Society for Yugoslav Jewry" in London also offered assistance, and funds started to arrive on a regular basis. The Jewish Committee for Assistance DELASEM, the Federation of Zionists of South Italy also made donations of 300,000 liras that translated into $2,305. The Jews from Haifa and Tel-Aviv contributed funds for two hospitals, fully equipped with 100 beds each. These two hospitals were to be erected in Southern Italy since the transport of the wounded to Palestine was not a feasible solution.[70] Nevertheless, these contributions, including hundreds of packages, as well as the efforts of large numbers of humanitarian organizations seemed insufficient to change the plight of the Jewish refugees; the economic embargo was a major hurdle.

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[69] Yad Vashem Archive, JM/24, Bari August 2 1944.

[70] Yad Vashem Archive, JM/24, letter sent from Hinko Gottlieb to the representatives of ZAVNOH on July 22 1944. See also document 3484, K-40, to the local commander: Jewish Zbjeg (refugees) received from the Allied Forces 4 planes full with clothing and other items to be distributed among the neediest Jews.

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While the British were unyielding and refused to give support, pressure in the United States on behalf of the Jewish refugees in Yugoslavia was mounting. At the beginning of 1944, President Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board (WRB), a government entity with broad authority to rescue 1,000 of the Jewish survivors stranded in Italy. [71] In response to events in the United States[72], Anthony Eden wrote to the British Cabinet in March 1944. Eden pointed out that the WRB was engaged in wide publicity, which implied that Britain was an impediment to the humanitarian efforts of the United States. Eden also observed that assistance in sending funds to the refugees might impede the economic embargo, resulting in real benefit to the enemy.[73] In a circular written on November 7, 1944, ZAVNOH informed the authorities in the regions of Banja and Kordun—areas in which Jews were concentrated—that the Allies had landed with four planes with various commodities to be distributed to needy Jews.[74] This cargo for Jewish refugees signaled that the time might be ripe to provide much needed aid to the entire country and that the intensity of political considerations was dwindling.

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[71] Wyman, David S., Abandonment of the Jews, America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945, pp.285. By the end of the war, the WRB had played a crucial role in saving approximately 200,000 Jews. About 15,000 were evacuated from Axis territory (as were more than 20,000 non-Jews). At least 10,000, and probably thousands more, were protected within Axis Europe by WRB financed underground activities and it helped in the 1,000 refugees that were transferred to Fort Ontario, Oswego.

[72] Ibid, Wyman, David, 268-280. Wyman's focus in this section is on the "Fort Ontario Experience" discussed in Chapter 7.

[73] Shelah, Menahem, The Yugoslav Connection: Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938- 1948, 102.

[74] JIM, ZAVNOH, Inv. # 3484, K-40, November 11, 1944.

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Assistance and Material Support on the Way

From January to June 1943, the Partisans withstood major Axis attacks. In light of their brave and unyielding stand, the allied leaders switched their support from the Chetniks, remnants of the Royal Serbian Army, to the Partisans. President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and the Soviet leader, Stalin, officially recognized the Partisans at the Tehran Conference in November 1943. This resulted in a moderate Allied aid being parachuted behind Axis lines to assist the Partisans. From the time Italy capitulated to the legitimization of Tito's Partisans by the Allies, ZAVNOH eagerly attempted to meet every British request, without relinquishing their humanitarian work on behalf of the Jews and other refugees. Tito's conduct was probably responsible for the change of the Allies' attitude towards his leadership. In June 1944, the Jewish refugees from Rab sent the following letter to the Emigration Board in Jerusalem, to the Jewish International Congress, and to the Union of the Jews of Yugoslavia in Tel-Aviv:

> The Partisans' authorities are making supreme efforts to assist us ...but it has produced no positive results under the current circumstances. The Partisans are fighting a battle for their lives and for the country, and they are in no position to assist us more than they have been doing. Because of the nature of guerrilla warfare, we are under constant attack and we are forced to escape from one location to another; we are in life threatening situations everywhere.... our strength is diminishing. We are no longer able to stand the physical and emotional anxiety. More than 1,000 people stand to lose their lives at the threshold of liberation. We are asking you to bring to the attention of the appropriate authorities our plight. Do all for our survival....[75]

The solemnity of the letter was recognized particularly following the harsh winter of 1944. During that winter, 200[76] Jews were captured and killed by the Ustashe. The

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[75] The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem, s25/242: S26/1309, 1255.

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ZAVNOH authorities were informed of the serious increase in the number of suicides among the Jews. The refugees feared for their lives and for the danger they faced if caught by the Nazis. They yearned for the day they would leave the warring territories where their family members had been annihilated; naturally, they desired to reach a place free of Ustashe and Nazis.

The British, in a response to accusations from the Jewish refugees, attempted to justify their conduct and position, arguing that British officers in Topusko acted fairly and justly towards the Jews. The personnel of the military delegation in Topusko wrote a formal response:

> The Jews of Topusko a) were never discriminated against, they in fact received a preferential treatment in comparison to other refugees in Yugoslavia; b) the communication officers spared no efforts to assist this group; c) the planes parachuted supplies in the midst of military activities; d) this group was the only one in Yugoslavia to receive supplies; e) no effort was spared when instructions for assistance were ordered from the headquarters; f) the conduct of the Partisans throughout this period was fair and decent; they approved the evacuation at the expense of their own soldiers that were in dire need for supplies. Even today, they are assisting the Jews who are in lesser danger and difficulty than their own military and civilian population. In this line, the personnel to the mission to Yugoslavia are expressing their bitterness because of the accusations. We will be grateful to you for bringing this letter to the attention of the proper authorities, letting them know that the Allied Forces do not in any way discriminate against the Jews. It is disappointing to see that all our efforts to alleviate their plight resulted in such accusations.[77]

From this letter, we can deduce that there was considerable miscommunication and possibly misunderstanding by the British personnel in the field concerning the urgent needs of the Jewish refugees. Obviously there was much suffering amongst other

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[76] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, Box 10, Zapisnik, Zagreb June 9 1945, 14.

[77] Shelah, Menahem, The Yugoslav Connection: Immigration of Jewish Refugees to Palestine through Yugoslavia, 1938- 1948, 111.

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ethnic groups; the Jews were traumatized beyond words at the loss of their entire families and previous existence.

As late as October 1944, Tito allowed a Jewish delegation to leave for Bari for consultation with other Jewish leaders in order to find an appropriate resolution to the issue of the sick and elderly. In November of the same year, the Partisans agreed that supplies should be parachuted exclusively to the Jewish refugees in the Topusko region in Croatia. In January 1945, on the suggestion of Randolph Churchill, Jr., the Jews would be transferred by British ships from Split to southern Italy. Once more and for the last time the Jews were taunted with the idea of leaving; and this time their hopes were high since the son of Churchill was the one who made the suggestion. Despite mounting criticism from around the world over their discriminatory policies towards the Jews, the British government aborted the plan that had been conceived by their own people representatives in the field.

The circular distributed by the Yugoslav Jews in Lausanne, dated March 17 1945, brings the reader up to date as to how the refugees were doing in their battle for survival:

> Union of Jews from Yugoslavia in Palestine," (Hitahdut Oley Jugoslavia) managed to assist their brethrens in the Partisans' freed territories of Croatia. The first and best news for all those abroad was that most of the Jewish refugees were accommodated and the majority has survived the war. "The Yugoslav Jews in the various kibbutzim such as Shaar Hamakim, Afikim, and Gat were working tirelessly to assist their brothers and sisters in distress with donations and political pressure. Also, increased efforts were noticeable on the part of the American Jews, who via JOINT, sent supplies to Yugoslavia. The Jewish Community in Zagreb spared no efforts and worked tirelessly to supply the Jewish communities, wherever they were, with food and clothing.[78]

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[78] Loker, Zvi, *Pinkas Hakehillot, Yugoslavia,* .223-24. The Yishuv in Erez Israel (an organization in the Palestine that provided assistance to the European Jews under

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After March 1945, the Jews of Yugoslavia learned from the Lausanne Circular about the experiences of their brothers and sisters around the globe. The most exciting news pertained to their relatives in the freed territories of Croatia. The Partisans had engaged many refugees in the creative work of rebuilding the people and the country; therapeutically this was the best medicine of all.[79]

Thus, despite initial disappointments and fears due to the refusal of the Allies to evacuate them to southern Italy, the able Jewish refugees found comfort in staying alive and being useful. Through the work programs initiated by ZAVNOH, many Jewish refugees in the freed-territories found new interests in life. The hard work of erecting schools and kitchens and rebuilding the infrastructure signified a renewal of life. The supplies and monies sent to them, first and foremost by the friends and relatives from southern Italy and Palestine, boosted their morale and hopes. In my conversations with Ella Finci Koen, with Erna Kaveson Debenic and Erna Gaon Latinovic,[80] I became very

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German occupation.) The Committee for the Rescue of Jews established offices in Turkey (Istanbul), a neutral country and in Switzerland; they provided assistance by sending paratroopers to Yugoslavia, to the liberated areas of Croatia, to work with the Partisans. Often financial aid for the refugees was also sent. Despite of the small number of rescued due to this activity, the mere knowledge that Jewish paratroopers form Erez Israel were sent to fight the enemies of freedom were a great comfort for the Jews of Yugoslavia that were detained in a region where fighting was still going on.

[79] Nazor, Ante, and Ladic, Zoran, History of the Croatians, Multigraph, Zagreb, 2003, 370. By the November of 1944 there were 121,351 soldiers in the Partisan units in Croatia: 60.4% were Croatians, 28.64% Serbs, 2.75% Muslims, 0.25% Jews, and 7.96% other nationalities. In the main command there were 658 Croats, 633 Serbs 6 Muslims, 14 Jews and 62 members of other nationalities. In Bosnia-Herzegovina there were about 100,000 partisans

[80] Ella Finci Koen, Erna Kaveson Debenic and with Erna Gaon Latinovic individual interviews conducted in the Jewish Community of Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina August 11 and 12, 2003.

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aware of the difficulties endured after the capitulation of Italy. But these three survivors also expressed their excitement over opening a new page as freed human beings. The knowledge that the children sent to Partisans' schools attempted with energy to make up for their lost years was comforting to parents. The packages and money sent from abroad not only supplied physical nourishment, they were also vital for their morale. All were grateful to the ZAVNOH authorities and to the humanitarian organizations that cared for them. After all, they had not been forgotten and abandoned.

Although Churchill had hoped that Tito might cooperate with the Royal Serbian government-in-exile in London, this did not happen. Tito consolidated power after the Yalta Conference, February 4 1945, by purging his government of non-communists. After the Yalta Conference, the intentions of the Allied forces became clear to Tito and Tito's intentions were no longer to please the West; refugees were no longer permitted to leave the country.

At the meeting in Potsdam on July 16 1945, the destiny of Yugoslavia was determined primarily on the basis of Tito's conduct immediately after the war. When the question on the agenda concerning the Declaration on Liberated Europe as applied to Yugoslavia was discussed, Churchill stated that the Declaration was not being fulfilled: there was no election law, the Assembly of the Council has not been enlarged, legal procedures had not been re-established, and the Tito administration was under the control of his party police. Thus, the press was also controlled. Stalin defended Tito's conduct. Churchill suggested that Tito and the representatives of the Yugoslav government should be invited to Potsdam so as to explain and their philosophical stand.

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But Truman understood immediately that no further conversations were needed. Recognizing the Russian sphere of influence, Yugoslavia was given to Stalin.[81]

At the end of World War II, many surviving Jews flocked to their places of birth hoping to reunite at least with some members of their family. No one of the survivors could have imagined the enormity of the catastrophe and that so many of their family members perished. They were totally unprepared for the devastation that had befallen the Jews of Yugoslavia.[82] Since a new type of dictatorship emerged in Yugoslavia, the Communist dictatorship led by Tito. The fear of another dictatorship combined with opportunities to emigrate to Israel many survivors packed their meager belonging and once again, penniless, they left Yugoslavia with an objective to rebuild their new homeland. Over a period of four years, from 1948 to 1952, 8,786 Jews out of the 15,000 that survived World War II left.[83] The number of immigrants would have been much higher if all those who desired to leave the country had been able to obtain exit visas. Tito's government prevented those with specialized skills from leaving the country.

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[81] Mee, Charles Jr., Meeting at Potsdam, New York: M. Evans and Company, 1975, 146-147.

[82] After the war, life for the Jews in Yugoslavia under Tito's Communism was not much better than under Nazism. Thus, when an opportunity arose and the Jews were given permission to leave for Israel, 1,400 of the survivors from Sarajevo seized the moment and penniless again they chose life over subjugation.

[83] According to the data found in the Yakir Even-Tov Archive in Jerusalem from 1948 to 1952 there were several ships that had left Yugoslavia en route to Israel: December 8 and 26, 1948 "Radnik" 1,022; "Kefalos" 4,063; February 16 1949 "Bosnia" 40; June 30 1949" Radnik" 1,028; July 12 1949 "Radnik"590; July 25 1949 "Radnik" 858; October 11 "Uzice" 60; March 19 1950 "Artza" 420, June 4 1951 "Galila" 629; and the last ship left on October 30 1952 "Negba" with 76 passengers.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation focuses on the rescue of the Jews in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) during World War II. The central thesis is that despite the atrocities exhibited by the Nazis and the Ustashe (Croatian Fascists), assistance came from all strata of the society: from Officials in the NDH government, the Catholic Church, national and international humanitarian organizations, the Italian 2nd Army, and the Croatian Partisans. There were also hundreds, if not thousands, of ordinary citizens—family friends, neighbors, strangers and even individual Ustashe—who offered help and provided rescue. The reasons, the means, and the ways of offering rescue and assistance varied, but most of those that reached out and helped took risks and put themselves in harm's way. They offered shelter, provided food, obtained forged exit visas, transported Jews across enemy lines and rescued children. However, due to the hostile and complicated political, religious and social environment in NDH, 30,000 Jews (77%) lost their lives. Thus, it is not surprising that much contemporary historiographic literature focuses on the annihilation of the Jews. But there is a second side to this story: 9,500 Jews were rescued and survived under the most difficult circumstances.

Five questions were posed at the beginning of this dissertation: (1) How did 9,500 Jews survive? (2) Who were the rescuers? (3) Was rescue a random act or deliberate and purposeful? (4) Who was rescued and for what purpose? (5) Which territories of the

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occupation had the highest rate of survival and why? On the basis of the documentation and data reviewed, it is possible to offer some tentative conclusions and to suggest further avenues for research.

The dissertation demonstrates that, during the period of the German occupation and the Ustashe regime, it is impossible to compare complex historical outcomes in the different regions of the NDH, let alone make comparisons with other European countries. The reasons are that the degree of local anti-Semitism before the war and during the war varied. Also the degree of historical cooperation between the Jews and non-Jews; the degree of economic and cultural integration of the Jewish community within the general society; the influence of the religious institutions and the nature of that influence; local traditions of diversity and protection of minorities all these variables played a role in the degree and nature of rescue.

Three variables were isolated and identified as those that played a major role in the nature and degree of rescue: one, the extent of Nazi control in a specific geographic area; two, the rate of looting permitted to party loyalists and informers in particular territories of NDH; and three, the resolve of individuals to seize the moment and take the first opportunity for escape without turning back or contemplating other and better opportunities.

The degree of control exercised by the German forces of occupation was not uniform in each geographic area. However, the rate and intensity of that control determined the fate of the Jews. In places where the German influence was almost total, as in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1941 to 1942, there was little room for local traditions and activists to make any significant difference. Jewish companies and businesses were

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confiscated and liquidated as soon as the Nazis entered Sarajevo: the physicians and skilled workers, excluding the railroad professionals, were deported with the first major transports. In 28 successive transports over a period of eight months, approximately 70 percent of the Jewish men, women and children were annihilated. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the rescue of Jews was given either by friends and neighbors or for a fee by individuals, sometimes even Ustashe, who made it their profession to transfer Jews across the borders to the Italian occupied territories. Those Jews who listened to the warnings of Judge Srechko Bujas, the appointed trustee over the Sephardic Jewish Community, seized the moment of great confusion and escaped; many of them managed to survive. Judge Bujas had brought information from Zagreb that conditions in Sarajevo would only worsen. Bujas asked the Jewish leadership to pass the news onto their members; they, however, could not believe that matters would get worse; the members of the various groups were advised to stay in Sarajevo.

While between 1941 and mid 1943, some Jews were rescued and protected in Croatia, in Bosnia-Herzegovina most of the Jews were deported and had little opportunity to escape. Since the headquarters of the German Army was situated in Sarajevo, the city was under the complete control of the SS and the Gestapo. The Nazis in Sarajevo had no interest in the future of NDH or in the local population; they liquidated and sold everything, depositing the funds realized in "Hitlerhaus" German Banks. The Muslim political and religious leaders, who were German allies, pocketed the money they plundered, dividing it among their family members and friends, leaving the rest of the population in dire poverty and need.[1]

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[1] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/2-45, box 10, 251-252.

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In contrast, in areas where the German influence and control over the apparatus of government was initially moderate, such as in Osijek, there were many more opportunities both for the local population and for the Jews to act resolutely so as to rescue themselves as well as several hundred Jewish children from Sarajevo. The Osijek Jewish Community can serve as an example of what was possible when the rate of Nazi involvement was relatively low. The Jews, together with the local police managed the Djakovo concentration camp. Due to their working together, living conditions in the camp were better and more humane. The Jewish women from the Osijek Jewish Community visited the camp, bringing provisions, assisting the sick; often, on their way out, they rescued hundreds of Sarajevo children by carefully taking them out of the camp one by one and accommodating them with local Jewish families. Although, clearly the Jews of Osijek had many more opportunities for escape than those in other areas, it is not clear how many seized the opportunity to escape. Rabbi Charles Steckel, the former rabbi of Osijek and eyewitness, writes:

> The Nazis were masters at spreading and fostering illusions among their victims.... The Jews of Osijek were trapped when the Ustashe offered them the village of Tenje, near Osijek. They were told that they could build their own settlement there which would serve as their own community until the end of the war. The Ustashe liquidated the settlement after a few months and deported the Jews to Auschwitz, Jasenovac and Loborgrad.[2]

After a relatively quiet year in terms of deportations, in August 1942, more than 1,200 unsuspecting Jews from Osijek, of whom approximately 700 were children, 350 from Sarajevo, were rounded up. Under the cover of darkness, they were taken to the railroad station and sent to an unknown destination; nobody heard from them after that

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[2] Steckel, Charles, Destruction and Survival, Delmar Publishing Company, Inc., Los Angeles, 1973, 36, 42-43.

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fatal night. From the hundreds of the Sarajevo children that originally were rescued from certain death in Sarajevo and Djakovo, only 40 to 50 survived.

With hindsight, one might wonder how it was possible that literate and well-informed Jews, involved in world affairs and familiar with the Nazi ideology of the Final Solution, could be so passive—particularly following the implementation of the Racial Laws. Why did the Osijek Jews believe the Ustashe and the Nazis that Tenje would be theirs till the end of the war? The Jews spent enormous sums of money on building Tenje. If these funds had been spent on purchasing exit visas, the destiny of many would have been very different.

The situation in Zagreb was different again from that in Sarajevo and Osijek. Zagreb was the seat of the NDH government. The Nazi regime interfered but, by and large, until mid-1942 the Ustashe ran their own affairs as long as they continued to pursue the implementation of the Final Solution. Initially, deportations were conducted in spurts; early on, they captured those that were known as communists and their collaborators. In parallel they captured 165 young men and deported them to concentration camps, telling them and their families that they were going to summer work camp and would return home after two months: they never came back.[3] Although their brutal end sent shudders of fear throughout the community, nevertheless, many did not take definitive and concrete actions to escape. The second group to be arrested, targeted and detained was the most wealthy and prominent Jews of Zagreb. They were taken hostage and told that their release depended on their ability to collect within one

[3] Lengel-Krizman, Narcisa and Sobolevski, Mihael, "Hapsanje 165 Zidovskih Omladinaca u Zagrebu u Svibnju 1941. Godine," *Novi Omanut,* br. 31, 11-12, 1998.

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week a "voluntary contribution" of 1,000 kg of gold. They worked tirelessly, obtaining frequent extensions, for close to a year until the entire sum was collected.

The individuals who understood that, once the money had been handed over and the Ustashe had no further use for them, most probably escaped and survived. In fact, for a very short period during the latter part of 1941, the Ustashe handed over approximately 2,000 exit visas to those that completed paying their part of the "voluntary contribution." Since there were relatively few takers, the Ustashe gave the visas to the Jews who wished to leave Zagreb. The third group to be deported was composed of lawyers. The members of this group were deported but, shortly thereafter some of them were released and brought back to Zagreb in order to fulfill a specific task.[4] Those who understood that their release was temporary escaped while most others who stayed to complete the task were deported and annihilated.[5]

During the years 1941 to August 1942, many Jews of Zagreb obtained a reprieve from deportations; some were essential to the economy because they were skilled professionals: physicians, engineers, businessmen, and others. It is possible that the unique situation in Croatia might not have occurred in a well-established independent state, or in a society that commanded a higher rate of professionals and skilled workers. But since approximately 76 percent of the Croats were engaged in agriculture and

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[4] The lawyers were needed during the collection of the so called "voluntary contribution" of 1,000 kg. of pure gold or its equivalent in other currencies, works of art, precious stones, silver etc. The lawyers' task was to appraise the value of the items and determine their equivalency in gold. At times, when individuals gave promissory notes they had to record it in legal terminology.

[5] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ 2235/35/11-45, 275-281, Zapisnik, On August 6 1945 Dr. Robert Gluckstha1, a lawyer, testified how he and Dr. Milan Brihta were released from the camp Kerestinec. Initially they were overjoyed to get this new lease on life. Once back in Zagreb they were informed that their task would be to work with the contribution board.

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training them for skilled professions was not feasible, the authorities needed to retain the Jews if they wished to be, even partially, economically independent of Nazi Germany. The prime objective of the Ustashe authorities in Zagreb was to maintain the level of activity of the former Jewish and Serb factories and businesses. In Sarajevo, by contrast, trained individuals were the first to be deported. The SS, the Gestapo and the local Muslim authorities cared little for the local population; their prime objective was to liquidate everything and pocket the proceeds from the sale of Jewish assets.

The Nazis recognized that the NDH government was shielding some of the Jews and was reluctant to pursue the final stages of the Final Solution. SS Haupsturmfuehrer Franz Abromeit was sent by Adolf Eichmann to supervise the deportations to Auschwitz. From August 13 through 20, 1942, 5,500 Jews from NDH were deported in five trains from the settlement in Tenje and from the concentration camp Loborgrad and from Zagreb and Sarajevo. After Himmler's visit to Zagreb on May 5, 1943, the Nazis insisted upon total cleansing action; they were determined to make Croatia "Juden Frei." In their customary thorough way, the Nazis, with the help of the Ustashe, swept the territories of NDH, hunting down every Jew on their list. In May 1943 the remaining 1,150 Jews who managed to survive the massive deportations of 1942, were captured and deported to Auschwitz. The 1,500 Jews that managed to survive were mostly Jews involved in mixed marriages.

When the territories of Croatia were finally free of Jews, the Nazis worked through diplomatic channels for the handover of all the Jews concentrated in the Italian controlled territories in Zone B. When the Italian 2nd Army, in conjunction with a few diplomats, did not pursue the orders of Mussolini, who in the two words "Nulla Osta"

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(no objections) had signed the fate of the Jews, the Gestapo planned to deport all the Jews in the Italian territories without the permission and consent of the Italian Army in the occupied territories.

The very complex political, religious and military situation in Yugoslavia enabled Nazi Germany to plan, even before the outbreak of the war, how best to exploit the ethnic and religious diversity and put it to use. The Germans encouraged certain groups in Yugoslavia to organize for the eventuality of war. The Volksdeutsche were mobilized and, with the help of Haj Amin El Husseini, the Muslims were encouraged to serve as informers. Presumably, the right-wing Croats were also approached for assistance in the registration and identification of the Jews, their businesses and activities. Once war broke out, Germany dismembered Yugoslavia and handed over the pieces to the Axis partners. The Nazi manipulation of the different groups and their promises created mistrust and irreconcilable schisms. One third of the Serbs, the entire population of the Jews and the Gypsies were targeted for annihilation by the NDH.

The Nazis gave Ante Pavelic control over Bosnia-Herzegovina; at the same time, they prevented the Muslims from showing loyalty to NDH by disseminating ideas and rumors that the Muslims might be granted their own independent State. The cost of this promise was, of course, collaboration with Germany and the creation of two Muslim Waffen-SS Divisions who assisted in the extermination of Jews. Similarly, by the Nazi intervention in the internal affairs of Croatia, the NDH government negated the agreement of cooperation they had signed with the Italians. Ciano wrote in his diary:

> November 19, 1941: Casetrano gives the Duce and me a rather discouraging account of the situation in Croatia. The instability of Pavelic's power, domestic intrigues and growing German meddling are the elements that

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> make the life of the new state uncertain and our influence precarious. There is no longer an Italian-Croatian problem, but an Italian-German problem regarding Croatia.[6]

Under Nazi control and power, separate promises and agreements were made to each party of the conflict. This made it impossible for the people to unite and take immediate action against the Nazi forces of occupation.

The same tactics and methods of control that were utilized by the Nazis on a regional level were employed on the individual level. From personal testimonies and those given to the National Commission for the Verification of Crimes, it seems clear that the Nazis recognized that they could not achieve the same level of obedience in the Balkans as they had achieved in Germany and Austria. However, they recognized that if an atmosphere for personal gain was created, they would be in a position to convert ordinary citizens into perpetrators. They encouraged collaborators to loot, plunder, and pillage the Jewish property and assets, a policy they had avoided at all cost in Germany and Austria after 1938; there the property of the Jews belonged to the State and not to individual looters. But in the Balkan scheme, the leadership was promised that they would become beneficiaries of the larger assets, while the lower levels were granted small gains. By provoking greed, they created perpetrators out of local population. Thus, self-interest fired the most cruel acts that took place in NDH during World War II. Unlike the Nazi perpetrators who succumbed to duty and obedience, blindly following the orders of their superiors, the German sympathizers in NDH, at all levels from the Poglavnik, Pavelic, to the poorest citizen, became preoccupied with looting and plundering Jewish assets.

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[6] Ciano, Galeazzo, Diary 1937-1943, 466

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In allowing the plunder of Jewish property, the Nazi and the Ustashe leadership aimed to kindle the "animal instinct" in its citizens; possession of Jewish belongings became a craze. Greed combined with opportunities to obtain free possession of assets, no matter how large or small, drove some normally good citizens to abrogate morality and any ideals they had held of building a free Croatia. Judge Srechko Bujas, the appointed trustee of the Sephardic Jewish Community in Sarajevo who testified in front of the National Commission, stated:

> In our country, the anti-Jewish decrees and ordinances were undertaken by people without any professional qualifications, people without judgment of right and wrong. These young people, once righteous and idealistic, instead of channeling their capabilities and talents for the benefit of their people and homeland, chose for themselves a selfish objective: self-enrichment and self-gratification in the shortest time possible and without careful consideration of the consequences for the future. They understood that the so-called Racial Laws placed the Jews totally outside the realm of the law, regarding their very existence worthless and their earthly possessions as belonging to the individual Ustashe.[7]

In the historiographic literature, there are probably a number of historians who might argue that the question of whether the Ustashe adhered strictly to the Nazi ideology is not important since the consequences would have been the same: the annihilation of the Jews in all territories under NDH. Yet, as Jonathan Steinberg has pointed out, this question does matter. As far as the Jewish Question and the Final Solution were concerned, the Nazi ideology allowed no compromise; it was "all or nothing". While in NDH, the regime willingly and expertly murdered thousands of Jews and dissidents, nevertheless they were willing to shield and protect Jews that were essential to the economy and to other areas that benefited the state, the "Aryan Jews" and family

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[7] HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45 box 10, testimony by Judge Srechko Bujas, the appointed trustee over the Sephardic Jewish Community in Sarajevo, 210.

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members of the upper echelons. Moreover, because of the pressure exerted by Archbishop Stepinac and the Vatican to stop the extermination of Jews, particularly converted clergy and those involved in mixed marriages, the Ustashe were reluctant to pursue the Final Solution to its bitter end. They made choices.

The Nazis promoted the idea that the world should be free of Jews because they were inherently inferior and evil. Thus, their propaganda machine advocated that it was morally right to kill all Jews and to strip them of their identity for the good of the society. But in NDH, the Nazi and Ustashe propaganda had neither time nor opportunity to cultivate ideological anti-Semitism; thus, they developed other, more expedient, methods to promote the Final Solution. When by mid-1942, the Ustashe no longer had the burning passion to annihilate Jews, since nothing remained to be plundered; the Nazis took over the job. They gladly assumed the task of rounding up, deporting and annihilating the Jews, particularly since they were paid by the Ustashe 30 reichsmark for every Jew deported. In 1943, after Himmler's visit to Croatia, Himmler insisted that all Jews, regardless of profession, age, sex and mixed marriage be handed over. For Ustashe full cooperation, Himmler promised financial assistance to the NDH government. At this late stage, the opportunities for rescue were very small; under the watchful eye of the SS and the Gestapo, only a handful of Jews managed to find hiding places.

The third variable to play a major role in both rescue and survival was the decision of individuals to leave everything behind and run to the Italian Zones of occupation. Opportunities for escape were scarce, but those who seized them and ran most often survived. As money was also an important commodity in the struggle for survival, a large number of the poor made no attempts to leave.

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The above conclusions are significant since they suggest that, no matter how difficult the circumstances that may exist in a collaborationist entity such as NDH, hundreds and possibly thousands of individuals from all ages and walks of life readily gave assistance, thereby risking their own lives and the lives of their family members.[8] The rescue and survival of Jews in NDH is unique in several aspects. Since the country had been dismembered, the Jews were caught not only in a world war but also in a civil war in which four formidable foes –the Ustashe, the Croatian Volksdeutsche, the Chetniks and the Partisans—fought each other. Excluding the Partisans, all were engaged in the extermination of the Jews. The Partisans were the only local group that invited the Jews to join in the fight for freedom, and who also provided shelter for those who were in no position to fight.

Based on the complex study of the situation in NDH, two central conclusions emerge: the 9,500 Jews who managed to survive must have received help; consequently, they must have been assisted by thousands of rescuers over the course of four years. If the rescue of Jews would have depended exclusively on those who have been pronounced by Yad Vashem as the "Righteous Among the Nations," there would be a mere handful of survivors."[9] Very rarely was the rescue of Jews the outcome of the efforts of one person. The rescue of each Jew was the result of the efforts of a long chain of individuals, humanitarian organizations, and entities such as the Church, the Italian Army and the Partisans over a period of four years.

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[8] Documents in Appendices 5.1 and 6.2 provide a glimpse and demonstrate the degree of individual and institutional involvement in the rescue of Jews in NDH.

[9] As of spring 2004, ninety-eight citizens of Croatia and thirty-four citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina were recognized by Yad Vashem with the prestigious "Righteous Among the Nations" award. They represent but a small fraction of those that provided assistance.

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A

RESCUE AND SURVIVAL OF JEWS

IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA (NDH) 1941-1945

by

ESTHER GITMAN

VOLUME II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of The requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2005

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Appendix 4.1.0: List of Jewish Survivors who returned to Sarajevo after WWII, 1945-1952

The information was gathered by the Jevresko Kulturno Prosvejetno drusto "Soloboda" Sarajevo".
Based on records the following information was provided by Mr. Danilo Nikolic , president of the Sarajevo Jewish Community on the eve of WWII consisted of approx. 11,500 and in the entire B-H approx. 14,000. Approx. 1,600 from Sarajevo left for Israel. An estimated 200 heads of families refused to register with the Jewish community. This list includes names also taken from Jasa Romano listings of those that served in the Partisans and either their whereabouts during the war was not indicated or they were completely absent from the Sarajevo listings. from Jasa Romano list only those that clearly indicated as being from Sarajevo were included.

This list includes the names of those who left for Israel on December 1948; it does not include those that left to Palestine in the years 1940-1945. listings. from Jasa Romano list only those that clearly indicated as being from Sarajevo were included.

Concentration Camps (CC) in Croatia and abroad: Total 83, Germany POW Total 126, Italy from 1941-1943 or 1945, Korcula then Italy or NOV Total 17, No information of their whereabouts Total 112, NOB, NOP, NOV from 1941-1945 113, Rab to NOB, NOP, NOO, NOV, Zbjeg Total 669 includes only family heads. Sarajevo entire period or almost entire period Total 266 includes spouses and children, Split to 1943 or entire period Total 107. The list is not all inclusive and there is much to be desired.

Seq.	Reference	Name	Birth Place,Year	Survived during 1941-1945	Father	Mother	Other surviving family members	No.
1	S50	Sidi David	Sarajevo 1918	Abroad?	Abraham	Luna Atias		
2	A264	Adizes Albert	Pristina 1919	Albanian Prisoner	Samuel	Palomba Adizes		
3		Baruh Dr. David	Beograd 1901	Albanija	Avram	Mazal Bernard	W. Sida Alkalaj, 1904, S. Avram Bitolj 1938, Leon 1945	3
4	O1,2,	Kabiljo Onadia Gjustina	Sarajevo 1922	Albanija and Germany	Nahmah	Rena Katan	W. Lea 1930	1
5	J.Romano	Fruht Nina	Belgrade 1926	Albanija to 1944, NOV				
6	J.Romano	Fruht Pavle	Sarajevo 1917	Albanija to 1944, NOV				
7		Bramer Josipa	Zagreb 1880	Banja Luka, Mostar	Albert	Sidonija		
8	G83	Glazer Branko	Sarajevo 1926	Belgrade entire period	Maks		W Deranka 1933	1
9	K195	Kajon Kulisic Rasela	Bijelina 1909	Bijelina to 1942, NOV Fighter	Simson	Marieta Alkalaj		
10	S127	Zulzer Olga	Daruvar 1882	Bosanski Novi until 1944, NOV	Emanuel	Tami Rajner		
11	F69	Fisbah Dr. Jonas	Falhan 1901	Bosnia endemic Siphylis to 1944, NOV	Lav		D. Rut 1934	1
12	S72	Herlinger Dr. Ivo	Karlovac 1896	Bosnia endemic syphilis to 1942, NOV	Makso		W Sarina, 1909, D Miarjana 1930	2
13	G91,93	Grin Dr. Ernst	St. Pozega 1899	Bosnia, endemic syphilis to 1944, NOV	Ignac		W Marija Korenica 1905, S Mladen 1936	2
14	H10	Hodeic Dr. Albert,	From Sarajevo 1906	Bos. Novi, NOV	Eugen			
15		Hodzic Dr. Aragerta	FromSarajevo ?	Bos. Novi, NOV	Eugen			
16	O39	Oberson Dr. Duro	Vukovar 1905	Brezi to 1944, NOV physician	Samuel	Rosa Gotlib		
17	A103,05	Atias Dr. Branko	Bugojno 1912	Bugojno until 1943, NOP physician	Mordo	Blanka Nahmias	W. Olga 1926, S. Boris (Mordo) 1946	2
18	S116	Singer Kamila	Bjelina 1905	Bugojno until 1943, Sarajevo	unknown	Matilda Singer		
19	A281	Altarac Albert,	Sarajevo 1906	Bulgaria Camp Somovit	Mosa	Merjama Altarac	W. Sarina Davidovic	1
20	P156	Pinto Rena	Sarajevo 1921	Busovaca entire period	Avram	Mazalta Samakc	S. Milenko Busovaca 1943	1
21	J.Romano	Grujic-Baruh Vida	Sarajevo 1914	CC Auscwitz from 1944 to 1945	Avram			
22	J.Romano	Furth Pavel	Sarajevo 1917	CC Albania to 1944, NOV				
23		Ferusic Greta	Novi Sad 1922	CC Auschwitz				
24	L280	Levi Ilonka	Senta 1918	CC Auschwitz	Bela	Olga Manhajm		
25	J.Romano	Romano Sarika	Sarajevo 1919	CC Auschwitz 1944-45, 1943 Rab NOV				
26	K144,145	Kohen Jakob	Sarajevo 1901	CC Auschwitz and Dahau	David	Simha Kohen	W. Rikica, Zenica 1912, StpD Gracia Danon 1941(Rikic	2
27	J.Romano	Rakosi-Ser Zora	Sarajevo 1910	CC Auschwitz to 1945				
28	T-	Tausing Marija	Check 1889	CC Auschwitz to 1945				
29	P97	Papo Flora	Sarajevo 1927	CC Auschwitz, Dubrovnik to 1943	Albert	Sida Tolentino		
30	V14-17	Volah Herman	Sarajevo 1906	CC Auscwitz	Kalman		W. Edita Diosi, Backa Tpl. 1920, D. Judita 1938	2
31	J.Romano	Musafia Lonika	Sarajevo 1923	CC Auscwitz 1944 to end WWII,				
32		Goldman Dr. Stevan	Segedin 1914	CC Austria	Aleksander		W. Ruza 1913,	1
33	A43-45	Altarac Mordo	Sarajevo 1907	CC Bergen Belsen	Mojse	Simha Kabiljo	W. Lili Montiljo 1918, D.Sida, Sarajevo 1941	2
34	K68,69	Kabiljo Luncika	Sarajevo 1920	CC Bergen Belsen	David	Flora Levi	S. Sabetaj 1941	1
35	K206	Kajon Hana	Bijelina 1901	CC Bergen Belsen	Avram	Rahela Danon	D. Lea, Visegrad 1933, Sara 1925, S. Mordehaj 1929	3
36	L-2.VII.1947	Levi Dona	Sarajevo 1891	CC Bergen Belsen	Moise	Dustina Kabiljo		
37	L-3.VII.195(	Levi Dr. Isak,	Visegrad 1913	CC Bergen Belsen	Moise	Lea Sniegl	W. Lea, Dakovo 1922,	1
38	L-	Levi Isak	Visegrad 1913	CC Bergen Belsen	Moise	Serafina	W. Lea, Dakovo 1922, D Dunja 1946	2
39	P110	Papo Salamon	Visegrad 1899	CC Bergen Belsen	Santo	Blanka Pinto	W. Lika Danon, Rogatica 1902	1
40	P111	Papo Simha	Visegrad 1912	CC Bergen Belsen	Gavro	Lea Papo		
41	S-?	Svarc Isidor	Mostar 1910	CC Bergen Belsen	Maks	Dora Kraus	B. Alekasander 1914	1
42	S138	Satler Oto	Novi Sad 1925	CC Bergen Belsen	Eugen	Sarlot Kon	W. Sejija Donhovic, 1926	1
43	K119-20	Kamhi Rifka	Bijelina 1888	CC Bergen Belsen from 1943, Crna Gc	Avram	Rahela Danon	S. Salamon 1913,	1
44	L78	Laslo Margareta	Rogatica 1919	CC Bergen Belsen from 1943, Crna Gc	Herman	Olga Mesinger		
45	L61-63	Levi Sara	Visegrad 1904	CC Bergen Belsen from 1943, Crna Gc	Santo	Blanka Pinto	S. Albert 1931, D. Bianka 1933.	2
46	L104	Levi Sara	Keadany 1895	CC Bergen Belsen from 1943, Crna Gc	Israel Oz	Regina Katan		
47	D1,2	Danon Avram	Rogatica 1895	CC Bergen Belsen from 1943, C. Gora	Juda	Estera Papo	w.Regina Papo, Visoko, 1892	1
48	B-	Baruh Silvio	Travnik 1933	CC Bergen Belsen Germany	Moric	Renka Salom		
49	K98	Laufer Dr. Arnold	Zvornik 1889	CC Bergen Belsen, and others	Salamon	AmalijaNeuberg	S. Alexander, Nis 1926, Maksimir 1924	2
50	B15-17	Baruh Roza	Sarjevo 1893	CC Bergen Belsen, Crna Gora to 1943	Josef	Nehama Alkalaj	S. Silvio, 1912, Samuel, Visegrad 1919	2
51	O8,3,	Ovadija-Salom Rahela	Sarajevo 1894	CC Bergen Belsen, Crna Gora to 1943	Mojse	Rifka Salom	D Perla 1928	1
52		Levi Katan Dona	Sarjevo 1891	CC Bergen Belsen, Crna Gora to 1943	Moise	Gjustina Kabiljo		
53	A88	Altarac Matilda	Visegrad 1932	CC Bergen Belsen, Podgornice to 194	Leon	Flora Altarac		
54	A17	Altarac Cilika	Visegrad 1929	CC Bergen Belsen, Podgornjice to 194	Aron	Ema Papo		
55	L58	Levi Ester	Visegrad 1910	CC Bergen Belzen from 1943, Cran Gc	Daniel	Rifka Baruh		
56	K108-110	Kamhi David	Sarajevo 1912	CC Bergen Belzen from 1943, Crna Gc	Mosehaj	Buena Katan	W. Rahela,, 1920 S. Moreno Visegrad 1942	2
57		Baruh Ing. Silvio	Visegrad 1912	CC Bergen Belzen, Crna Gora to 1943	Jakob	Roza Finci	W. Ljubica, 1922	1
58	A281	Altarac Avram	Sarajevo1906	CC Bulgaria, Somovit	Mose	Mirjama Altarac		
59		Ler Josip	Teslic 1907	CC Dahau 1944-45, Germany POW	Anton	Helena Goldstei	W. Tea 1918	1
60	P259	Papo Ing. Mario	Sarajevo 1927	CC Dakovo, Rab	Avram	Flora Salom	D. Lea 1938	1
61	P227	Pokorni Ignac	From Sarajevo 1927	CC Djakovo to 1942, NOV	Egon	Johana Bauer		
62	L33	Levi Braco Avram	Sarajevo 1932	CC Djakovo to 1942, Sarajevo	Zadik	Rivka		
63	L32	Levi Lunika	Sarajevo 1930	CC Djakovo to 1942, Sarajevo	Zadik	Rivka		
64	M87	Montiljo Rahela	Sarajevo 1935	CC Djakovo to 1942, Sarajevo	Sabetaj	Rikica Altarac	Orphan	1
65	J.Romano	Sorger Makso	Daruvar 1905	CC Feramonte Italy to 1943, NOV				
66	S15	Svarc Zvonko	Krizevci 1909	CC Feramonte Italy, 1943 NOP	Vieko	Olga Kac	W. Olga, Sombor 1920	1
67	F83	Felic Mirko	Sarajevo 1916	CC Feramonte Italy, NOV 1943	Maks			
68	N3,4	Nahmias Josef	Bugojno 1919	CC Feramonte to capitu.Italy 1943, NC	Isak	Elza Graf	W. Norina, Pola 1924	1
69	J.Romano	Kabiljo Isa	Sarajevo 1911	CC Ferramonte, Italy Switzeland, NOP				
70	B116,18	Buhvald Leon	arajevo 1908	CC Germany	Milan	Cezarina Bosko	W. Sara 1913	1
71	J.Romano	Farhi Sarika	Sarajevo 1920	CC Germany to 1945, 1943, NOV	Leon			
72	M115-118	Malc David	Bijelina 1894	CC Gospic, Italy	Avram	Fani Stajlauf	W. Luna 1894, S. Avram Bijelina 1931	2
73	Sh36	Spicer Nikola	Hungary 1912	CC Hungary and Germany	Mavro	Janka Spicer		
74	A117	Atias, Jakob	Sarajevo 1914	CC Jasenovac	Elisa	Rahela Montiljo	W. Luna Gaon, 1924	1
75	K178	Koen Leon	Sarajevo 1916	CC Jasenovac	Moric	Estera Papo	W. Ernica 1928	1
76	M90,91	Montiljo Simon	Sarajevo 1910	CC Jasenovac	Jakob	Rifka Papo	W. Lenka 1914	1

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77	A206	Abinun Cuco	Sarajevo 1920	CC Jasenovac	Isak	Rifka Mihajlov		
78	M-	Maestro Leon	Sarajevo 1914	CC Jasenovac	Moric	Mazalta Maestrc	W. Rikica Papo, 1930	1
79	J.Romano	Koen Sado-Davko	Sarajevo 1914	CC Jasenovac to 22,04.45, NOV				
80	A41	Altarac Salamon-Monik	Sarajevo 1905	CC Jasenovac 14 months	Avram	Mazalta Montiljo	W. Flora Altarac, 1895, D. Betika 1930, S. Leon 1925	3
81	G76	Glikselig Dragutin	St. Brod 1883	CC Jasenovac and Sarajevo	Simon		W. Josefa Krabic, 1899	1
82	B117	Blum Ing. Emerich	Sarajevo 1911	CC Jasenovac escaped 1944, NOV	Mihael		W. Mahusja Godstein, 1914	1
83	K104-5	Kamhi Sabetaj-Bukl,	Sarajevo 1906	CC Jasenovac from 1941-1945	Rafael	Buena Maestro	S. Rafael, 1933	1
84	J.Romano	Dahon Sadik Braco	Sarajevo 1923	CC Jasenovac to 1942, NOV	Izidor			
85	M8	Maestro Albert	Sarajevo 1897	CC Jasenovac to 1943, NOV	David	Mazalta Sumbul.		
86	J.Romano	Montiljo Moric	Sarajevo ?	CC Jasenovac to 1943, NOV				
87	J.Romano	Katan Salamon	Sarajevo 1907	CC Jasenovac to 1943, NOV,CC Germny				
88	J.Romano	Finci Loni	Sarajevo 1922	CC Jasenovac to 1945,Rab to 1943	Jakob			
90	J.Romano	Danon Aco	Sarajevo ?	CC Jasenovac to 22,IV.45, NOV				
91	J.Romano	Finci Jakov	Sarajevo 1923	CC Jasenovac to 22.iv,1945, NOV	Shabetaj			
92	J.Romano	Maestro Leon	Travnik 1918	CC Jasenovac, 22.IV, 1945, NOV	M.			
93	M70	Montiljo David	Sarajevo 1909	CC Jasenovac, 2X escaped	Juda	Flora Daniti	W. Jelica Slankovic 1924,	1
94	J.Romano	Abinun Simon	Sarajevo	CC Jasenovac, captured 1941 escaped 1945				
95	J.Romano	Atias Jakob	Sarajevo 1915	CC Jasenovac, escape 1945, NOV	Elisha			
96	J.Romano	Gaon Jeruham	Travnik 1921	CC Jasenovac, escaped 22.IV, 1945, I	Avram		w. Olga, 1928	1
97	J.Romano	Albahari Aser	Sarajevo 1924	CC Jasenovac, escaped, NOV 1941	Benjamin	Rena Macoro	W. Halina Hadsic, 1924	1
98	K145	Konforte Dr. Josef	Travnik 1893	CC Jasenovac, from 1943 NOV	Moise	Sara Peric	W. Sarika, Bijelina 1900	1
99	K168	Kohen Sado	Sarajevo 1910	CC Jasenovac, St. Gradiska,	David	Rifka Levi		
100	J.Romano	Finci Jakica	Sarajevo ?	CC Jasenovac,1942 - 22.IV,1945, NOV				
101	J.Romano	Abinun Jeusua	Sarajevo 1920	CC Jasenovc to 1945, NOV fighter				
102	J.Romano	Romano Moric	Sarajevo 1910	CC Kruiscica1941,Jasenovac 1943,N	Salamon			
103	J.Romano	Romano Zlata	Sarajevo 1921	CC Kruscica to 1942, Split, Italy to 194	Izrael			
104	I16	Izrael Luna	Sarajevo 1899	CC Kruscica, Loborgrad	David		Sis. Ika 1910	1
105		Turnauer Alfred	P.Slatina 1895	CC Mezeldjes Hungary	Bernhard	Emilija Svarc		
106	B21	Baruh Berta	Doboj 1912	CC Ravensbruk, Belgrade to 1943	Elias	Rifka Elazar		
107	K-29.IV.49	Kabiljo Debora	Derventa, 1915	CC Zemun later in Belgrade	David	Blanka Atias	S. Menko 1937,	1
108	J.Romano	Papo- Sajer Erna	Sarajevo 1921	CC ? escaped, NOV 1943		Hana		
109	A227	Abinun Rahela	Sarajevo 1934	CCDjakovo, Sarajevo Orphanage	Isdor	Sara ?		
110		Goldstajn Dr. Vilim	Sandzetoti 1908	CC? (unreadable)	Julijo		W Umenko 1922, S. Petar 1942	2
111	N	Nikolic-Levi Zora-Donka	Sarajevo	Cran Gora entire period	?		S. Danilo 1938	1
112	P256-8	Papo Blanka	Rogatica 1908	Crna Gora entire period	Simun	Luna Ozmo	D. Laura 1939, Nela 1934	2
113	G81,	Glazer Leon	Sarajevo 1908	Dahan Zeljeznicka Radionica	Avram		W. Suzana, 1914,	1
114	A158	Alkalaj Silvjo	Sarajevo 1888	Dalmatia 1943, Italy 1945	Menahen	Sara Merkadic		
115	G25	Gaon Roza	Sarajevo 1909	Dalmatia the entire time	Isdor			
116	J.Romano	Papo Estera	Sarajevo 1908	Dalmatia to 1943, NOV Italy work w/chl.				
117	S12	Slezinger Klara	Sarajevo 1888	Dalmatian Coast entire period	Isak	Beja Hajhter		1
118	B69	Bahar Pinto Roza	Srajevo1908	Daruvar entre period	Avram	Lea Sumbolvic	S. Vlado 1944	1
119	J.Romano	Albahari Ing. Moric	Sarajevo 1929	Daruvar to 1942, NOV, fighter	David		W. Ela 1934	1
120	K156	Kajon Dr. Ezra	Sarajevo 1890	Domobran Milit. Hospt. 1944 Phys NOI	Elias	Riki Levi		
121	B100-2	Bosnic Haim Gjuro	From Sarajevo ?	Dubrovnik 1943, North America	Heim	Jelner Roza	W. Milica, 1916, S.Vladimir 1942	2
122	Sh15,16	Sternberg Sarica	Tuzla 1903	Dubrovnik entire period	Salamon	Rifka Salom	S. Gideon, Zavidovici 1931	1
123	I8,22	Izrael Berta	Bihac 1885	Fojnica the entire period(near Sarajevc	Leopold		S. Leopold, 1912	1
124	K154	Kofler Leo	Konjic 1909	German and Italian POW	Mavro	Amilia Vaksman	W. Frida Najberger,1923.	1
125		Gaon Dr. Jakob	Travnik 1914	Germany	Avram		W. Marta, 1923, S Avro 1946	2
126	S120	Sigman Malvina	Sarajevo 1897	Germany entire period	Benjamin	Helena Grinfild		
127	M55	Musafia Jakob	Sarajevo 1903	Germany Italy	Moise	Maestro Sida	W. Alozia , Hamgurg 1923	1
128	A208-9	Abinun Isdor	Sarajevo 1908	Germany POW	Salamon	Estera Atias	Wife Roza Finci 1919	1
129	A203,04	Abinun Moric	Sarajevo 1911	Germany POW	Daniel	Estera Atias	W. Roza Atias	1
130	A211	Abinun Salamon	Jajce 1915	Germany POW	Josef	Renta Atias	W. Milka Pavelic, 1920.	1
131		Albahari Moric	Sarajevo 1912	Germany POW	Sabtaj	Rena Atias	W. Danica Bilas, 1908	1
132	A236-37	Albahari Samuel	Tesanj 1917	Germany POW	Avram	Rahela Danon	W. Marija Feginia, 1926	1
133	A238-40	Albahari, Mosa	Teanj 1904	Germany POW	Salamon	Hana Finci	W. Regina Atias, 1912, S. Avram 1935	2
134	A241	Albahari, Samuel	Doboj 1912	Germany POW	Isak	Blanka Elazar	w. Matilda Sekalay, D. Rikica	2
135	A171	Alkalaj Albert	Travnik 1915	Germany POW	Avram	Sara Altarac	W. Ljerka 1925,	1
136	A-	Alkalaj Leo		Germany POW	Isak	Rifka Konforte	W. Fina 1918,	1
137	A69	Altarac Isidor	Sarajevo 1919	Germany POW	Avram	Klara Danon	W. Paula Mihajlovic, 1916	1
138	A90	Altarac Juda	Sarajevo 1896	Germany POW	Sadik	Klara Eskenazi	W.Batseva, 1902	1
139	A22-25	Altarac Leon	Sarajevo 1902	Germany POW	Mojsije	Beja Papo	w. Estera Papo, 1905, D Belja 1932, Dora 1936	3
140	A 90	Altarac Leon	Sarajevo 1896	Germany POW	Sadik	Klara Eskenazi		
141	A52	Altarac Mihael	Sarajevo 1902	Germany POW	Avram		W. Alojzija, Zagreb 1899	1
142	A76	Altarac Moric	Sarajevo 1907	Germany POW	Salamon	Merjana Romano		
143	A80	Altarac Rafael	Gracnica 1915	Germany POW	Izrael	Lenka Geon,	W. Marija Domibrovic, 1927,	1
144	A 245	Ast Jakov	Sarajevo 1898	Germany POW	Abraham	Beti Hanigsberg,		
145	A128,9	Atias Leon	Srajevo 1911	Germany POW	David	Sara Altarac	W. Flora Altarac, 1914	
146	B92,93	Bahar Mosa	Novi Pazar 1910	Germany POW	Isak	Leja albahari	W. Nada, Kolaric,, Vukovar 1910	1
147	B73	Bahar Teodor	Banjaluka 1883	Germany POW	Salamon	Rahela Levi		
148		Baruh Dr. David	Sarajevo 1892	Germany POW	Jakob	Rahela Papo	W. Nevenka, 1912	1
149	B30	Baruh Jakob	Doboj 1917	Germany POW	Elias	Rifka Elazar	W. Rajka, 1922,	1
150	B96	Belic Ignat	Sarajevo 1900	Germany POW	Pinkas	Hermina Slesing	W. Anka, 1910	1
151	D83A53	Daniti Avram	Sarajevo 1900	Germany POW	Mojsije	Mazalta Papo	W. Gina, Sarajevo 1911	1
152	D5-7	Danon Isak	Sarajevo 1904	Germany POW	Avram	Estera Papo	W. Fani Erlih, S. Albert 1933. Simha 1946,	3
153	D37-40	Danon Isak	Sarajevo 1894	Germany POW	Zadik	Hana Atias	W. Ella Danon,Gracanica1907, Anica 1934, Lilica 1937	3
154	D50	Danon Isdor	Visoko 1905	Germany POW	Anton	Estera Maestro		
155	D26-29	Danon Leon	Rogatica, 1912	Germany POW	Zadik	Matilda Papo	W. Milena Bogdanovic, 1914, D Branka 1937, S. Branka	3
156	D45,25	Danon Salom	Sarajevo 1917	Germany POW	Avram	Lena Altarac	W. Tilda Adizes, 1916	1
157	D77,78	David Artur	Sarajevo 1906	Germany POW	Herman	Janina Nadel	W. Berta,Gedalja 1913	1
158	D69	Demano Nisim	Sabac 1893	Germany POW	Josef	Venezia Farhi	W. Simha 1897, D. Venezija 1928	2
159	D82	Demano, Avram	Sarajevo 1909	Germany POW	Jakob	Rahela Romano		
160	F66	Finci Albert	Sarjevo 1898	Germany POW	David		W. Dragica 1908, D Miriam 1938	2
161	F66	Finci Albert,	Sarajevo 1898	Germany POW	David		W. Dragina 1908, D.Fnhica	2
162	F42	Finci David	Sarjave 1910	Germany POW	Isak		W. Flora 1909	2
163	F57	Finci Moise	Sarajevo 1912	Germany POW	Jakob		W. Roca 1920	1
164	J.Romano	Frejlih Dr. Leo	Sarajevo ?	Germany POW				
165	G24	Gaon Avram	Sarajevo 1912	Germany POW	Moric			
166	G38	Gaon David	Sarajevo 1914	Germany POW	Santo		W Lenka 1924	1
167	G35	Gaon Jakica	Sarajevo 1914	Germany POW	Izrael		W. Nada, Nis 1922	1
168		Gaon Misa	Travnik 1916	Germany POW	Avram		w Regina 1922	1
169	G70	Glazer Elias	Sarajevo 1906	Germany POW	Aleksander			
170	G82	Grinfeld Gabriel	Bjeljina, 1914	Germany POW	Maks			
171	G73	Grof Ing. Oskar	Bugojno 1891	Germany POW	Marbin		W Danica 1903	1
172	H2,3	Herman Joska	Vares 1898	Germany POW	Salamon		S. Leon, 1936	1
173	I18,19	Ickovic Josip	Visegrad 1911	Germany POW	Avram		W. Greta, 1916,	1
174	I13-14	Izrael Moric,	Visoko, 1910	Germany POW	David		W Blanka, 1918,	1
175	I4-6	Izrael Samuel	Sarajevo 1903	Germany POW	Avram		S. Albert 1932, D.1936	2
176	K25,26	Kabiljo Jakob	Sarajevo 1899	Germany POW	Salamon	Hana Papo	W. Elza 1902	1
177	K28,9	Kabiljo Josef	Sarajevo 1904	Germany POW	Elias	Senjora Kabiljo	W. Vesna 1915, WD. Ida Danon, 1939, Nela Danon 19	3

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178	K-58	Kabiljo Moric-Moco	Gradacac 1913	Germany POW	Benjamin	Sara Altarac	W. Roza, 1920		1
179	K27	Kabiljo Samuel	Sarajevo 1907	Germany POW	Isak	Blanka Kabilo			
180	103, 130	Kamhi Aron	Sarajevo 1910	Germany POW	Haim	Blanka Kabiljo	W. Marija Brznic, (not Jewish) Vela Luka 1924		
181	K118,29	Kamhi Dr. Samuel	Visegrad1904	Germany POW	David	Estera Levi	D. Lubica (from first mrg.) 1942		1
182	K127	Kamhi Juda	Sarajevo 1911	Germany POW	Haim	Rifka Romano			
183	K132	Kampos Josef	Sarajevo 1895	Germany POW	Jakob	Rahela Levi	W Nehama 1908, D.(Nehama's) Erna Kohen 1925		2
184	K66	Katan Albert	Sarajevo 1898	Germany POW	Moise	Sara Altarac	W. Sara 1900		1
185	K65,66	Katan Isak	Sarajevo 1910	Germany POW	Simon	Donka	W. Berta 1912, D. Dina 1937		2
186	K68	Katan Sumbul	Sarajevo 1913	Germany POW	Moise	Buena Katan	W. Rahela 1928, Sist. Matilda 1910,		2
187	K155	Kofler Pavle	Konjic 1911	Germany POW	Mavro	Amilija Vaksman	W. Luna Finci 1914		1
188	K171	Kon Rudolf	Sarajevo 1902	Germany POW	Adolf	Regina Spirer	W. Kristina 1902		
189	K161	Konforte Cezar	Sarajevo 1913	Germany POW	Daniel	Blanka Kabiljo	M. Blanka 1884		1
190	K43	Konforte Dr. Salanon	Travnik1910	Germany POW	Juda	Hana Salom	W. Ela 1912, D. Hanika Finci 1942		2
191	L28.VI. 194!	Levi Aleksander	Maribor 1913	Germany POW	Gustav	Marija Kokal	W. Vera,Zagreb 1921		1
192	L	Levi David	Mostar 1891	Germany POW	Isidor	Mazalta Levi	W. Jelliseva, Budapest 1897, D. Lili 1927.		2
193	L8	Levi Jakob	Sarajevo 1905	Germany POW	Avram	Rifka Kabiljo	W. Berta, 1913, S. Abinun Moric (bertin)1940		2
194	L120	Levi Rafael	Sarajevo 1907	Germany POW	Jakob	Estera Maestro	W. Berta 1933		1
195	L79	Lucati Ing. Jakob	Sarajevo 1900	Germany POW	Josip	Neda Glavina	W. Lucija 1922		1
196	M145	Macoro Sumbul	Sarajevo 1913	Germany POW	Josef	Estera Altarac			
197	M105	Malter Isdor	Sarajevo 1898	Germany POW	Haskel	Lea Bernstein			
198	M-	Marton Josip	Sarajevo 1911	Germany POW	Ludvig	Paula Kajon	W. Vera, B. Brod,1921		1
199	M106	Memer Saul	Sarajevo 1914	Germany POW	Moric	Berta Levi	W. Blanka 1917, D. Zlata 1935		2
200	M71	Montiljo Leon	Sarajevo 1907	Germany POW	Mojsije	Hana Elazar	W. Erna 1919, StpD. Elica Danon 1939		
201	M131	Montiljo Moise	Sarajevo 1902	Germany POW	David	Rahela Montiljo			
202	M44	Musafia Rafael	Sarajevo 1909	Germany POW	Jakob	Buena Maestro	W. Tilda, Sikos 1915		1
203	O10	Ovadija Ing. Salamon	Bitolj 1900	Germany POW	Mordao	Perla Alevi	W. Rikica 1913, D. Perla 1935, Irena 1939, ML. Sara P		3
204	O37	Ozmo Isak	Sarajevo 1912	Germany POW	Leon	Roza Blau	W. Klara 1922, ML Olga Kabiljo 1897		2
205	P24	Papo Albert	Sarajevo 1896	Germany POW	Gabriel	Rena Kajon	W. Sara, Mostar 1908		1
206	P66	Papo Haim	Sarajevo 1900	Germany POW	Moise	Hana Kajon	W. Nada 1903		1
207	P27,247	Papo Isidor	Sarajevo 1915	Germany POW	Avram	Rifka Abinun	W. Katica 1922		1
208	P-	Papo Jahiel	Sarajevo 1909	Germany POW	Santo	Blanka Finci	W. Jelica 1927		1
209	P92	Papo Jakob	Sarajevo 1917	Germany POW	Avram	Sida Salom	W. Mirjana, Mostar 1922,		1
210	P57	Papo Jakob	Sarajevo 1899	Germany POW	Mojsije	Rena Levi			
211	P265	Papo Jakob	Sarajevo 1907	Germany POW	Eliezer	Sultana Alhalel	W. Anga, Bugojno 1913,		1
212	J.Romano	Papo Leon	Sarajevo ? Economi	Germany POW					
213	P 65	Papo Leon	Sarajevo 1914 Lawy	Germany POW	Jakov	Sara Pinto	M. Sara 1887		1
214	P107,8	Papo Marcel	Sarajevo 1913	Germany POW	Rafael	Debora Gerasi			
215	P82	Papo Mojse	Sarajevo 1896	Germany POW	Salamon	Rahela Papo			
216	P91	Papo Mojsije	Sarajevo 1907	Germany POW	Avram	Erdonja Kabiljo	W. Nadezda 1921		1
217	P53	Papo Mordehaj	Sarajevo 1898	Germany POW	David	Merjama Atias			
218	P77-79	Papo Salom	Sarajevo 1906	Germany POW	Santo	Estera Danti	W. Roza 1906, S. Santo 1930, D. Estera 1932		3
219	P154	Pinto Ing. Bencijon	Sarajevo1908	Germany POW	Hosea	Estera Papo			
220		Pinto Ing. Leon	Sarajevo 1910	Germany POW	Jakob	Hana Papo			
221	P144,5	Pinto Avram	Sarajevo 1903	Germany POW	Hajm	Sara Kaveson	W. Berta Papo, Brcko 1912		1
222		Polak Pavle	Pancevo 1915	Germany POW	Aladar	Klara Grubi	W. Vera 1925		1
223		Policer Drago	N.Gradisk.1895	Germany POW	Josip	Neta Vajs	W. Marija 1906		1
224	J.Romano	Romano Majer	Banja Luka 1913	Germany POW	Menahem				
225	S8	Salom Avram	Sarajevo 1900	Germany POW	Isidor	Flora Pesah			
226	A510,11	Salom David	Sarajevo 1893	Germany POW	Isak	Sara Levi	W, Ana 1913, S. Igo 1926 from first wife		2
227		Salom Salanom	Sarajevo 1914	Germany POW	Daniel	Hana Konforte	W. Dragica Tuzla 1911		1
228	S113	Sojher Jakob	Sarajevo 1899	Germany POW	Moric	Klara Glaser			
229	S11	Stokhamer Josip	Travnik 1911	Germany POW	Fedor	Luna Konforte			
230	S101	Sumbul Ing. Moric-Moca	Sarajevo 1891	Germany POW	Jakob		W. Ela Brandel 1893, B. Jozef?		2
231	T3	Tuvi Nisim	Sarajevo 1913	Germany POW	Salamon	Mazalta Heskija	W. Erna, Bijelina 1916		1
232	V22-25	Vajs Maks	Banja Luka 1897	Germany POW	Josip	Sara	W. Milena Trovar, Banja Luka 1914, S. Rada 1936, Rar		2
233	V10-13	Volah Sami	Sarajevo 1908	Germany POW	Kalman	Jeli Spigel	W. Erna Danon, 1911, S Joakim 1937, Isidor 1940 all ir		3
234	A272	Altarac Isak	Sarajevo 1913	Germany POW	Santo	Blanka Ozmo			
235	B76,77	Bahar Mario	Sarajvo 1911	Germany POW	Josip	Berta Montiljo	W. Olga, 1922,		1
236	D3	Danon Josef	Olovo 1914	Germany POW	Salom	Paula Kamhi	W. Blanka, 1918,		1
237	F73	Fiser Leo	Sarajevo 1911	Germany POW	Teodor				
238	H23	Hofbauer Oto	Sarajevo 1911	Germany POW	Maks				
239	K101-03	Kamhi Elias	Sarajevo 1913	Germany POW	Hajm	Blanka Kabiljo	W. Blanka Alkalj, 1917, S. Hajm 1940		2
240	K191	Kohen Moric	Sarajevo 1915	Germany POW	Levi	Blanka Altarac	W. Sofia, Baras 1919		1
241	K 272	Konforte Zadik	Sarajevo 1911	Germany POW	Moise	Mazalta	W. Regina Finci, 1916,		1
242	M155-7	Montag Ljudevit	Bistrice 1912	Germany POW	Mavro	Julijana Vig	W. Hermina Fiser, Osijek 1924		1
243	P75	Papo Jakob	Sarajevo 1900	Germany POW	Rafael	Rifka Papo			
244	P82	Papo Mose	Sarajevo 1881	Germany POW	Avram	Luna Katan			
245	S9	Salom Isdor	Sarajevo 1915	Germany POW	Haim	Matilda Papo	W.Sena Omersoftic, Maglaj 1919		1
246	J.Romano	Kampos Daniel	Sarajevo.1909	Germany POW to 1944, NOV	Jakob				
247	J.Romano	Stokic Josip	Travnik 1911	Germany POW to 1945, NOV					
248	J.Romano	Salom Isak-Igo	Sarajevo 1926	Germany POW to 1945, NOV	Daviv				
249	202,3,26	Kvartler David	Pakrac 1915	Germany POW, and NOB	Abraham	Henrijeta Arnold	W. Desa Bozic, 1921		1
250	L80	Ler Bela	Sarajevo 1912	Germany POW, NOV	Anton	Helena Goldstei	D. Nada 1941		1
251	K198	Kos Egon	Pazaric 1917	Germany POW, NOV 1945	Josip	Marija Kont			
252	P212-4	Pesah Sadik	Sarajevo 1909	Germany POW, Rab Zbjeg	Juda	Rahela Levi	W. Sarika 1914, S. Albert 1940		2
253	J.Romano	Finci Moric	Sarajevo ?	Germany POW, there in 1942					
254	J.Romano	Danon Markus	Sarajevo 1911	Germany POW to 1945, NOV	Zadik				
255	P99	Papo Rikica	Sarajevo 1930	Gornji Mihalovac entire period	Jakob	Buena Atias			
256		Kardas Mr.Ph Nikola	Sarafol 1905	Hungarian territory various camps	Bernard	Bozena Lidkely	W. Bozena Spodic Zagreb 1916, S. Bozidar 1933, Timc		3
257		Gutman Julijo	Lusana 1886	Hungary entire period					
258	P263,4	Papo Jako	Sarajevo 1906	Hungary entire period	Avram	Rifka Pardo	W. Anica Matinovic, Subotica 1912		1
259	P245	Papo Jakob	Sarajevo 1906	Hungary entire period	Avram	Rifka Pardo	W. Anica, Subotica 1912		1
260	V19	Verber Eugen	Subotica 1923	Hungary, Romania, & NOP	Emil	Tesa Braun	W. Mara, Radovilski 1921		1
261	A42	Altarac Izrael	Sarajevo 1924	Hvar to 1943, Italy and to Swiss.	Santo	Rifka Kabiljo			
262	M14	Maestro Rita	Sarajevo 1934	Ilida Vila Beba, Germany POW	Jakob				
263	G15	Gaon Albert,	Sarajevo 1895	Italy	Jakob		w Hanika 1912		1
264	K51,52	Kabiljo Salamon	Zepce 1890	Italy	Jakob	Blanka Altarc	W. Erna Zepce, 1899		2
265	C13-14	Cersnjes Eva	Gjurgjenovac1925	Italy entire period	Zlimir	Margita Svarc	S. Ivan 1945		1
266	E32	Ergas Josip	Sarajevo 1912	Italy 1943, NOV	David		W. Desanka Managic,		1
267	S10	Svager Dr. Oskar	Lavov 1899	Italy and Germany POW	Joahim	Klara Veldman	W. Oreta, Sarajevo 1907, S. Shandor 1931		2
268	M-	Markus Sarlota	Sarajevo 1929	Italy and Switzerland	Samuel	Ana Demajo			
269	P-17-19	Papo Dr. Moric	Zvornik 1896	Italy and Switzerland entire period	Avram	Simha Koen	W. Barbara, Cernovic 1898, D. Nada Wien, 1929		2
270	K53	Kabiljo Albert	Sarajevo 1886	Italy and then Switerland	Samuel	Rahela Papo	W. Blanka, 1889		1
271	J.Romano	Baruh Iso	Sarajevo 1911	Italy camp Feramonte					
272	L64-67	Levi Jeroham	Bihac 1902	Italy camp the Switzerland	Menahen	Ernestina Levi	W. Erdonja 1909, S. Menahem 1931, D. Erna 1936		3
273		Elazar Silvio	Sarajevo 1922	Italy detention	Mordo	Flora Kajon	W. Erna Pristina 1922		1
274	A138	Atias Rafael	Sarajevo 1920	Italy detention to 1943, Switzerland	Mordehaj	Rahela Atias			
275	A70,71	Altarac Isak	Sarajevo 1919	Italy entire period	Avram	Matilda Albahari	W. Vera Cardeso. S. Giovani 1920		2
276	A83,84	Altarac Streja	Gracanica 1906	Italy entire period	Sadik	Sida Salom	D. Lola 1941		1
277	A104	Atias Salamon	Bugojno 1902	Italy entire period	Mordo	Blanka Nahmias			

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278	B26,27	Baruh Sabetaj	Sarajevo 1904	Italy entire period	Isak	Rahela Finci	W. Georgina, 1918	1
279	B84-86	Bretler Josip	From Sarajevo ?	Italy entire period	Haim		W. Cama Cveher, Visegrad 1904, S. Haim 1928	2
280	D14	Danon Lenka	Sarajevo 1889	Italy entire period	Salom	Dona Altarac		
281	D55	Danon Sida	Jajice 1879	Italy entire period	Daniel	Dona Baruh		
282	F63,65	Finci Santo	Sarajevo 1909	Italy entire period	Isdor		W. Olga, 1916, D. Ria 1946	2
283	F41	Finci Sara	Sarajevo 1910	Italy entire period	Moise			
284		Furei Haim	Sarajevo 1905	Italy entire period	Avram		W. Eta, 1914, S. Albert & Samuel, 1939	3
285	C19,20	Grudorl Hinko	Sarajevo 1912	Italy entire period	Pinkas		W. Marija, 1907	1
286	H4,6	Haler Maks	Sarajevo 1887	Italy entire period	Samuel		`kk	2
287	L113	Levi Mihael	Sarajevo 1893	Italy entire period	Jakob	Rifka Atias		
288	M4	Maestro Danko	Sarajevo 1905	Italy entire period	Jakob	Rahela Salom	W. Erna 1912, D. Lea 1934, S. Jakica 1937	3
289	M85	Montiljo Salamon	Sarajevo 1890	Italy entire period	Jakob	Sara Atias	W. Sara, Doboj 1905, Niece Nada, Banja Luka 1932	2
290	M92,93	Montiljo Salamon	Sarajevo1894	Italy entire period	Mose	Simha Papo	W. Klara 1894, D. Lea 1920	2
291	M98,99	Montiljo Sumbul	Travnik 1881	Italy entire period	Jakob	Sara Atias	W. Sara 1891	1
292	M53	Musafia Josef	Zepce 1880	Italy entire period	Avram	Luna Kabiljo	W. Sara 1887	1
293	P86-89	Papo Albert	Sarajevo 1888	Italy entire period	Hajim	Palomba Finci	W. Safira 1893, S. Jakob 1913, Josef 1923	3
294	P69-71	Papo Iso	Sarajevo 1920	Italy entire period	Danko	Bukica Sumbulo	W. Flora Levi, B. Luka 1919, D. Daniela1943	2
295	P52	Papo Mazalta	Gracanica 1888	Italy entire period	Daniel	Hana Danon		
296	P261,7	Papo Nachman	Zvornik 1894	Italy entire period	Avram	Sofia Koen	W. Blanka, Bugojno 1898	1
297	P254,5	Papo Salamon	Visoko 1908	Italy entire period	Avram	Berta Hason	W. Erna, Visoko 1915	1
298	P158	Pinto Erna	Brcko 1921	Italy entire period	Eliezer	Roza Kabiljo		
299	F83,89	Rlic Mirko	Sarajevo 1916	Italy entire period	Maks			
300	S73	Sumbulovic Mavro	Sarajevo 1897	Italy entire period	Daniel	Gracija Pinto		
301	A89	Altarac Albert	Zenica 1910	Italy entire period	Elias	Simh Levi	W. Mirjana (meri) Finci, 1914	1
302	F90,91	Finci Avram	Sarajevo, 1878	Italy entire period	Moise		W. Lea 1884	2
303	M97	Montiljo Sida	Sarajevo 1886	Italy entire period	Moso	Rifka Papo		
304	S13,14	Salom Menahem	Sarajevo 1918	Italy entire period	Isidor	Sarina Danon	W. Rosa 1920	1
305	P239	Papo Tilda	Sarajevo 1922	Italy entire period, NOV 1944	Juda	Blanka Finci		
306	F23	Finci Aser	Sarajevo ?	Italy entire period, railroad worker	Simha		W. Rena 1906, Sida 1933, Jakov 1937	3
307	J.Romano	Atias Albet	Sarajevo 1912	Italy in 1944 joined Italian Partisans	David			
308	F48	Finci Ivnaka	Sarajevo 1903	Italy Switzerland	Musko		W. Erna 1908, Rena 1931, Matilada 1935,	3
309	G89	Ginsberger Dr. Fric	Tuzla 1907	Italy Switzerland	Maks		W Magda 1909	1
310	K135	Konforte Cadik	Sarajevo 1894	Italy Switzerland entire period	Mordehaj	Rifka Altarac		
311	P13.II.1949	Paucer Ing. Oton	Bugojno1907	Italy then NOP	David	Ina Bergman	W. Ela 1912, Ferdinanda 1939	2
312	P55	Papo Ing. Isak	Sarajevo 1912	Italy then NOV	David	Hana Papo	W. Rikica 1911	1
313	A96	Atias Roza	Sarajevo?	Italy to Capt.1943, Switzerland	Ezra	Hana Salom	D. Lina Sarajevo 1911	1
314	J.Romano	Haler Makso	Srajevo 1921	Italy to 1943	Mirko			
315	A131a	Atias Isdor	Bugojno 1914	Italy to 1943 then Swizerland	Mordo	Sara Altarac	W. Valerijca , 1927	1
316	Z2,3	Zon Dr. Moisije	Pramyst 1891	Italy to 1943, NOV	Aleksand	Perla Tot	W. Nada, Gracanica 1898	1
317	L1	Levi Leon,	Sarajevo 1912	Italy to 1943, Metrovica to liberation	Samuel	Estera Kampos		
318	D100	Danon Mulahalilovic Erna	From Sarajevo 1914	Italy to 1943, NOP	Zadik	Sida Salom		
319	G17	Gaon Jakob	Travnik 1895	Italy to 1943, NOP	Daniel		W Estera 1897	1
320	P50	Papo Anica	Sarajevo 1921	Italy to 1943, NOP	Jakob	Sarina Papo		
321	A59	Altarac Isak	Sarajevo 1909	Italy to 1943, NOP till now after the war	Rafael	Blanka Papo		
322	J.Romano	Altarac Izidor	Sarajevo 1909	Italy to 1943, NOV	Rafael			
323	F10	Finci Josef	Sarjevo 1908	Italy to 1943, NOV	Leon		W. Ilena 1909, Zoja 1946	1
324	J.Romano	Haler Mirko	Sarjevo 1921	Italy to 1943, NOV	Maks		w. Marija ,1920	1
325	J.Romano	Stajn Vera	Sarajevo 1914	Italy to 1943, NOV				
326	L129	Levi Hinko	S. Most 1921	Italy to 1943, NOV	Leon	Sida Albahari	W. Hanika 1928	1
327	J.Romano	Altarac Sandor	Sarajevo 1909	Italy to 1943, NOV fighter	Jakov			
328	K61	Kabiljo Sado	Sarajevo 1920	Italy to 1943, Switzerland there joined N	Aron			
329	J.Romano	Montiljo Mihjlo	Sarajevo1928	Italy to 1944, NOV	Isak			
330	J.Romano	Papo Matilda	Sajavo 1921	Italy to 1944, NOV				
331	J.Romano	Romano David	Sarajevo 1914	Italy to 1944, NOV	Salamon			
332	J.Romano	Salom Niko	Sarajevo?	Italy to 1944, NOV	Josua	Klara Salom	W. Tonci, Zenica 1921, D. Klara-Jasna 1945	2
333	J.Romano	Salom David	Sarajevo 1922	Italy to 1944, NOV	Izdor			
334	S22-25	Svarc Dr. Vilim	Jape 1905	Italy to 1946	Oto	Hedvig.Dijamant	W. Nela Finci, 1916, D. Edita 1937, S. Eduard 1944	3
335	K97,98	Kamhi Aron	Visegrad 1897	Italy to capitu 1943, NOP fighter	Aron?	Estera Levi		
336	S69-71	Sumbulovic Isdor	Sarajevo 1900	Italy to capitu. 1943, NOP	Daniel	Gracija Pinto	W. Venecija 1910, Gracija 1937.	2
337	A107	Altarac Dr. Jakob	Banja Luka 1908	Italy to capitu. 1943, NOP fighter	Vialme	Flora Papo		
338	J.Romano	Altarac Batseva	Sarajevo 1902	Italy to capitu. 1943, NOP teacher	Cadik			
339	K40	Kabiljo Santo	Sarajevo 1915	Italy to Capitu.1943, Partisans Slovenij	Isak	Lunika Papo	W. Pula, Travnik 1911,	1
340	J.Romano	Ler Edita	Sarajevo 1913	Italy to Capit. 1943, NOV	Simon	Hedviga Svarc		
341	O40	Katz Olgiati Nada	Crkvenica 1921	Italy tol 1944, NOP	Bernhard	Ljuba Svarc		
342	S121	Seke Zelimir	Harkanj,1886	Italy , NOV fighter	Abraham	Katica Svarc	W. Margita Velporo 1896	
343	K57	Kabiljo Flora	Bugojno 1928	Italy , Zbjeg	David	Luna Kabiljo		
344	K47-50	Kabiljo Lelo(Leon)	Sarajevo1905	Italy, Switzelanc. 1943, NOP	Avram	Simha Finci	W. Sida, Jajice 1916, D. Bianka 1940, Seli Split 1945	3
345	F4	Finci Regina	Sarajevo 1897	Italy, Switzerland	Kalme		S. Moise 1923, Kalme 1926	2
346	A251,54	Arnesti Hajim	Bitolj 1890	Kakanj entire period	Jakob	Rahela Kamhi	W. Regina Atias, 1910, D Erana 1936, S. Jakob 1941	3
347	M122	Macoro Flora	Sarajevo 1913	Kiseljak	Avram	Rena Finci	D. Lidija 1936, Ernica 1938, Josipa 1945, S. Rikardo 19	4
348	B119	Birnberg Branka	Visegrad 1913	Kljinc entire period	Leon			
349	N25	Najberger Maks	Iglo 1889	Kol Sriska?	Marvin	Fani Sternberger		
350	G39	Gaon Isak	Visegrad 1896	Korcula 1943, Bari Italy	David			
351	B121	Buli Rehnicer Paula	Bihac 1888	Korcula entire period	Leopold	Cecilija Hajnrih		
352	A183	Alkalaj Albert	Sarajevo 1915	Korcula Italian Zone, 1943 NOP	Isak	Rifka Salom	W. Antonija Sober, 1925 RKT.	
353	J.Romano	Musafia Izdor	Sarajevo 1909	Korcula to 1942, NOP	B.			
354	J.Romano	Papo Nandi	Sarajevo 1924	Korcula to 1943, NOV				
355	D56	Danon Berta	Srajevo 1887	Korcula to 1943, Italy	Zadik	Simha Danon		
356	D35,6	Danon Gavro	Sarajevo 1908	Korcula to 1943, Italy to 1945	Avram	Estera Papo	W. Hana Bukica Kaveson, 1910 D. Erna Kamhi Danon,	2
357	J.Romano	Kabiljo Santo	Sarajevo, 1917	Korcula to 1943, NOV				
358	K25.II.49	Kamhi Albert	Sarajevo 1916	Korcula to 1943, NOV	Mosehaj	Buena Katan	W. Estera 1920,	
359	J.Romano	Levi Iso	Sarajevo 1918	Korcula to 1943, NOV				
360	J.Romano	Papo Daniel	Sarajevo 1922	Korcula to 1943, NOV				
361	J.Romano	Papo Filip	Sarajevo 1920	Korcula to 1943, NOV				
362	J.Romano	Altarac Majer	Sarajevo 1915	Korcula to 1943, NOV fighter	Avram			
363	J.Romano	Kabiljo Jakica	Sarajevo 1916	Korcula to 1943, Nov Korcula Batallion	Josef			
364	P93	Papo Selina	Bretislava 1887	Korcula until capitu Italy 1943, later Italy	Filip	Rosa Svarc		
365		Nusic Nusbaum Maks	From Sarajevo 1905	Korcula until capitu Italy. 1943, later in I	Leon	Debora Engimar	W. Stefa, Karlovac 1908	1
366	J.Romano	Danon Moric	Sarajevo 1921	Korcula, Italy to 1943, ZAVNOH				
367	F47	Finci Leon	Sarajevo 1895	Korcula, NOV	Josef		w. Greta 1923	1
368	S39	Samakovlija Binjo	Sarajevo1896	Kordun entire time	Moise	Blanka Kabiljo	W. Rena 1901, S. Marcel 1922,	2
369	K216	Kraus Berta	Sombetell 1879	Ljubljana, Italy and Swizerland	Jakob	Hedviga Svarc		
370		Lehtman Dr. Izrael	from Sarajevo 1880	Lovrain entire period	Moijse		W. Sida 1900	1
371	L130	Lehman Dr. Srul	Kamenic 1880	Lovran entire period	Mojse	Rosa Vajnbaum	W. Freida Volk	1
372	S?	Stajnbreher Regina	Lukavac1922	Lukavac entire period	Majer	Hilda Krunholc		
373	S114-15	Sadikario Salamon	Bitolj 1898	Macedonija to 1943, Albany	Mose	Roza Nahmias	W. Bukica 1904, S. Moni 1922	2
374	K12,13	Kabiljo Moric	Doboj 1905	Manuli to Capitu.Italy, 1943 zbijeg.	Samuel	Mazalta Danon	W. Berta, 1922	1
375	P151	Pinto Estera	Sarajevo 1891	Mitrovica to 1943, NOP	Bencion	Nehama Maestro		
376	B9	Baruh Sara	Sarajevo 1909	Mostar Subrovice	Mojse	Estera Levi		
377	?	Abinun Sarina	Sarajevo	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				1

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379	A?	Alazbegovic, Wesler Jelka	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Salamon			
380	A?	Albahari Dr. Avram	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Salamon			
381		Albahari, Albert,	Sarajevo 1915	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
382	A278	Alkalaj Sara	Vienna 1893	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Vemel	Bozena Cirmak		
383	J.Romano	Altarac Dr. Albert	Mostar 1914	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Leon	Blanka Konforti	W. Mara Drozic 1926	1
384	A?	Altarac Ljiljana	Jajce 1907	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
385	A-	Altarac Salamon	Sarajevo 1923	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Rafael	Blanka Papo	W. Ana 1925	1
386	A	Antunovic Levi Roza	Sarjevo 1901	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Salamon	Finci		
387	A	Arkus Ruzica	Osijek 1926	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Milan Ce	Teresija Bihler		
388	A?	Atias Cevi	Bihac 1914	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Izrael	Sara Kaveson		
389	A-	Avramovic Papo	From Sarajevo 1914	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	David	Lea Nahmias		
390	B	Balaban Jelena	Bos.Petrov 1912	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Dane		H. Radisav Mojsilovic, 1928	
391	B?	Bararon, Jakov	Beograd 1934	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Jasa	Rifka Slosberg		
392	B?	Baruh Dusanka	Banjaluka 1920	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Joco	Luna Romano		
393	B?	Begic Zlata	From Sarajevo 1941	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
394	B?	Bernard Papo Slavica	Sarajevo 1904	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Juda	Rifka Perera	S. Janko 1939	
395		Brauner Alfred	Banjaluka 1912	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Robert		W.Vera, 1914	1
396	B?	Brigmiovic Pesah Gina	Bugojno 1908	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Daniel	Sara Atias	Neph. Radjk Sarjevo, 1939, Mira 1934	2
397	C?	Cap Altarac Branka	Sarajevo?	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45		Estera Vabluh		
398	C11,12	Centner Dr. Oto	Brcko 1905	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Samuel		W. Marta Druker, 1911,	1
399	C?	Ceravesa Rikica	Tuzla 1922	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Mosa			
400	C?	Cmiral Solcika	Lukovac 1916	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Majer			
401		Danon Blanka	Sarajevo 1918	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
402	D?	Danon Ing.Branko	Sarjevo 1912	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Leon	Milena		
403	D	Danon Jakob	Sarajevo 1922	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Cadik	Berta Altarac		
404	D	Danon Josef	Sarajevo 1923	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Avram	Lena Altarac		
405	D73	Danon Sida	Sarajevo 1920	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Izidor	Dona Danon		
406	D?	Darvas Andrija	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
407	D?	David Berta	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
408	D?	Debarrtoli Greta	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
409	D?	DundecovicKabiljo Rifka	Sarajevo 1902	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Elias			
410	E35	Elazar Salamon	Sarajevo 1922	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Mordehaj			
411	E16	Engel Ing. Gavro	Ivangrad 1881	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Adolf		W. Ruza, Osijek 1885	1
412	E	Engel Joza	From Sarajevo 1911	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Aleksander			
413	F12	Finci Jakob	Sarajevo 1928	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Juda			
414	V6	Fogel Tereza	Sarajevo 1885	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Leopold		D.Edita 1914, S Vilim 1925	2
415	F?	Frank Dr. Teja	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Miroslav			
416	G?	Garmin Mila	Nevesinje 1890	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Dragutin			
417	G?	Georgenberger Adela	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
418	G	Golda Julijo	Sombor 1929	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Hugo	Linka Kon	W. Ivanka, Ljubljana 1930	1
419	G	Goldberger Dr. Adolf	From Sarajevo 1886	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
420	G?	Griner Roza,Knistinojol	Knistinojol 1893	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Mojsije			
421	G	Gruber Branko	Sarajevo 1936	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Jakov Kabilo		W. Klara 1889	1
422	H?	Hajon Bernard	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45			W. Irma 1895, D Elvira 1925	2
423	H?	Heller Ing. Marcel	Reteg 1888	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Josip			
424	I?	Izrael Didak Matilda	Sarajevo 1910	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Mojse			
425		Izrael Ing. Joza	Sarajevo ?	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Isak		W. Vojna 1912, D. Vera 1941	2
426	J?	Jahari Ruben	Gracanica 1929	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Moise			
427	J?	Janekovic Viola	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
428	J-	Jankovic Kavezon Serafina	From Sarajevo 1837	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
429	K?	Kabiljo Ostoic Debora	Derve 1915	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Daniel	Blanka Atias		
430	K74	Kajon Dr. Rocela	Visegrad 1926	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Elias			
431	K-	Kamhi Dr. Samuel	Visegrad 1910	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Daniel	Rifka Baruh	W. Viktoria,Teleckoj 1910	1
432	K96	Kamhi Mirjama	Sarajevo 1875	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Isak	Romano		
433	K-	Kanic Imre	From Sarajevo?	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Eugen		Olga, 1928	1
434		Katan Albert	Sarajevo 1915	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Elisha	Mazalta Katan	W. Dobrila Glanski, Prijedo 1923	1
435	K?	Katan Albert	Sarajevo 1915	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Elisha	Mazalta Katan		
436	K62	Katan Sarika	Sarajevo 1931	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Samuel			
437	K-	Kisic Levi Erna	Sarajevo 1915	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	David	Berta Danon	D. Vera 1940, Slobodnka 1942,	2
438	K?	Klak Sarika Marija	Sarajevo 1912	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Isak	Mazalta Katan		
439	K196	Kopelman Erich	Sarajevo 1911	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Josef	?	W. Carmen Buzarov, Travnik 1911, S. Slobodan 1946	1
440	K?	Kosanovic Kon Gerta	B.Luka1914	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Djuro	Frida Hangler		
441	K?	Kovac Demajo Bela	Belgrade 1901	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Hajim	Ruza Medina		
442	K212	Krager Naudor	From Sarajevo 1890	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Leopold			
443	K-	Kraublat Joza	Zenica 1914	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45			W. Milena Vojnilovic, Zenica 1914, S. Boris Zabreb 194	2
444	K-	Kraus Marija	Tuzla 1898	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Leo	DebraFigenmah	D. Durdica 1930	1
445	K?	Kraus Sulemanovic Selina	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Franjo	?		
446	K-	Krautblat Jozo	Zenica 1941	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
447		Lederer Aleksandar	Oda 1927	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Lipot		W. Viktoria, Oda 1931	1
448	L?	Lederer Dorote	Oda 1922	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Lipod			
449	L4. X. .54	Levi Albert	Sarajevo 1909	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Mose	Rahela Salom	W Helena Laurer, Besinak, 1911	1
450	L135	Levi Erna	Bijelina 1916	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Hajim	Luna Alkalaj		
451	L135	Levi Erna	Bijelina 1916	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Hajim	Luna Alkalaj		
452	L-41	Levi Greta	Sarajevo 1908	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Avram			
453	L?	Levi Hajm	Skoplje 1924	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Juda			
454	L-	Levi Ing. Hajim	Visoko 1919	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Izidor	Lenka Ozmo	W. Raicla 1923	1
455	L105	Levi Isidor	Sarajevo 1901	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Avram	Salama		
456	L?	Levi Luncika	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
457	L60	Levi Mento	Bihac 1928	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Avram	Erna Atias		
458	L?	Levi Mirko	Sarajevo 1920	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Emanuel			
459	L?	Levi Sara	Levi Sara, 1925	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Elias	Hana Baruh		
460	M13	Maestro Erna	Sarajevo 1931	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Jakob	Sara Danon		
461	M?	Martincak Levi Paula	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
462	M-	Miljkovic Bergentahal Regin	From Sarajevo 189	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Jakob	Josefina Raich		
463	M15	Montiljo Leon(Dudo)	Visoko 1909	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Jakob		W Anica Finci, Sarajevo 1911	1
464	N?	Nintrovic Levi Milka	Sarajevo 1893	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
465	N?	Nitelmajer Hilda	Sarajeveo1911	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-45				
466	O?	Ovadija Ing. Lea	Sarajevo 1930	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Nahman			
467	P?	Papo David	Rogatica 1925	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Isidor	Berta		
468	P	Papo David	Rogatica 1925	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Isidor	Berta	W. Gisela 1925	1
469	P?	Papo Isak	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Moric			
470	P-	Papo Isak,	From Sarajevo 1922	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Moric		W. Sida 1928	1
471	P?	Papo Mira	Sarajevo 1910	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Jozef			
473	S	Salamon Dr. Tibor	Zrenjanin1914	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Samuilo		W. Greta, 1913	1
474	S?	Salom Izidor	Sarajevo 1915	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Hajim			
475	S-	Seke Margita	Sarajevo 1895	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Maks Svi	Gizela Berger		
476	S-	Slezinger Dr. Milivoj	From Sarajevo 1930	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Albert		W. Nora Sarajevo 1938	1
477	S-?	Slozberg Josip	Glina 1916	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Aleksand	Karolina	W. Rifka Pardo Sarajevo 1920, Orph. Jakov Gaon 193	2
478	S?	Sredanovic Kvartler Sofi	Zagreb 1913	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Adolf	Henrieta Arnold		
479	S	Subotic Baruh Ela	From Sarajevo 1924	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Baro			

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480	S?	Svam Jakob	Zavidovici 1907	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Ernie	Pepi Helering		
481	S	Svarc Dragutin	Mostar 1898	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Vilhelm		W. Desanka, Mostar 1902	1
482	S-	Svarc Leopold	Brezevci 1904	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Fridrih	Erna	W. Dragica, Karlovac 1915,	1
483		Tramer Ernest	Mostar 1903	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Miroslav	Izabela Timor	W. Paula , Bugojno 1908	1
484	V-	Vagman Dr. Vili	Poland 1911	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Leon		W. Melanija Kolosnjoj, 1924 Russian	1
485	V115	Vider Rozika	Registered in Saraje	No info. about their whereabouts 1941-	Max			
486		Finci Moni	Sarajevo 1914	NOB	Mojsije			
487		Atias Dr. Albert,	Unknown 1912	NOB veterinarian	David		W. Sidica 1926	1
488	J.Romano	Altarac Hermina	Sarajevo 1917	NOP 1941, Member KPJ (destiny unkn	Izdor			
489	J.Romano	Zon Paula-Rada	Sarajevo 1921	NOP 1941, sent to El Shat	Milan			
490	J.Romano	Samakovlija Bijanka	Sarajevo 1924	NOP 1942	Aser			
491	J.Romano	Montiljo-Abinun Renika	Sarajevo 1920	NOP 1942, accepted to SKOJ				
492	A	Altarac Samuel	Sarajevo 1913	NOP and NOV	Albert	Matilda Perera		
493	A257-63	Albahari David	Tresanj 1889	NOP entire time, fighter	Moso	Rahela Atias	W. Luna Levi, 1899, D. Judita 1924, D. Mari 1941	3
494	A26,27	Altarac Izrael	Vlasenica 1892	NOP from 1941	Santo	Flora Ozmo	W. Erna Izrael, 1903	1
495	P-	Papo Haim	Sarajevo 1906	NOP from 1942,	Jakob	Rena	W. Rozika 1918	1
496	F78	Fraijih Emil	Sarajevo 1920	NOP to 1944 in NOP fighter, then Com	Josip			
497	P150	Pinto Dr. David	Sarajevo 1897	NOP, Medical doctor	Bencion	Nehama Maestro		
498	B124,27	Bernhaut Dr. Isdor	Kolomea 1891	NOV	Josip	Elizabeth Frohlic	W. Ruza Grunhelper, 1899	1
499	H12	Hirsl Karanfilovic Dr. Elsa	From Sarajevo 1907	NOV	Armin			
500		Kapigjia Samuelov Matilda	From Sarajevo 1927	NOV	Bernard	Regina Pinto		
501	L-	Levi Moris	From Sarajevo 1916	NOV	Teodor	Ana Levi	W. Dusanka 1926	1
502	St12	Stern David	Prijedor 1915	NOV	Daniel	Bukas Mevorah	W. Regina Danon 1924,	1
503	A243-35	Albahari Nisim	Tesanj, 1916	NOV fighter, Nosioc Spomenicu 1941	Avram	Rahela Danon	W. Ankica Pavlovic, 1914	1
504	J.Romano	Salom Ing. Jeusua	Sarajevo1912	NOv 1941				
505	J.Romano	Altarac Avram	Sarajevo 1920	NOV 1941				
506	J.Romano	Baruh-Baric Blanka	Doboj 1922	NOV 1941	Elias			
507	J.Romano	Danon Dr. Oskar-Cigo	Sarajevo 1913	NOV 1941	Salamon			
508	J.Romano	Finci Salamon- Moni	Sarajevo 1914	NOV 1941	Mojse			
509	J.Romano	Herman Jelena	Sarajevo 1927	NOV 1941	F?			
510	J.Romano	Kabiljo Danica	Sarajevo 1911	NOV 1941	S.			
511	J.Romano	Kabiljo Zlata	Sarajevo, 1920	NOV 1941	Izdor			
512	J.Romano	Kamhi Erna	Sarajevo 1914	NOV 1941	Mpsehaj			
513	J.Romano	Kamhi Samuel-Petko	Sarajevo 1919	NOV 1941	Jozef			
514	J.Romano	Katan Eliezer	Rogatica 1920	NOV 1941	E.			
515	K83	Katan Josef	Zavidovici 1905	NOV 1941	Moso	Mazalta Papo	W. Regina 1908 D (Regina's) Loti Kajon 1939	2
516	J.Romano	Katan Jozef	Sarajevo 1900	NOV 1941				
517	K81-83	Klaic Andro	Bundimpst 1919	NOV 1941	Eugen	Ruza Klajnberger		
518	K	Kolb Dr. Martin	Sarajevo 1903	NOV 1941	Adolf	Ilka Pisker	W. Dobrila 1921, S. Vladimir 1945	2
519	J.Romano	Kos Erih	Sarajevo 1913	NOV 1941				
520	J.Romano	Kos Levi, Bukica-Marija	Sarajevo 1917	NOV 1941				
521	L83	Lerer Teodor	Sarajevo 1919	NOV 1941	Selig	Rahela Atias	S. Goran 1945	1
522	J.Romano	Lerer Tilda	Sarajevo 1918	NOV 1941	Zelig			
523	L14-17	Levi Dr. Salamon	Travnik 1896	NOV 1941	Zadik	?	W. Bosiljka, Mostar 1912, D. Dragica, Drvar 1941.	2
524	L-	Levi Ing. Moris	Sarajevo 1916	NOV 1941	Todor	Ana Levi		
525	J.Romano	Macorovic Salamon-Dusan	Sarajevo 1917	NOV 1941	Avram	Sara Kamhi	W. Tigja, Ljubuski 1925	1
526	M-12.VI.51	Majer Valerija	Becka Grdiska 192(	NOV 1941	Marko	Regina Ber		
527	M146-49	Montijo David-Predrag	Sarajevo1917	NOV 1941	Salamon	Lea Romano	W. Melanka 1925	
528	J.Romano	Montijo Mihael-Miko	Sarajevo1916	NOV 1941				
529	M-	Montijo Moric	Sarajevo 1912	NOV 1941	Isidor	Sara Romano	W. Ela, 1924	1
530	P102	Papo Dona	Sarajevo?	NOV 1941	Salamon	Lea Levi		
531	J.Romano	Papo Dr. Izidor	Sarajevo 1913	NOV 1941				
532	J.Romano	Papo Haim	Sarajevo 1918	NOV 1941	Izidor			
533	J.Romano	Papo Mira	Sarajevo 1922	NOV 1941	S.			
534	J.Romano	Papo Zlata	Sarajevo ?	NOV 1941				
535	P	Pardo Moric-Cuco	Sarajevo 1924	NOV 1941	Juda		W. Lena 1929	1
536	J.Romano	Romano Dr. Jasa	Sarajevo 1908	NOV 1941	Menahem			
537	J.Romano	Samakovlija Benjamin	Sarajevo 1918	NOV 1941	Aser			
538	J.Romano	Samakovlija Izdor-Kic	Sarajevo 1920	NOV 1941				
539	S48	Samakovlija Jakob	Sarajevo 1920	NOV 1941			W. Fani Graf 1925	1
540	J.Romano	Semo Morilo	Sarajevo 1910	NOV 1941				
541	J.Romano	Romano Salamon	Sarajevo 1919	NOV 1941-Major General	Isak			
542		Papo Zivko	Mostar 1909	NOV 1941	Gavro	Tereza Handibar		
543	S-?	Salom Ing. Sua	Sarajevo 1912	NOV 1941 (prviborac)	Rafael	Rahela Danon	W. Smilika andric 1923	1
544	J.Romano	Cherkovski Sabetaj	Sarajevo 1920	NOV 1941 fighter	Hajim			
545	P	Pardo Moric	Sarajevo 1924	NOV 1941 first class fighter Prvoborac	Safet	Sida Maestro		
546	J.Romano	Samakovlija Ela	Sarajevo 1921	NOV 1941 Member KPJ	Aser			
547	J.Romano	Altarac Albert	Sarajevo 1921	NOV 1941 member of SKOJ	Rafael			
548	J.Romano	Danon Oskar	Sarajevo 1913	NOV 1941memeber KPJ	Salamon			
549	A73-75	Altarac Albert	Sarajevo 1922	NOV 1941, Belgrade division	Salamon			
550	A-	Altarac Hanika	Sarajevo 1923	NOV 1941, borac	Jakob	Lenka	D. Danka, 1945, Sida 1948	2
551	J.Romano	Albahari, Mosa	Sarajevo 1913	NOV 1941, First class fighter				
552	J.Romano	Finci Eli	Sarjajevo 1911	NOV 1941, Member KPJ				
553	J.Romano	Salcberger Ervin-Stanko	Sarajevo 1916	NOV 1941, Member of KPJ	Leopold			
554	J.Romano	Romano Betika	Sarajevo 1920	NOV 1941, Member of SKOJ	Albert			
555	J.Romano	Fliker Leon	Sarajevo 1911	NOV 1941, Membor of KPJ	Volf			
556	J.Romano	Lerer-Todorovic Samuel,	Mostar 1914	NOV 1941, National hero of Yugoslavia	Zelig			
557		Elazar Majer	Sarajevo 1913	NOV 1942	Jozef	Merjam Poljokar	W. Stefica, Zagreb 1927	1
558	J.Romano	Eshkenazi Levi	Sarajevo 1908	NOV 1942	Moric			
559	E19	Eskenazi Isidor-Jovo	Sarajevo 1902	NOV 1942	Avram	Sara Kohen		
560	J.Romanao	Eskenazi Izidor	Sarajevo 1918	NOV 1942				
561	J.Romano	Keller Dr. Gustav	Sarajevo 1912	NOV 1942	G.			
562	J.Romano	Montijo Avram	Sarajevo 1907	NOV 1942	M.			
563	J.Romano	Papo Blanka	Sarajevo 1925	NOV 1942	Moric			
564	J.Romano	Perera Ruza	Sarajevo 1908	NOV 1942	David			
565	J.Romano	Stok Ing. Ivan	Sarajevo ?	NOV 1942				
566	S	Svam Jakob	Zavidovici 1907	NOV 1942	Emil	Pepi Helering	W. Dorotea Varazdin, 1914,	1
567	J.Romano	Daniti Pavlovic Zora	Sarajevo1923	NOV 1942, member of SKOJ				
568	J.Romano	Altarac Nada	Sarajevo ?	NOV 1942, sister of Hanika (VUJA)	Salamon			
569	J.Romano	Altarac Zorica	Sarajevo ?	NOV 1943	Majer			
570	F85,86	Fles Dr. Josip	Sarajevo 1912	NOV 1943	Marko		W. Lucija, 1919.	1
571	J.Romano	Fogl Leo	Sarajevo 1912	NOV 1943	J.			
572	J.Romano	Kamhi Lelica	Sarajevo 1924	NOV 1943	J.			
573	J.Romano	Sprung Dr. Laura	Bugojno 1914	NOV 1943	Herman			
574	J.Romanao	Eskenazi Levi	Sarajevo 1908	NOV 1943, Member KPJ joined 1940	Moric			
575	J.Romano	Finci Albert,	Sarajevo 1915	NOV 1943, ZAVNOH	Josip			
576	J.Romano	Furth Nina	Sarajevo 1926	NOV 1944				
577	J.Romano	HofmanViktor	Sarajevo 1915	NOV 1944	J.			
578	J.Romano	Izrael Magdalena	Sarajevo 1914	NOV 1944				
579	J.Romano	Levi Josef	Sarajevo 1912	NOV 1944	Haim			

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580	J.Romano	Ovadija Perla	Sarajevo 1928	NOV 1944	Elias			
581	J.Romano	Salom Dr. Rafael	Travnik 1897	NOV 1944	B.			
582	J.Romano	Abinun Albert	Sarajevo 1914	NOV 1944, parti.in Spanish Civil war	Isak			
583	J.Romano	Fertig Dr. Roza	Sarajevo 1914	NOV 1945	Samuel			
584	J.Romano	Samek Branko	Sarajevo 1912	NOV 1945	Lj.			
585	T9	Tempel Dr. Ignac	Coder 1896	NOV Bosna, physician	Salamon	Eva Eisnerovic	W. Katica, Bihac 1920	1
586	M113	Macoro Salamon	Sarajevo 1917	NOV first class fighter (Prfoborac)	Avram	Sara Kamhi	W. Tigija Mesihovic, 1925	1
587		Kolb Dr.Martin	From Sarajevo 1903	NOV from 1941	Adolf	Ilka Pisker	W. Dobrila Lapncic, 1921, S. Vladimir 1945	2
588	M121	Macoro Klara	Sarajevo 1913	NOV from 1941	Josef	Esperansa Abinun		
589	A215	Abinun Naum	Sarajebo 1921	NOV from 1941	Israel	Roza Abinun	W. Klara (Lela) Konforte, 1921	1
590	A276	Altarac Miko	Travnik 1913	NOV from 1941	Kalmi	Hana Papo	W. Ruzica 1925	1
591		Baruh Jakica	Banjaluka, 1908	NOV from 1942	Dudo	Luna Romano	W. Cila Colic 1917,	1
592	M-	Maestro Silvio	Sarajevo 1920	NOV from 1942	Jakob	Blanka Perera		
593	F22	Finci Menaherm	Sarajevo 1927	NOV from 1943	Josef			
594	A260	Albahari Rahela	From Sarajevo?	NOV from the beginning Prvoborac 19	David	Luna Levi		
595	J.Romano	Gorski Feliks	Sarajevo 1918	NOV from the formation, Mem.KPH KrK				
596	K62,J.Rom	Katan Sarika	Sarajevo 1931	NOV to 1943, Italy from 1944 to end	Samuel			
597		Eskenazi Albert	From Sarajevo 1923	NOV ?	Rafael	Flora Levi		
598	A	Abinun Moise(Kiko)	Travnik 1915	NOV, pharmacist	Moise		W. Alisa Kunic	1
599	K61a	Kabiljo Danko	Gradacac, 1911	NOV?	Jakob	Matilda Salom	Dana 1927	1
600	S	Sajber Marko	From Sarajevo 1921	NOV?	Ljudevit		W. Anika Pelas, Trogir 1914	2
601	A144	Atias Dr. Regina	Bihac 1902	Ospecani entire peiod, physician	Avram	Sara Levi		
602	K92	Kampos Ing.Benjamin	Sarajevo 1904	Palesina from 1934-1945	Isak	Rena Kabiljo	W. Berta 1905	1
603	A273	Altarac Salom	Sarajevo 1925	Palestine to 1945	Santo	Blanka Ozmo		
604	K210	Kohen Juda	Sarajevo 1880	Palima in pres. rader	Levi	Estera Alarac	W. Matilda 1910	1
605	K186	Kaufer, Ruza	Osijek 1878	Pazaric entire period	Moric	AntoniaEngelma	D. Hilda Osijek 1901	1
606	F74,79	Fridrah Leon,	From Sarajevo 1885	Pazaric the entire period	Markus		W. Sofija 1893	1
607	O-	Paljakara Jelena	Bugojno1906	Pracdetovce? entire period, also Rahe	Baruh	Simha Baruh	D. Lina 1920, Nada 1931	1
608	P16	Papo Dusta	Visegrad 1914	Priboj entire period	Santo	Blanka Pinto		
609	L101	Labudonnic Montijo Rahela	From Sarajevo 1915	Priboj the entire period	Sumbul	Sara Alterc		
610		Altarac Ing. Rene	Prag 1897	Prijedor				
611	D51	Danon Ing. Sadik	Sarajevo 1897	Rab 1943, Italy	Isidor	Ester Levi	W. Rifka Montijo, 1908	1
612	J.Romano	Janekovic Viola	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu Italy 1943, NOV	Otokar			
613	F68	Finci Rena	Sarajevo 1885	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, Italy	Juda			
614	J. Romano	Danon Levi Erna	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOO				
615	J.Romano	Kamhi Baruh Berta	Sarjevo1911	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOP				
616	A120,21	Atias Flora-Lola	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOP fighter	Josef	Sarika Maestro	Sister, Neta 1928	1
617	J.Romano	Atias Mihael Mko	Sarajevo 1912	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOV Bihac	Elisa			
618	J.Romano	Finci- Lev i Rozika	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOV, Italy to 1945				
619	A143	Atias Moric	Sarajevo 1938	Rab to 1943, Zbjeg orph. assign.Perer	Natan	Blanka Pinto		
620	J.Romano	Ovadja-Finci Nela	Sarajevo 1911	Rab to capitu Italy 1943, NOP, AFZ	Moric			
621	H25	Hajon Olga	Mostar 1926	Rab to capitu Italy 1943, then Zagreb	David			
622	N13-16	Najman Adam	Staro Topje1897	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, later in Banu	Ignac	Katica Berger	W. Olga Moravic 1901, D. Noeni Podv.Slatina 1932, Ed	3
623	L49	Levi David Binko	Sarajevo 1903	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOP, fighter	Jakob	Sara Papo	W. Ankica 1918, S. Jakob 1923, Renika 1931,	3
624	A110	Atijas Kabiljo Zlata	Srajevo ?	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, after in Taranta				
625	B4-6	Buhvold Milan	Budapest 1879	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, Dubrovnik	Simon	Roza Rilmer	W. Roza 1892. S. Kornel 1925	2
626	S1-3	Salom Flora	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, Dubrovnik	Rafael	Sida Paopo	D. Sida 1932, S. Moso 1934	2
627	J.Romano	Druker Makso	Sarajevo 1904	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOP,				
628	J.Romano	Pardo Albert	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOP, NOO				
629	J.Romano	Papo Josip	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOP, ZAVNOH				
630	J.Romano	Papo Klara	Sarajevo 1898	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOP, ZAVNOH				
631	J.Romano	Atias Jacki-Tesa	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOV				
632	J.Romano	Finci Buld	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOV				
633	J.Romano	Kabiljo Marica	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOV	Jakov			
634	J.Romano	Strasberger Branko	Derventi 1924	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOV				
635	T-	Tauber Iso	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOV	Rudolf	Bonci Danon	W. Estera 1827	1
636	J.Romano	Kabiljo Merica	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, NOV,1944 It	Jakov			
637	A145	Atias Rashela	Zenica 1899	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, St. Marija Ital	Herman	Gizela Suttih		
638	K57	Kabiljo Blanka	B. Samac 1930	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, then Sarajev	Moric	Lenka Salom		
639	L73	Levinger Nikola	Kocnarov1882	Rab to capitu Italy. 1943, Zbjeg	Albert	Roza Haber	W. Emilija Fastfalen 1884.	1
640	A192	Abinum Blanka	Tuzla 1878	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Mojse	Mirjama Alkalaj	D. Blanka (Papo) Sarajevo 1929	1
641	A196	Abinum Gracija	Sarajevo 1931	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	David	Tilda Papo		
642	A193-95	Abinum Jakov	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Benjamin	Dustina Kampos	W. Esperanza Pukas Tuzla 1909, Daught. Simha 193	2
643	A196	Abinun Grasja	Sarajevo 1931	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	David	Tilda Papo		
644	A249-25	Albahari Aron	Tesary, 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Sabetaj		Goldina Kordovi, 1908	1
645	A35,39	Altarac Cevi	Bugojnjo 1894	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Elijas	Ester Atijas	W. Bonci Papo, 1910, D. Sarika 1932, Emica 1936, S. I	4
646	A47,8	Altarac David	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Avram	Luna Altarac	Klara Izrael, 1910, Avram 1937. Josef 1941, Braco 194	4
647	A68	Altarac Erna	Zepce 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Avram	Simha Finci		
648	A1,2	Altarac Flora	Sarajevo 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Simha Pinto	D Simaha 1937	1
649	A40	Altarac Haim	Visenica 1881	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Samuel	Balanka Katan	D. Blanka 1907	1
650	A18,9,0	Altarac Leon	Sarajevo 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Mojsije	Flora Maestro	W. Mazalta, 1902, Brother. Jakob	2
651	A51	Altarac Lunci	Sarajevo 1936	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Benclon	Rena Altarac		
652	A32	Altarac Riki	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Salamon	Rena Levi	Married Gotesman	1
653	A98,99	Atias Aron	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Juda	Estera Kajon	W. Rozalija, 1915	1
654	A113,-15	Atias Erna	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Samuel	Mirjana Romanc	D. Rikica 1927, S. Samuel 1932	2
655	A111	Atias Rena	Sarajevo 1885	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Juda	Rifka Maestro		
656	B78,79	Bararon, Majer	Sarajevo 1894	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isak	berta Baruh	W. Berta, Bugojno 1900	1
657	B22,29	Baruh Zadik	Sarjevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isak	Rahela Finci	W. Erna Atias, 1897	1
658	B94,5	Bejen Ignac	Pzenizl 1874	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Naftali	Helena Hendl	W. Helena Viner, 1878	1
659	C1,2	Cendorf Erna	Visoko 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Avram	Berta Hasan	S. Albi Sarajevo 1928	1
660	C6	Cvajgentaj Tereza	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Josip	Emilija Gris	GD. Latinger Visna ?	1
661	D46	Danon Albert	Gracanica 1887	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isak	Sara Perera	W. Laura, Gracanica, 1896	1
662	D41	Danon Berta	Sarajevo 1894	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Estera Danon	S. Jakob 1922	1
663	D15,64	Danon David	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isak	Sara Finci	W. Marija, Osijek 1901	1
664		Danon Donka	Sarajevo 1932	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jozef	Rajla		
665	D101	Danon Erna	Mostar 1933	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	David	Solce Kabiljo		
666	D13	Danon Flora	Sarajevo 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isak	Estera Levi		
667	D8-12	Danon Isdor	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Abraham	Estera Kabiljo	W. Anula Levi, 1907, D. Lea 1938, Erna 1941, S.1945	3
668	D-	Danon Jakica Jakov	Sarjaevo 1934	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jozef	Rajla Danon		
669	D21	Danon Jakob	Sarajevo 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Josef	Estera Levi	W. Regina Gotesman, 1901 S. Josef 1924, D Estera 1	3
670	D16	Danon Kabiljo Roza	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Rena Danon	D. Donka 1932, S. Jakob 1934	2
671	D-	Danon Rajla	Sarajevo ?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg				
672	D48	Danon Romano Rifka	Sarajevo 1884	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Mojsije	Beja Gaon		
673	D79-81	Demajo Matko	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Rahela Romano	W. Rikica Papo, 1909, Slobodanka, Split 1945	2
674	D75	Druker Emilija	Darda 1866	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Rozalija Dirnbah	S. Hugo, 1908	1
675	E6	Ergas Roza	Maglaj 1876	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Mihael	Dora Kohen	GS. Simon Isdor, Sarajevo 1937	1
676	E28	ErgasDora	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	David	Atias Dora	D Josipa 1941	1
677	E1	Eskenazi David	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Juda	Blanka Montijo	W. Flora Danon, 1910, D. Blanka 1932, D. Mirjama 193	3
678	F13	Finci Jahiel	Sarajevo 1884	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Josef		W sara 1884, D Elica,	2
679	F3	Finci Lea	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob			

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680	G7-10	Gaon David	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Rafel		W Rifka, 1904, S Rafael 1929, Bnjamin 1934	3
681	G5,6	Gaon Israel	Gozazda 1894	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	isidor		W Sara 1898	1
682	J.Romano	Gaon Josip	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Albert			
683	G20	Gaon Rikica	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Izrael			
684		Iles Dr. Vojislav	From Sarajevo1882	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Ihja		W. Jelena, 1900	1
685	I15	Izrael Ing. Salamon	Sarajvo1895	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Josef			
686	J.Romano	Kabiljo Ing. Leon	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg				
687	K22	Kabiljo Isak	Sarajevo 1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Josef	Flora Salom	W. Nina 1914, D Flora Mostar 1942,	2
688	K35-37	Kabiljo Josef	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isalk	Simha Kabiljo	W. Estera 1910, D Sida 1933	3
689	K1,2	Kabiljo Klara	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	David	Simha Pinto	D. Simha, Zagreb 1938	1
690	K14-16	Kabiljo Leon	Sarajevo 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isak	Simha Kabiljo	W. Neta Birnberg, 1906, S. Isidor 1928	2
691	K183,4	Kajon Moric	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Leon	Regina Katan	W. Hana Altarac, Mostar 1900	1
692	K106,07	Kamhi Isak,	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Haim	Luna Macoro	W. Roza , Visoko 1898	1
693	K125-126	Kamhi Miso	Sarajevo 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jahiel	Simha Pardo	W. Simha Gaon 1910	1
694	K72-75	Katan Isak	Sarajevo 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Moso	Sara Levi	W. Rasela, Pristina, 1909, D. Sarika 1931, Venecija 19	3
695	K83	Katan Samuel	Sarajevo 1872	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Salamon	Streja Eskenazi	W. Rahela Finci	1
696	K164	Kaveson Isak	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Estera Atias	W. Mirjana 1904, D. Rena 1929, Erna 1933	3
697	K170	Kohen Juda	Sarajevo 1895	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Avram	Estera Papo		
698	K146	Kon Dragutin	Apostag 1881	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Adolf	Roza Sekules	W. Sidonija ?	1
699	K143	Konforte Jakob	Sarajevo 1893	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Zadik	Mazalta Kahan		
700	K10	Kunorti Berta	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Albert	Rena Altarac	D. Elica 1936	1
701	L35-38	Levi Aron	Sarajevo 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Daniel	Hana Kohen	W. Sida 1908, D. Hanika 1928, Luncika 1929	3
702	L13	Levi Bejamin	Zenica 1894	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Blanka Altarac	W. Rifka 1895, S. Jakob 1920, D. Bianka 1929	3
703	L 42-44	Levi David	Sarajevo 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Salamon	Buena Koher	W. Hana 1909, D Buena 1931	2
704	L4	Levi Erna	Sarajevo 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Salamon	Mazalta Sumbulo		
705	L4	Levi Erna	Sarajevo 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Salamon	Matilda Sumbulovi		
706	L109	Levi Leon	Vuadanj 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isidor	Lenka Ozmo	W. Zora Pisker, Zagreb 1907	1
707	L46,7	Levi Mazalta	Sarajevo 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Avram	Estera Kohen	D. Sarika 1928	1
708	M116	Macoro Sumbul	Sarajevo 1931	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Klara Gaon		
709	M151,2	Montiljo Blanka	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Salom	Sara Gaon	D. Sarika Zenica 1935	1
710	M82-84	Montiljo Leon	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Sinjora Kabiljo	W. Lotl Zenica 1922, S. Tito-Jakob 1943,	2
711	M35	Musafia Ernica	Sarajevo 1932	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Elias	Rebeka Danon		
712	O4,5,7	Ovadija Albert	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Mordo	Perla Alevi	W. Frola 1904, Perla 1936	2
713	O14	Ovadija Santo	Bitolj 1895	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Mordehaj	Perla Alevi	W. Nela 1911, D. Perla 1933, S. Mirko 1935	3
714	P81	Papo Rena	Sarajevo 1893	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jahiel	Sida Pardo		
715	P51	Papo Avram	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Gabriel	Mazalta Finci	W. Rahela Zenica 1915, S. Gabriel 1941	2
716	P21	Papo Berta	Zenica 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Rafael	Blanka Kajon	S. Avram 1938, Neph. David Konforte Kordun 1945	2
717		Papo Blanka	Sarajevo 1929	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Sumbul	Erna Abinun		
718	P2,3	Papo Erna	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isak	Blanka Salom	D. Blanka 1929	1
719	P-	Papo Estera	Gracanica 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Daniel	Hana Danon		
720	P-	Papo Estera	Sarajevo 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Juda	Blanka Finci		
721	P15	Papo Hana	Biljelina 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Moso	Rahela Baruh		
722	P57	Papo Hana	Sarajevo 1879	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Josef	Rifka Atias		
723	P63	Papo Isak	Sarajevo 1879	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Moso	Erdonija Kajon	W Sara 1887	
724	P13	Papo Isidor	Sarajevo 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Josef	Rena Kabiljo	W. Sida, Jajice 1905	1
725	P63	Papo Jakob	Sarajevo 1879	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Moso	Erodonja Kajon	W. Sara 1887	1
726	P90	Papo Matilda	Sajavo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Avram	Erdonja Kabiljo		
727	P28-30	Papo Rafael	Sarajevo 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Mojsije	Simha Papo	W. Jeta Tuzla 1913, D. Simha 1936	2
729	P4,5	Papo Salamon	Sarajevo 1881	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Moso	Buena Gaon	W. Sara Perera, Travnik 1886	1
730	P35	Papo Santo	Sarajevo 1857	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Moise	SaraSamakovlia	D Sara 1900, Erna, 1902,	2
731	P58	Papo Sara	Sarajevo 1888	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Moise	Blanka Kabiljo		
732	P245	Papo Sarlota	Mostar 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Gavro	Tereza Mandelb		
733	P85	Papo Sipura	Sarajevo 1882	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Salamon	Estera Atias		
734	P-	Papo Sipura,	Sarajevo 1893	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jahiel	Sida Pardo		
735	P174-6	Perera Jesua	Prijedor 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	David	Sara Pinto	W. Mirjama 1907, S. David 1933.	2
736	P179	Perera Rahela	Travnik 1879	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Moso	Estera Alkalaj		
737	P177-8	Perera Sara	Travnik 1880	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Jesua	Ora Altarac	S. Majer, Doboj 1916	1
738		Pesah Albert	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	David	Nela Bencion	W. Radmila 1930	1
739	P209-11	Pesah Josef	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Juda	Rahela Levi	W. Tilda 1912, S. Leon 1933.	2
740	P206,7	Pesah Nela	Vrsac 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Avram	Rena Bencion	S. Albert 1927	1
741	?	Polokan Jelena-Rahela	Bugojno1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Baruh	Simha	D. Lina 1930, D. Nada 1931	
742	S15	Salom Avram	Sarajevo 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Josua	Klara Salom	W. Tonci, Zenica 1921, D. Klara St. Marija Italy 1945	2
743	S23	Salom Flora	Bugojno 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Juda	Goldina Atias		
744	S33	Salom Goldina	Bugojno 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Mordo	Rifka Alkalaj		
745	S29	Salom Luna	Zepce 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Isak	Blanka Kabiljo		
746	S26	Salom Moric-Braco	Bugojno 1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Juda	Goldina Atias		
747	S56	Samakovlija Regina	Rogatica 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Eliezer	Klara Danon		
748	Sh-1,2	Spiler Oto	Zanica 1893	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Sigmund	Beti Kraus		
749		Stern Abinun Regina	Sarajevo 1878	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Aron	Estera Levi		
750	St 6-8	Stern Giza	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Aleksand	Rosa Neuman	D. Julija Zagreb 1934, S. Dragan Sarajevo 1936	2
751	T-	Tauber Eduard	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Rudolf	Bonci Danon	W. Estera Levi 1927	1
752	T1	Tauber Rudolf	Zagreb 1876	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Zbjeg	Hinko	Fani Polak	W. Boni 1894, S. Isidor 1927, D. Elizabeth 1926	3
753	K125	Kamhi Jahiel	Sarajevo 1887	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Dulovac	Samuel	Palomba Kohen	W. Matilda, 1898	
754	K188	Kon Michael	Mostar 1917	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, Italy, El Shat	Robert	Serafina	W. Nela, 1926, S. Boris, Rab 1943	2
755	J.Romano	Abinun.Papo Matilda	Visoko 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
756	J.Romano	Albahari Erna	Sarajevo 1929	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
757	J.Romano	Albahari, Selma Levinger	Sarjevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO	Armin			
758	J.Romano	Alkalaj Buki	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
759	J.Romano	Alkalaj Moric	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO	Buki			
760	J.Romano	Alkalaj Moric	Sarajevo 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
761	J.Romano	Altarac Gina	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
762	J.Romano	Daniti Regina	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO	?			
763	J.Romano	Danon-Levi Erna	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
764	J. Romano	Danon Albert-Berto	Sarajevo 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO	Isak			
765	J.Romano	Danon Isak	Sarajevo 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO	Albert,Berto			
766	J. Romano	Danon Jakica	Sarjevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO	Sadik			
767	J.Romano	Danon Regina	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO	Jozef			
768	J.Romano	Druker Viola	Sarajevo 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
769	J.Romano	Finci-Barisic Josip	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
770	J.Romano	Finci Josip	Sarajevo 1929	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO	?			
771	J.Romano	Kabiljo Hanika	Sarajevo 1916	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
772	J.Romano	Kampos Moric-Moco	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO				
773	J.Romano	Altrmajer KlaraLevi	Sarajevo1891	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Banje				
774	J.Romano	Ast Samakovlija Laura	Sarajevo 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Banje	Aser			
775	J.Romano	Atias Albet	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Banje				
776	J.Romano	Atias Flora	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Banje	Avram			
777	J.Romano	Atias Rafael-Rafo	Sarajevo 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Banje				
778	J.Romano	Breher Tonka	Sarjaevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Banje				
779	J.Romano	Danon Regina	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Banje				
780	J.Romano	Altarac Estera	Sarajevo, 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Glina				

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781	J.Romano	Baruh Albert	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Glina				
782	J.Romano	Atias Nata	Sarajevo 1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Lika	Jozef			
783	J.Romano	Baruh Jakov	Sarajevo 1891	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Lika	I?			
784	J.Romano	Altarac Gina	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Topusko				
785	J.Romano	Altarac Roza	Sarajevo 1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Topusko				
786	A66	Altarac Salamon	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Topusl	Mojsije	Beja Papo		
787	J.Romano	Atias Dudo	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, Topusko				
788	J.Romano	Atias Miko	Sarajevo 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO, V. Kladu.				
789	J.Romano	Atias Boncika	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOO,Lika	Jakob			
790	D20	Danon Sida	Travnik 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Mojsije	Estera Alkalaj		
791	J.Romano	Levi-Salom Hana	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Aron			
792	J.Romano	Baruh Albert	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
793	D49	Danon Ela	Gracanica 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Sadik	Sida Salom	S. Slobodan 1945, Nie. Lela Altarac 1941	1
794	J.Romano	Danon Erna	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Zadik			
795	J. Romano	Danon Jakov	Sarajevo 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
796	J.Romano	Danon Santo	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
797	D74	Demajo Benjamin	Sarajevo1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Avram	Merjama Levi	W. Erna, Sarajevo 1917	1
798	J.Romano	Demajo Benjamin-Binko	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
800	J. Romano	Demajo Ernica	Sarajev1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Silvio			
801	J.Romano	Demajo, Rikica	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
802	J.Romano	Dragjinger Altarac Estera	Sarjevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jakov			
803	J.Romano	Druker Finci Klara	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Rafael			
804	J.Romano	Druker Ljubica	Sarajevo 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Otokar			
805	D86	Druker Otokar	Sarajevo 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Josef	Emilija Friz	D. Viola 1926, D. Gerda 1928	2
806	J.Romano	Finci-Petrovic Klara	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
807	F18	Finci Albert	Sajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jakob		W. Olga Zagreb 1924, Sist. Rena 1917	2
808	J.Romano	Finci Aser	Sarajevo 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
809	F67,87,8	Finci Aser(Siro)	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jozef		W. Rasela, 1922, S. Jakov 1943	2
810	J.Romano	Finci Josip	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
811	F1	Finci Mauricio	Sarajevo 1882	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jahiel			
812	F43	Finci Rahela	Srajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Isak		D. Tilad 1938	1
813	F55	Finci Salamon	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Salom			
814	F7	Finzi Rafael	Sarajevo 1929	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Silvio		W. Zlata 1927	1
815	J.Romano	Gaon-Danon Loti	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
816	G13	Gaon Flora	Zvornik 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Avram			
817	J.Romano	Gaon Jakov	Sarajevo1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
818	G2,4	Gaon Mento	Sarajevo 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Isak		S. Iso 1938	1
819	J.Romano	Gorski Ljerka	From Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
820	H19	Hajon Josef	Tuzla 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	David		W. Ana 1924,	1
821		Iles Flora	Sarjevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Rafael			
822	I17	Iles Stjepan	Bos. Brod 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Voljslav			
823	J.Romano	Kabiljo Erna	Sarajevo, 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Avram			
824	K17-19	Kabiljo Isidor	Zavidovic 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Josef	Sofija Altarac	W.Hani 1917, S. Josip 1944,	2
825	J.Romano	Kabiljo Iso	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Leon			
826	K31,-34	Kabiljo Jose	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Haim	Buena Salom	W. Rifka, Bjelina 1890, , S. Benjamin 1929, D. Bojna 19	3
827	J.Romano	Kabiljo Leon-Lelo	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Avram			
828	J.Romano	Kabiljo Mario	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
829	K20,21	Kabiljo Renika	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Moric	Rifka Pardo	S. Siro, 1933	1
830	K7-9	Kabiljo Santo	Sarajevo, 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Salamon	Hana Papo	W. &D. names missing from the list	2
831	J.Romano	Kajon Jakov	Sarajevo ?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
832	K157,58	Kajon Sara	Gracanica 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Rafael	Rena Perera	D. Irena 1939	1
833	K74	Kalanzovic Levi Lenka	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Albert	Erna Alkalaj		
834	K113	Kamhi Dr. Haim	Visegrad 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	David	Estera Levi	W.. Berta 1912, D Bulka 1940, D. Estera 1936	3
835	K121-24	Kamhi Ing. Aron	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	David	Estera Levi	S. David 1936, Isak 1941	2
836	J.Romano	Kamhi Regina	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Isak			
837	J.Romano	Katan Albert	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
838	K77,78	Katan Berta,	Visoko 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Mojsije	D. Kabiljo	S. David 1932	1
839	K70,71	Katan Danilo	Rogatica 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Josef	Luna Katan	W. Luncika, Rogatica 1923,	1
840	K130	Kirsner Ing.Josef	Brno 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Albert	Cecilija Stisni	W. Erdonija 1900, D. Rahela Baruh 1924, Gizela 1923	3
841	J.Romano	Klajn Mela	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
842	J.Romano	Klirsner Gizela	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
843	K204	Koen Erna	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Josef	Rahela Salom		
844	K64,65	Kohen Rafael	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Aron	Merjam Levi	W. Stela 1907	1
845	J.Romano	Kon Dr. Marija	Hadzicima 1894	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Josef			
846	J.Romano	Kon Ing. Emil	Mostar 1880	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jozef			
847	K159	Konforte Elias	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Salamon	D. Kaveson	W. Ljubica Slamic, Hvar 1919	1
848	K142	Konforte Mordo	Sarajevo 1880	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Zadik	Mazalta Katan	W. Estera Becaj 1891, Orphn. Vajzor Jordana, Sarajevo	2
849	K678-80	Krautblat Maks	Zenica 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Arnold	Sabina Ramler	W. Olga, Visegrad 1905, S. Aleksandar 1932.	2
850	K201	Krstic Senvald Irena	Tuzla 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Bernard	Regina Pinto	D. Durdica 1940	1
851	A120,21	Kulic Atias Flora	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Josef	Sarika Maestro	Sist. Nela 1926	1
852	J.Romano	Ler-Radovic Draga	Sarajevo ?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
853	J.Romano	Levenstajn Armin	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
854	L-17	Levi Avram-Mami	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Haim	Mazalta Papo	W. Sida 1920	1
855	L419	Levi Batseva	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Sadik	Blanka Alkalaj		
856	L49-51	Levi David	Sarajevo 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jakob	Sara Papo	S. Jakob 1932, D Renika 1931	2
857	J.Romano	Levi Donka	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jakob	Ester Maestro	S. Danko, 1936	1
858	J.Romano	Levi Erna	Tuzla 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
859	J.Romano	Levi Estera	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jozef			
860	L45	Levi Hajim	Sarajevo 1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Josef	Lena Levi		
861	L26	Levi Juda	Sarajevo 1893	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Isak	Blanka Danon	W. Blanka Levi, Rogatice 1908, SD Neta Perera 1934,	2
862	L 23-25	Levi Leon	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Moric	Sida Altarac	W. Sarika 1915, S. Moric 1939	2
863	J.Romano	Levi Lonika	Sarajevo 1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Todoros			
864	L-	Levi Luncika	From Sarajevo 1932	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
865	L106	Levi Menahem	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Salamon	Rifka Altarac	W. Jonpa 1922	1
866	J.Romano	Levi Miso	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
867	L27-29	Levi Moric	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Sabetaj	Buena Levi	W. Sida 1910, D. Ruta 1944	2
868	J.Romano	Levi Moric	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jozef			
869	J.Romano	Levi Moric	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
870	L410,-412	Levi Robert	Zemun 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jakob	Klara Levi	W. Klara Kohen 1908, SD. Cila Kislinger 1931	2
871	L124	Levi Rozika	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jozef	Luna Romano		
872	L20-22	Levi Salamon,	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Sabetaj	Solci Bahar	W. Mazalta 1905, 1905 D. Luna 1937, Tilda 1939	3
873	J.Romano	Levi Todoros	Sarajevo 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jakob			
874	L75	Levinger Mirko	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Nikola	Emilija Vajs	W. Beba 1921, D. Jasna 1946	2
875	L85	Lusic Oto	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Isidor	Klara Altarac	W. Lucija Vucic, 1923, D. Klara 1941	2
876	M3	Maestro Flora	Sabac 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
877	M15	Maestro Rafael	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Avram	Flora Papo		
878	J.Romano	Meder-Altarac Cilika	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
879	M74	Montiljo Blanka	Sarajevo 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Jozef	Rahela Salom		
880	J.Romano	Montiljo Rahela	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP				
881	M88,89	Montiljo Santo	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Aron	Sara Papo	W. Ana, Travnik 1922	1

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882	M40	Musafia Rafo	Zepce 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Bencion	Estera Danon	W. Roza 1903, D. Flora 1924, S. Binko 1929	3
883	J.Romano	Ovadja Donka	Sarajevo 1932	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Albert			
884	J.Romano	Ozmo Loti	Sarajevo 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
885	J.Romano	Papo-Abinun Ema	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
886	J.Romano	Papo-Mandić Luna	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
887	P41	Papo-Papic Mordo	Sarajevo1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Jakob	Rena Albahari		
888	J.Romano	Papo -Salom Matilda	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Jakob			
889	J.Romano	Papo Avram	Sarajevo 1887	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Jozef			
890	P9	Papo Blanka	Sarajevo 1929	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Isak	Rena Finci		
891	P12,256	Papo Dika	Bugojno 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Samuel	Simha Baruh	D. Rikica, 1936	1
892	J.Romano	Papo Ema	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
893		Papo Rena Nada	Sarajevo1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Mose	Estera Alkalj		
894	J.Romano	Papo Sarika	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
895	J.Romano	Papo Sida	Jajce 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Jakob			
896	P217	Pardo Albert	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Mojse	Estera Gaon	W. Zora, Glina 1921	1
897	J.Romano	Perera-Trinki Rikica	Zenica 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
898	P182-3	Perera Josef	Doboj 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		David	Sara Pinto	W. Blanka 1925, S. Mordehaj 1946	2
899	P172,3	Perera Salamon	Prijedor 1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		David	Sara Pinto	W. Roza 1913	1
900	J.Romano	Pesah Albert	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
901	J.Romano	Pesah Tilda	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
902	J.Romano	Pinkas Klara-Bukica	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
903	J.Romano	Pinto Beno	Sarajevo 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
904	J.Romano	Pinto Dr. Josip	Sarajevo 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
905	P137-138	Pinto Dr. Leon	Sarajevo 1889	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Benjamin	Sara Altarac	W. Marga, Razinje 1904	1
906	P148	Pinto Dr. Samuel	Sarajevo 1888	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Bencion	Nehama Maestro		
907	P141-3	Pinto Salamon	Sarajevo 1895	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Bencion	Nehama Maestr	W. Tilda 1906, S. Benclijon 1924, Simon 1928	3
908	J.Romano	Robicek Milka	Sarajevo 1894	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
909	J.Romano	Robicek Rudolf	Sarajevo 1893	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Tobias			
910	J.Romano	Rozenrauh-Stern Gizela	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
911	J.Romano	Salom Albert,	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
912	S51	Salom Avram	Zenica 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Sua	Blanka Gaon		
913	J.Romano	Salom Julija	Austrija 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
914	J.Romano	Salom Tilka	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Franc			
915	S109,10	Singer Loni	Vares 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Herman	Rosa Vehter	D. Sofija 1929.	1
916	Sh13	Spiler Elza	Mostar 1892	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Marko	Riza Behm		
917	J.Romano	Sprung Moric-Marko	Zenica 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Leopold			
918	J.Romano	Srajber Marko	Sarajevo 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
919	S5	Sternberg Samuel	Sarajevo 1933	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Avram	Flora Levi		
920	J.Romano	Stok-Cukerberg Olga	Poland 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
921	J.Romano	Stok Sigmund	Poland 1893	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		F.7			
922	S	Strasberger Fanika	Sadovic1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Ignat	Helena Winer		
923	J.Romano	Svarc Ana	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
924	Z92	Zev Ela	Zagreb 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Lavoslav	Ana Stenhardt		
925	J.Romano	Altarac Jakov	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
926	A58	Altarac Paula	Travnik 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Kalman	Hana Papo		
927	J.Romano	Atias Avram	Sarajevo 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Mojsije			
928	A133	Atias Rifka	Bugojno 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Mordo	Flora Gadegno		
929	J.Romano	Baruh-Barlo Elka	Sarajevo 1929	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
930	J.Romano	Baruh Estera	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
931	J.Romano	Baruh Izidor	Sarajevo 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
932	J.Romano	Baruh Pepica	Sarjevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
933	B89,9	Beker Oto	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Markus	Riza Bem	W. Erna, Jajice 1908, Neph. Engel Dorde, 1933, Engel I	3
934	B45	Britvar Musafija Hanika	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Jakob	Buena Maestro		
935	J.Romano	Chasar Ema	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Matije			
936	J.Romano	Danon-Papo Rikica	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Albert			
937	J.Rommano	Danon Beba	Sarajevo1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
938	J.Romano	Danon Estera	Sarajevo 1930	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Jakob			
939	J.Romano	Altarac Jozi	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Banja				
940	A210	Abinum Aron	Sarajevo 1917	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Bencio	Blanka Maestro	W. Bela, 1920, S. Daniel, 1942, adopted orphan Papo	3
941	A212-4	Abinum Benko	Sarjevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Samuel	Klara Atias	W Doja 1913, D. Nada,	
942	J.Romano	Abinun Mordehaj	Sarajevo	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Jakob			
943	A198-99	Abinun Isdor	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Bencion	Blankica Maestr	Wife Sarina, Sarajevo 1910	1
944	A217-18	Abinun Leon	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Samuel	Klara Atias	Gizela Altarac,1927	1
945	J.Romano	Abinun Leopold	Sarajevo, 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Benjamin			
946	J.Romano	Abinun Levi Doja	Sarajevo, 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter				
947	A219	Abinun Rikica	Zvornik 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Moso	Klara Atias	H. Zadik Romano	1
948	A46,	Alatarac Marijanovic Hermi	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Mojsije	Sarina Altarac		
949	A266	Albahari Josef-Cuco	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Jakob	Grasija Papo	W. Tilda Papo, 1922	1
950	A230-33	Albahari Rena	Travnik 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Jakob		D Estera 1907, s. Moric 1912, Albert 1915, GS Melvi 1	3
951	A178	Alkalaj Dr. Josef	Sarajevo 1894	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Aser	Fani Sobor	W. Kristina Sasjnic	1
952	J.Romano	Alkalaj Estera	Sarajevo 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter				
953	A159-61	Alkalaj Moric	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Juda	Estera Ozmo	W. Lori Levi, 1912, D. Nina 1941	2
954	A173	Alkalaj Sarika	Bjelina 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Moso	Rahela Baruh		
955	A 3	Altarac Aron	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Salamon	Esther Kabiljo		
956	J.Romano	Altarac Avram	Sarajevo 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Mojsije			
957	A61	Altarac Avram	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Josef	Estera Kabiljo		
958	J.Romano	Altarac David	Sarajevo 1887	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter				
959	J.Romano	Altarac Hermina	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter				
960	A28,9,31	Altarac Josef	Bjelina 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Haim	Luna Levi	W. Rifka Pessah, 1909, S. Haim 1931, Leon 1938	3
961	A62,63	Altarac Lora	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Salom	Estera Levi	D. Laura, Mostar 1934	1
962	A60	Altarac Samuel	Sarajevo 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Rafael	Blanka Papo	W. Elizabet 1917,	1
963	A100	Atias Josef	Sarajevo 1917	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Leon	Esthera Kajon	W. Gorgina Todorvic, 1923,	
964	J.Romano	Atias Kana-Nata	Sarajevo 1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Jozef			
965	A122	Atias Leon	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Salamon	Lenka Altarac		
966	A90,91	Atias Miko	Sarajevo 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Salamon	Rena Levi	W. Rahela Altarac, 1907	1
967	A92-95	Atias Naftali	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Avram	Lea Abinun	W. Rena Musafija, 1909, D. Erna 1933, S, Albi 1936, M	3
968	J.Romano	Baruh Dr. Silvio	Sarajevo 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter				
969	B13,14	Baruh Menahem	Sarjevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter	Zadik	Rena Salom	W. Tilda, 1926	1
970	J.Romano	Atias Blanka	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Glina				
971	J.Romano	Atias David	Sarajevo 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Sijunj				
972	J.Romano	Abinun Jakica	Sarajevo 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNOH				
973	J.Romano	Altarac Aron	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNOH				
974	J.Romano	Altarac Erna	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNOH				
975	B18-20	Baruh Isdor	Bjelina 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNC	Mose	Rahela Baruh	Estera Adizes, Pristina 1916, S. Moso Sarv. 1939	2
976	B10-12	Baruh Jakob	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNC	Samuel	Simha Baruh	W. Johana,Visegrad 1901, S. Samuel Saraj. 1937	2
977	J.Romano	Buhbinder Mario	Sarajevo 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNOH				
978	J.Romano	Draljinger Larkic Marko	Sarjevo 1904	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNOH				
979	D96	Druker Maks	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNC	Josef	Emilija Friz	W.Klara Finci 1910	1
980	J.Romano	Druker Rut	Sarajevo 1930	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	ZAVNOH				
981	J.Romano	Altarac Jozef	Sarajevo 1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	Banja				

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982	J.Romano	Levi Menahem	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP Glina					
983	J.Romano	Kabilio-Baruh Rifka	Sarjevo 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP NOO					
984	D90,91	Dohan Herman	Vrbovo 1880	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP Swiss	Moric	Roza Sidon	W. Roza Mautner, 1884		1
985	J.Romano	Danon Regina	Sarajevo 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP Velika K	Abraham				
986	J.Romano	Gaon Mento	Sarajevo 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
987	J.Romano	Gotesman Rikica	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Slamon				
988	J.Romano	Gutman Jakica	Sarajevo 1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
989	J.Romano	Gutman Leo	Sarajevo 1930	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
990	J.Romano	Kajon Jakica-Stjepan	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
991	J.Romano	Kajon Stjepan	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Jakica				
992	J.Romano	Koen Jozef	Sarajevo 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
993	J.Romano	Koen Leon	Sarajevo 1892	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
994	J.Romano	Koen Lota	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
995	J.Romano	Kos Adela	Sarajevo 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
996	J.Romano	Levi Dr. Izido	Sarajevo 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
997	L-	Levi Moric,	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Sabetaj	Solci Bahar	W. Josefina 1910, D. Solci		2
998		Levi Silvio jo	Sarajevo 1936	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Samuel		W. Jelena 1941		1
999	M138	Mandelbaum Leopold	Mursk.1885	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Josip				
1000	M	Moreno Armando	Vienna 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Dulio		W. Slobodanka 1932		1
1001	M-	Musafia Binko	Sarajevo 1929	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Rafael	Roza Atias	W. Ancika Abinun, 1937		1
1002	M36-38	Musafia Danilo	Zepce 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Moso	Palomba Katan	W. Berta, Bijelina 1910. D. Ema 1932		2
1003	M	Musafia Dr. Albi	Sarajevo 1929	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Meir	Frida Suetrepi	W. Oma 1939		1
1004	E29	Seke Ernest	Hlaves 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Dragutin	Helena Vihrol	W Valerija 1905, S. Fedor 1932		1
1005	S13	Stekel Dragutin	Senta 1930	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNO	Jakob	Katica Kraus			
1006	J.Romano	Sternberg Izdidor	Sarajevo 1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
1007	J.Romano	Svarcbart Matilda	Sarajevo 1889	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ZAVNOH					
1008	J.Romano	Alkalaj Moreno	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP ,Lika Kordun					
1009	K 187	Kon Emil	Cernovic 1880	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP, NOO	Isak	Ana Gotlib	W. Marija Bergman 1894		
1010	J.Romano	Levi Flora	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP, NOO					
1011	J.Romano	Salom Bernard-Berno	Bjelina 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOP,NOO					
1012	A226	Adizes Tilda	Sarajevo 1916	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, North Americ	Salamon	Hana Kabiljo			
1013	D60	Dano Santo	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakob	Rena Papo	W. Andelka Saic, 1928,		1
1014	J.Romano	Finci Isak	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jozef				
1015	J.Romano	Lerer Gina	Mostar 1916	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Zelig				
1016	J.Romano	Alkalaj Albert	Sarajevo 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Isak				
1017	J.Romano	Albahari Estera	Tesnju 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Sabetak				
1018	J.Romano	Albahari, Sabetaj	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Gruber				
1019	J.Romano	Alkalaj Albert-Alk	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1020	J.Romano	Alkalaj Beba Vajs	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	M?				
1021	J.Romano	Alkalaj Flora	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1022	J.Romano	Alkalaj Haim Puba	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1023	J.Romano	Alkalaj Isidor	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1024	J.Romano	Alkalaj Josip	Travnik, 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1025	J.Romano	Alkalaj Moric-Braco	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1026	J.Romano	Alkalaj Moric	Sarajevo 1886	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1027	J.Romano	Altarac Avram-Alfi	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1028	A055	Altarac Boncika	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakob	Regina Danon			
1029	J.Romano	Altarac Haim	Travnik 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Moric				
1030	J.Romano	Altarac Isak-Zak	Sarajevo 1897	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1031	J.Romano	Altarac Izidor	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakov				
1032	Â-	Altarac Moric	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Hajim		W. Ninka 1925		1
1033	J.Romano	Altarac Moric-Hadzija	Sarajevo 1891	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1034	J.Romano	Altarac Salamon	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1035	A56,57	Altarac Sami	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	M?				
1036	J.Romano	Atias-Albahari Rena	Sarajevo 1895	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakov				
1037	J.Romano	Atias-Altarac Reha	Srajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1038	J.Romano	Atias Berta	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Mose				
1039		Atias David	From Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jabob	Sara Daniti	W. Stefica 1929,		1
1040	J.Romano	Atias Josip	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1041	J.Romano	Atias Jozef	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1042	J.Romano	Baruh-Baic Ela	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1043	J.Romano	Baruh Albert	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	S.				
1044	J.Romano	Baruh Albert	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	S?				
1045	J.Romano	Baruh Avram	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Moric				
1046	B22-24	Baruh David	Sarajev.1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Isak	Rahela Finzi	W. Sarina Danon, Gracanica 1910, S. Iso Sarajev. 193		2
1047	J.Romano	Beker Engi Ema	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1048	J.Romano	Benihajer Sarika	Sarajevo 1917	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1049	J.Romano	Bien Branko	Sarajevo 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1050	J.Romano	Bimberg Puba	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV			D.Hanika 1936, S. Avram 1934, Sarika 1932		3
1051	J.Romano	Cherkovski-Levi Dusta	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Hajim				
1052	J.Romano	Cherkovski Boris	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1053	J.Romano	Cherkovski Lija	Sarajevo 1891	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1054	J.Romano	Cvajgental Edita	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1055	J.Romano	Cvajgetal Viola	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1056	J.Romano	Danon-Danic Ela	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1057	D33,34	Danon Albert	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Mojsije	Sida Salom	W, Rizica Veiler, 1923		1
1058	J.Romano	Danon Danic Ela	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1059	J.Romano	Danon Daniti Lalika	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1060	J.Romano	Danon Miriam	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Zadik				
1061	J.Romano	Danon Moric	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Isak				
1062	J.Romano	Danon Sida	Sarajevo 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Albert				
1063	D49	Diamant, Regina	Sarajevo 1899	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Juda	Rifka Perera			
1064	J.Romano	Druker Hugo	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Josip				
1065	J.Romano	Eskenazi Berta	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1066	J.Romano	Eskenazi Finci Anica	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1067	J.Romano	Finci-Fincic Shabtaj Radom	Sarajevo 1916	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1068	J.Romano	Finci Elica	Sarjave 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	J.				
1069	J.Romano	Finci Eskenazi, Anica	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jahiel				
1070	J.Romano	Finci Josko	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1071	J.Romano	Finci Regina	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jahiel				
1072	J.Romano	Finci Sabetaj-Buki	Sarajevo 1916	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1073	F17	Finci Vjekoslav	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jahil				
1074	J.Romano	Fiser Ljudev t mr.ph.	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	B.				
1075	J.Romano	Gaon Gina	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1076	J.Romano	Gaon Irena	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1077	J.Romano	Gaon Lena	Sarajevo 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1078	J.Romano	Gotesman Leo	Zvornik 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	A.				
1079	J.Romano	Gusatav Lotika	Sarajevo 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1080	G74	Gutman Jakica	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Friedrich		W Lotika, 1915		1
1081	J.Romano	Haber Ancica	Sajevo 1896	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					

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1082	J.Romano	Horbac Zina	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Rafael			
1083	I7	Izrael Paula,	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Avram			
1084	J.Romano	Izrael Puba	Sarajevo1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1085	J.Romano	Kabiljo Aron-Desni	Sarajevo 1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakov			
1086	J.Romano	Kabiljo David	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1087	J.Romano	Kabiljo David-Daca	Sarajevo 1901	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1088	J.Romano	Kabiljo Emanuela	Tuzla 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Bernard			
1089	J.Romano	Kabiljo Hana	Sarajevo 1916	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Izrael			
1090	K61	Kabiljo Josef	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakob	Beja Kajon	W. Ilena, 1923	1
1091	J.Romano	Kabiljo Josip	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakov			
1092	J.Romano	Kabiljo Josip	Sarajevo 1895	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1093	J.Romano	Kabiljo Josip-Jozi	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jozef			
1094	J.Romano	Kabiljo Ljerka-Lela	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1095	J.Romano	Kabiljo Meri	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1096	J.Romano	Kadelsburg-Poljokan Sarfin	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakob			
1097	J.Romano	Kadelsburg Stjepan	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Tovijas			
1098	J.Romano	Kajon Jakica	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1099	J.Romano	Kajon Klara	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1100	J.Romano	Kamhi-Albahari Beba	Sarajevo1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1101	J.Romano	Kamhi Gracija	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	David			
1102	J.Romano	Kamhi Jahiel	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	David			
1103	J.Romano	Kamhi Jahiel-Braco	Sarajevo 1931	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	David			
1104	J.Romano	Kamhi Rita,	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1105	J.Romano	Kamhi Salamon-Moni	Sarajevo 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Mojsije			
1106	J.Romano	Kamhi Sara	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jakob			
1107	J.Romano	Kampos Simbula	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1108	J.Romano	Katan Daniel	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1109	J.Romano	Katan Eliezer-Buki	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Moše			
1110	J.Romano	Katan Moso	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1111	J.Romano	Kening-Kralj Josip	Sarajevo ?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1112	J.Romano	Kirsner Gizela	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1113	J.Romano	Koen Bukica	Sarajevo 1903	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1114	J.Romano	Koen David	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1115	J.Romano	Koen Erna	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1116	J.Romano	Koen Luna	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1117	J.Romano	Koen Rafael-Rafo	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1118	J.Romano	Koen Rikica	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1119	K226	Kon Filip	Mostar 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Robert	Sarafina Bem		
1120	J.Romano	Kon Ing. Filip	Mostar 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1121	J.Romano	Konforti-Levinger Ela	Sarajevo 1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1122	J.Romano	Konforti Elias	Sarajevo 1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	S.			
1123	J.Romano	Lerer Zelig,Todorovic	Mostar, 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Smuel			
1124	J.Romano	Levi-Daniti Sida	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1125	J.Romano	Levi Bejamin	Sarajevo 1917	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1126	L68	Levi Finci Rozika	Sarjevo 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Josef	Luna Romano	Sist. Gizela Levi, 1925 Estera 1927	2
1127	J.Romano	Levi Gentila	Sarajevo 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jozef			
1128	J.Romano	Levi Hajim	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	I.			
1129	J.Romano	Levi Hajim	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jozef			
1130	L-VI,48	Levi Isak	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Albert	Erna Alkalaj	W. Sava, Gilria 1928	1
1131		Levi Isidor	Tuzla 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Cadik	Johana Senvald		
1132	J.Romano	Levi Jakob	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Benjamin			
1133	LL68, 118	Levi Josef	Sarajevo 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Haim	Luna Romano	S.Gizela 1925, S.Estera 1927	2
1134	L96,97	Levi Lefko	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Leon	Vida Pesah		
1135	J.Romano	Levi Lenka	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1136	J.Romano	Levi Lilika	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1137	L59	Levi Mario	Zagreb 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Moise	Flora Poljokan		
1138	J.Romano	Levi Mojse-Moric	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1139	L112	Levi Salamon	Doboj 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Isak	Berta Pesah		
1140	J.Romano	Levi Salamon-Moni	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1141	J.Romano	Levinger Nada	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1142	J.Romano	Macoro Klarica	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1143	J.Romano	Maestro-Papo Rita-Nada	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	J.			
1144	M8,9	Maestro Jakica	Sarajevo 1910	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Moso	? Kabiljo	W. Sida 1915	1
1145	J.Romano	Maestro Rafo	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1146	J.Romano	Mate Sabina	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	A.			
1147	J.Romano	Montiljo Haim	Sarajevo1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1148	J.Romano	Montiljo Jakica	Sarajevo?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1149	J.Romano	Montiljo Josko	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1150	J.Romano	Montiljo Jozef	Sarajevo 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Isak			
1151	M-	Montiljo Moric	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	David	Rena Montiljo	W. Vera Mratic 1929 (not Jewish)	1
1152	J.Romano	Montiljo Reli	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1153	J.Romano	Montilo Anica	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Jahiel			
1154	J.Romano	Musafia-Papo Rasela	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1155	J.Romano	Musafia Ancika	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	J.			
1156	J.Romano	Musafia Flora	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Rafo			
1157	J.Romano	Musafia Moric-Beclija	Sarajevo 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Salamon			
1158	J.Romano	Musafia Sarika	Sarajevo?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1159	J.Romano	Musafia Tilda-Nina	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	J.			
1160	J.Romano	Nahmias David-Danko	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	I.			
1161	J.Romano	Niks Edita	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Artur			
1162	J.Romano	Papo-Binenfeld Regina	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Salamon			
1163	J.Romano	Papo Albert	Mostar ?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1164	J.Romano	Papo Ing. Jakob	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1165	J.Romano	Papo Iso	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Moric			
1166	J.Romano	Papo Luna	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Moric			
1167	J.Romano	Papo Rikica	Sarajevo 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Avram			
1168	J.Romano	Papo Rikica	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Albert			
1169	J.Romano	Papo Roza	Sarajevo?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1170	J.Romano	Pardo David	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Mojse	Estera Gaon	W. Slavica 1923	1
1171	P	Pardo Juda	Sarajevo 1893	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Josef	Rena Bararon		
1172	J.Romano	Perera-Svandrom Adela	Mostar 1911	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1173	J.Romano	Perera David	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Isak			
1174	J.Romano	Perera David	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1175	J.Romano	Perera David-Dado	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1176	J.Romano	Perera Jakica	Sarajevo 1917	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1177	J.Romano	Perera Sadik	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Isak			
1178	J.Romano	Perera Salamon	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1179	J.Romano	Perera Sarika	Sarajevo (student)?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV				
1180	J.Romano	Petrovic-Firme Klara	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Sime			
1181	P157	Pinto Isak	Sarajevo 1918	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Mosko	Rifka Sumbulovi		

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1182	P146	Pinto Josip	Sarajevo 1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Rafael	Simha Finci	W. Nada Maler 1924, S. Boris 1945	2
1183	P12.IV.194	Pinto Salamon	Zenica 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Benjamin	Sara Montiljo	W. Marija 1922	1
1184	J.Romano	Polak Duro	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1185	J.Romano	Polak Hilda	Sarajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Samuel			
1186		Prjlih Emil	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Josip	Dora Handel		
1187	J.Romano	Rip Gina	Rogatica 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Simon			
1188	J.Romano	Romano-Altarac Flora	Sarajevo 1895	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Jakob			
1189	J.Romano	Romano Anica	Sarjevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Jakob			
1190	J.Romano	Romano Isak	Sarajevo 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Zadik			
1191	J.Romano	Romano Salamon-Roman	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Jakov			
1192	J.Romano	Rozenrauh-Rezencvajg Jel	Romania 1900	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1193	J.Romano	Rozenrauh Dr Drago	Sarajevo 1902	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1194	J.Romano	Rozenrauh Ernestina	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1195	J.Romano	Rozenrauh Simo	Sarajevo 1891	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1196	J.Romano	Rozner Hans-Ivan	Sarajevo 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Vilim			
1197	S15	Salom Miko	Sarajevo 1906	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1198	J.Romano	Samakovlija Daniel	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		B.			
1199		Samakovlija Danko	Saraje.1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Binjo	Rena Papo	W. Milena 1925	1
1200	S	Samakovlija Marcel-Braco	From Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Benjamin	Rena Papo	W. Perla 1933	1
1201	J.Romano	Sarkic Ing. Vita	Sarajevo 1905	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1202	J.Romano	Seles Duro	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1203	J.Romano	Seles Kuki	Sarajevo 1927	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1204	J.Romano	Sorger Lea	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Josip			
1205	J.Romano	Stajnberg Dr. Fridrih	Vienna 1890	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		F.?			
1206	J.Romano	Stekovic Klara	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Jozef			
1207	J.Romano	Stern-Zvezdic Slavko	Okucanim 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1208	J.Romano	Stern Regina	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Jozef			
1209	J.Romano	Stok Josip	Poland 1925	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Sigmund			
1210	J.Romano	Svarc Blinka	Zvornik 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1211	J.Romano	Svarc David	Sarajevo 1885	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1212	J.Romano	Svarc Jeti	Zvornik 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		David			
1213	J.Romano	Svarc Lea	Branjevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		David			
1214	J.Romano	Tausig Marija	Check. 1914	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1215	J.Romano	Terenbah Mirko	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1216	J.Romano	Tolentino Flora	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Rafael			
1217	J.Romano	Trenk Gizela	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Josip			
1218	J.Romano	Vadijal Bijanka-Sabina	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Albert			
1219	J.Romano	Vajs-Kamhi Gracija	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		David			
1220	J.Romano	Vajs Marcel-Marci	Sarajevo 1917	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1221	J.Romano	Zdunic Jozefina	Sarajevo 1926	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Samuel			
1222	J.Romano	Zon-Abinun Nada	Gracanica 1898	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Albert			
1223	J.Romano	Atlas Riko	Sarajevo 1920	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Banja				
1224	J.Romano	Abinum Binjamin Binjo	Sarjevo 1916	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter				
1225	J.Romano	Abinun Rozika	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	Jozef			
1226	J.Romano	Abinun Salcberger Lea	Sarjevo.1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	Jakob			
1227	J.Romano	Ahsen Gina	Sarajevo, 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter				
1228	J.Romano	Albahari Albert	Sarajevo 1912	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter				
1229	J.Romano	Albahari Albo	Sarajevo 1915	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	Sabetaj		W. Blanka Dohanj, 1917	1
1230	J.Romano	Albahari Anica, Pavlovic	Sarajevo	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter				
1231	J.Romano	Albahari Ela	Sarajevo 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	I.			
1232	J.Romano	Albahari Leio	Sarajevo 1928	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter				
1233	J.Romano	Albahari Leon	Sarajevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	Sabetaj			
1234	J.Romano	Albahari Mordehaj	Sarajevo 1907	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	Jakob			
1235	J.Romano	Albahari Nada	Sarajevo 1924	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	Rafael			
1236	J.Romano	Albahari Rena	Sarajevo 1889	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter				
1237	J.Romano	Albahari R. Tamara	Sarajevo 1919	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	Moric			
1238	J.Romano	Albahari, Cuco Josip	Sarajevo1913	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter				
1239	J.Romano	Albahari, Tilda	Sarjevo 1923	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	fighter	Juda			
1240	J.Romano	Danon Sara-Beba	Sarajevo 1921	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	SKOJ	Albert			
1241	J.Romano	Atlas Leon	Srajevo 1908	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943, NOV	Topusko	Samuel			
1242		Seles Ing. Herman	Vienna 1888	Rab to capitu. Italy 1943,Italy		Marvo	Roza Spavi	W. Roza 1897	1
1243	J.Romano	Perera-Kamhi Roza	Sarajevo 1909	Rab to capitu. Italy 1944, NOV					
1244	J.Romano	Perera Leon	Sarajevo ?	Rab to capitu. Italy 1944, NOV		David			
1245	J.Romano	Sprung Dr.Maks	Bugojno 1922	Rab to capitu. Italy 1944, NOV		Herman			
1246	J.Romano	Abinun Mordehaj	Sarajevo 1907	Rab tol capitu. Italy 1943, NOP		Jakob			
1247	J.Romano	Abinum-Papo Matilda	Visoko 1908	Rab tol capitu. Italy 1943, NOP	fighter				
1248	J.Romano	Tauber Estera	Sarajevo 1927	Rab u ntil capitu Italy. 1943, NOO		Jozef			
1249	J.Romano	Pesah Leon	Sarajevo, 1922	Rab until capitu Italy 1943, NOV					
1250	J.Romano	Papo Sara	Zavidovicima 1918	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943,		Silvijo			
1251	J.Romano	Konforti Mordehaj	Sarajevo 1880	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOP		Cadik			
1252		Latinger Viola	Sarajevo 1922	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOP		Artur	Tereza Druvas	D. Viena, Mostar 1942,	1
1253	J.Romano	Ovadija-Papo Rikica	Sarajevo 1913	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOP, fight		Jakob			
1254	J.Romano	Levi Majer	Doboj 1929	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOP, NOC		Moric			
1255	J.Romano	Levi Flora	Sarajevo 1923	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV		Jozef			
1256	J.Romano	Papo Bonci	Sarajevo1902	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV		Bencion			
1257	J.Romano	Papo Daniel-Danko	Sarajevo 1924	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV		Gabriel			
1258	J.Romano	Papo David	Sarajevo 1914	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV					
1259	J.Romano	Papo Moris-Papajako	Sarajevo 1927	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV		Avram			
1260	J.Romano	Papo Nada	Sarajevo 1905	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV		Mojsije			
1261	J.Romano	Papo Nahman-Puba	Sarajevo 1921	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV					
1262	K187	Kon Ing Ernest,	Cernovic 1882	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, Zavnoh		Isak	Ana Gotlib	W. Marija Bergman ,1894	1
1263	P106	Papo Lezo	Visoko 1892	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, Italy		Jakov	Rifka Baruh	W. Rena Papo, Visoko 1894	1
1264	S72	Svarc Dr. Oto	Rijeka 1872	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, Italy		Miroslav	Klementina Marj	W. Hedviga, Bistrica 1879	1
1265	S28	Svarz Fani	Bratislava 1878	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, Italy		Sandor	Julija		
1266	J.Romano	Robicek Sarlota-Lotika	Sarajevo1920	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, KPH Partis		Rudolf			
1267	K79-81	Katan, Andor	Sarajevo 1911	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOP		Mojse	Sara Levi	W. Ruzica, Beograd 1909, D. Sara 1938	2
1268	S51	Salom Avram-Albert	Sarajevo 1922	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOP					
1269	J.Romano	Romano Anica	Sarajevo 1923	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOP, sch. M		rkopalju			
1270	J.Romano	Salom Erna	Sarajevo 1925	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV		Salamon			
1271	J.Romano	Salom Erna	Sarajevo 1924	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV					
1272	S16	Salom Lili	Sarajevo 1915	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943, NOV		Daniel	Rahela Konforte	S. Zalatan 1945	1
1273	K-	Krautblat Aleksander	Sarajevo 1900	Rab until capitu Italy. 1943?					
1274	A91,92	Altarac Cilika	Sarajevo 1920	Rab until capitu. Italy 1943, Italy		Samuel	Estera Begar	D. Tamara, 1945	1
1275	J.Romano	Altarac David	Sarajevo 1900	Rab until capitu. Italy 1943, Italy-Bari	memb.NOP				
1276	J.Romano	Altarac Albert	Sarajevo 1907	Rab until capitu. Italy 1943, NOP					
1277	J.Romano	Albahari Anica	Sarajevo 1924	Rab until capitu. Italy 1943, NOV					
1278	J.Romano	Albahari, Sarkia	Sarjevo 1925	Rab until capitu. Italy 1943, NOV		Aron			
1279	K163	Klinger Helena	Blovice 1870	Rogatice entire period		Fridrih	Rezi Kraus		
1280	B103	Bozic Josef	Sarajevo 1931	Rudo entire period		Albert	Anula Montiljo		
1281	B114,15	Bozic Klara	Rogatica 1906	Rudo entire period		Josef	Luna Katan		

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1282	B151	Bozic Leon	Sarajevo 1934	Rudo entire period	Albert	Anula Montijo	W. Lucija 1942		1
1283	B109	Bozic Rikica	Sarajevo 1925	Rudo entire period	Albert	Anula Montijo			
1284	A185, 86	Alkalaj Kalmi	Sarajevo 1888	Saloniki 1943, after Italy	Josef	Estera Levi	W. Rena Finci, 1890		
1285	J.Romano	Kajon-Rikov Vukica	Visegrad 1911	Sandzak to 1943, NOV	Isak				
1286	K174-77	Koen Aser	Sarajevo 1913	Sarajevo entire period	Levi	Simha Albahari	W. Mikica, 1913, S. Albert 1941, Silvio 1944		3
1287	L30-33	Levi Zadik	Sarajevo 1902	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Rifka Romano	W. Rifka Kaveson 1912, D. Luna 1930, S. Avram 1932(		3
1288	S	Safar Pavao	Sarajevo 1943	Sarajevo entire period	Branko	Miroslava Radic			
1289		Srenizer Edo	Vukovar 1902	Sarajevo entire period		Sofia	W. Tilda 1908, S. Josko 1940		2
1290	T	Tihi Ljiljana	B. Pesta 1915	Sarajevo entire period	Dragutin	Sidonija Setuks			
1291	A224	Abinun Hanika	Sarajevo 1912	Sarajevo entire period	Salamon	Estera Atias			
1292	A228	Alhalel Fermoza	Sarajevo 1880	Sarajevo entire period	Isak	Sara Konforte			
1293	A229-27	Alhalel Jakov	Sarajevo 1915	Sarajevo entire period	Sauto	Fermoza Altarac	W. Tilda Finci		1
1294		Altarac Erna	Sarajevo 1911	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Sara Gaon			
1295	A33	Altarac Estera	Sarajevo, 1873	Sarajevo entire period	Kalmi	Klara Danon			
1296	A67	Altarac Hanika Lucic	Sarajevo 1922	Sarajevo entire period	Salamon	Olga Kabiljo			
1297	A4,5,6	Altarac Klara	Tuzla 1888	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Luna Altarac	D. Flora, 1908, S. Mordo 1910		2
1298	A11,2,3	Altarac Matilda	Bjeljina 1907	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Rosela Perera	S. Albert 1931, D. Erna 1936		2
1299	A34	Altarac Rahela	Sarajevo 1902	Sarajevo entire period	Mihael	Estera Maestro			
1300	A54	Altarac Rahela	Sarajevo 1882	Sarajevo entire period	Rafael	Flora Gaon			
1301	A18	Altarac Salamon	Sarajevo 1893	Sarajevo entire period	Mordehaj	Klara Papo			
1302	A65	Altarac Sarina	Sarajevo 1905	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Matilda Montijo			
1303	A126,27	Atias David	Mostar 1901	Sarajevo entire period	Salamon	Regina Levi	Berta, 1910		1
1304	A108	Atias Elsa	Sarajevo 1914	Sarajevo entire period	Benzion	Mazalta Altarac	W. Ilda 1923,		1
1305	A112,34	Atias Moric	Srajevo 1903	Sarajevo entire period	Rafael	Buena Maestro	W. Stanislava Krajnovic 1912		1
1306		Babic Rajka	Kraljevo 1920	Sarajevo entire period	Aron	Uzlana Klom	H. Bozidar Babic		
1307	B7	Baruh Ilija	Nis 1881	Sarajevo entire period	Nisim	Simha Kohen			
1308		Bejavic Alkalaj Branka	From Sarajevo	Sarajevo entire period	Albert	Rena Altarac	D. Nada 1932, S. Petar 1935		2
1309	B71	Bershadski Josefina	Iarmat 1895	Sarajevo entire period	Samuel	Malvina Lucali			
1310		Bogumilovic Marija	B. Brod 1907	Sarajevo entire period	Rafael	Terezija Engl	D. Olgica 1928		1
1311	B87	Busic Bijanka	Sarajevo 1902	Sarajevo entire period	Salamon	Hana Alkalaj			
1312	C18	Cavic Hermina	Maglaj 1910	Sarajevo entire period	Spigel				
1313		Cindorf Marija	Sl. Brod 1909	Sarajevo entire period	Defank	Marija Petkovic	S. Simon 1933, D. Erna 1935		2
1314		Danon Lujza	Stolac 1909	Sarajevo entire period	Glazer		D. Bijanka 1932, Lea 1938		1
1315	D72	Danon Sida	Sarajvo 1901	Sarajevo entire period	Josef	Ester Levi			
1316		Debartoli Albahari Greta	From Sarajevo 1914	Sarajevo entire period	Rafael	Rifka Papo	S. Viktor 1939, Josip 1943, D. Zlata 1966		2
1317	E. m	Ecimovic Rifka	Visegrad 1901	Sarajevo entire period	David	Estera Levi			
1318	E58	Elez Papo Klara	Sarajevo 1898	Sarajevo entire period	Eliezer	Estera Gracijani			
1319	E13	Erlich Ing. Simon	Cernovic 1882	Sarajevo entire period	Majer	Berta Berl	W. Mina, Cernovic 1887, S. Alfred Banjaluka 1919		2
1320		Fabrini Aleksander	From Sarajevo 1898	Sarajevo entire period	Stjepan	Marija Sabo	w. Rikica, 1908, s. ladislav 1932, d. Bianka 1938		3
1321	F72	Fertig Fani	Tuzla 1891	Sarajevo entire period	Haim				
1322	F45	Finci Tilda	Sarajevo 1936	Sarajevo entire period	Albert				
1323		Fiser Laci	From Sarajevo 1901	Sarajevo entire period					
1324	G14	Gaon Aron	Sarajevo 1888	Sarajevo entire period	Salamon		w Marija 1913, D Erna 1933, Vera 1935, Nevenka 193		4
1325	g-1.ll.1949	Girzik Irena	Sarajevo 1900	Sarajevo entire period	Aleksand	Roza Najman			2
1326		Glazer Melamija	Vienna 1903	Sarajevo entire period	Mals				
1327	H16,18	Harisafovic Levi Sida	Sarajevo 1910	Sarajevo entire period	Israel		S. Armin 1932, D. Gordana 1937		2
1328	H1	Heks Alekasander	Bos.Brd.1902	Sarajevo entire period	Samuel				
1329	H7	Heks Ludvig	B.Brod 1906	Sarajevo entire period	Samuel				
1330	Ha	Hemhut Fanika	Hidasker 1868	Sarajevo entire period	Ignac				
1332	H8	Hohberg Serafina	B. Brod 1873	Sarajevo entire period	Moirjc				
1333	I9-12,20	Izrael Anula	Bihac 1874	Sarajevo entire period	Jeroham		D. Sida 1904, S. Jerko 1906, D. Matilda 1912, Rahela 1		4
1334	I1-3	Izrael David	Bihac 1896	Sarajevo entire period	Moisije		W. Signora, 1904, S. Mojsije, 1936.		2
1335	J75	Jozel Maksimir	From Sarajevo 186	Sarajevo entire period	Leopld	Regina Berger	W. Leonora,ickanci 1879		1
1336	K41	Kabiljo Ana	Zagreb 1910	Sarajevo entire period	Pavo Pile	?	Renica, 1937. Ana's father Pavo Pilepic likely rkt.		2
1337	K61b,c	Kabiljo Berta	Derventi, 1912	Sarajevo entire period	Pinkas	Rahela Atias	S. Pinkas 1936		1
1338	K4-6	Kabiljo Juda	Sarajevo 1890	Sarajevo entire period	Elisa	Rahela Altarac	W. Blanka 1898, S. Salamon, 1938		2
1339	K114-117	Kamhi Jahiel	Sarajevo 1898	Sarajevo entire period	Josip	Merjama Romar	W. Sara Travnik, 1903, S. Jakob 1928, S. Josip 1934		3
1340	K212	Kaunic Barbara	Vienna 1913	Sarajevo entire period	Oskar	Olga Svarc			
1341	K199	Kaunic Dr. Pavle	Vienna 1884	Sarajevo entire period	Sigmund	Sofia Ilor	W. Elfrida, Budimpest 1895, S. Ivo 1925		2
1342	K-	Kaveson Mosko	Bilian 1903	Sarajevo entire period	Aron	Rifka Atias	W. Dusanka 1912, Mother Rika		2
1343	K139	Kavezon David,	Sarajevo 1883	Sarajevo entire period	Bencion	Hana Atias			
1344	K140	Kavezon Flora	Sarajevo 1888	Sarajevo entire period	J.Kampo	Rivka			
1345	K211	Klajn Aleksandar	Sarajevo 1900	Sarajevo entire period	Aser	Helena Bet			
1346	K208	Klinger Dr. Beno	Pesuh 1873	Sarajevo entire period	Leopold	Katarina Morvaj	W. Ana, Kindberg, 1882.		1
1347	K185	Klinger Irma	Nahod 1888	Sarajevo entire period	Adolf	Ernestina Vitroski			
1348	K277	Koen Rikica	Sarajevo 1907	Sarajevo entire period	Rafael	Klara Daniti			
1349	K-20.II.49	Koen Sida	Sarajevo 1914	Sarajevo entire period	Levi	Alanka Altarac			
1350	K138	Kolaric Perera Mazalta	Sarajevo 1891	Sarajevo entire period	Isak	Luna Altarac			
1351	L71,72	Lagus Eduard	Sarajevo 1894	Sarajevo entire period	Sigmund	Katarina Neutra	W. Vilma, Travnik 1916		1
1352	L121	Levi Dona	Sarajevo 1920	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Mirjam Pinto	D. Meri Micic 1945		1
1353	L31	Levi Rivka	Sarajevo 1912	Sarajevo entire period	David	Flora Kampus			
1354	L30	Levi Zadik	Sarajevo 1902	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Rivka Romano	w. Rivka		
1355		Lojo Papo Sara	Sarajevo 1894	Sarajevo entire period	Eliezer	Sultana Alkalai			
1356		Mackic Danon Erna	Sarajevo 1907	Sarajevo entire period	Moric	Sida Danon	S. Vladimir 1932, Diorgjio 1934, Milorad 1936.		3
1357	M 109	Macoro Blanka	Sarajevo 1913	Sarajevo entire period	Josef	Solci Danon			
1358		Macoro Nashic Flora	Sarajevo 1913	Sarajevo entire period	Salamon	Luna Romano	D. Vera 1939, S. Nikola 1941		2
1359	M2	Maestro Matilda	Sarajevo 1882	Sarajevo entire period	Josef Fin	Lea Papo			
1360	M121	Micic Levi Dona	Sarajevo 1920	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Mirjam Pinto	D. Enisa i Meri 1945		1
1361	M112	Mondzajn Cila	Brody 1898	Sarajevo entire period	Izrael	Marija Gold			
1362	M81	Montijo-Gaon Hana	Sarajevo 1870	Sarajevo entire period	Salamon	Estera Levi			
1363	M72,73	Montijo Josef	Sarajevo 1897	Sarajevo entire period	Juda	Hana Elazar	W. Hanika 1912		1
1364	M163,2	Montijo Lustanovic Regina	From Sarajevo 1910	Sarajevo entire period	Juda	Sara Altarac	D. Nada (Esperansa) 1930		1
1365	M77	Montijo Menahem	Sarajevo1910	Sarajevo entire period	Moise	Hana Elazar	W. Flora 1903, D. Hanika 1940, S. Rafael 1945		3
1366	M46	Musafia Majer	Maglaj 1891	Sarajevo entire period	Avram	Estera Levi	W.Frida, Vares 1900, S. Albert, Sar.1929, D. Ester 193		4
1367	N1-6	Nahmias Dr.Isak	Banjaluka1888	Sarajevo entire period	Josef	D. Papo	W. Elsa, Bugojno 1901, S. Jakob Bugojno 1922, Danilo		3
1368	N10-12	Neutra Ana	Hermanstat1872	Sarajevo entire period	Konstanti	Marija?	D. Irena Budimpest 1897, S. Eduard 1900.		2
1369	N26	Nevcanjac Abinun Ester	Sarajevo 1903	Sarajevo entire period	Aron	Klara Altarac			
1370	O-	Papic Rikica	Sarajevo 1919	Sarajevo entire period	Leon	Sara Abinun			
1371	P248	Papo Albert	Sarajevo 1907	Sarajevo entire period	Josef	?	W. Marija, Vranjic 1907, D. Rozalija 1930, S. Josip 193		3
1372	P25	Papo Avram	Sarajevo 1881	Sarajevo entire period	Jakob	Ester Levi	W. Rasela 1902		1
1373	P120	Papo Bobarevic Blanka	Sarajevo1920	Sarajevo entire period	Isak	Estera Levi	H. Dusan Bobarevic (Mixed Marriage)		
1374	P47	Papo David	Sarajevo 1898	Sarajevo entire period	Moise	Hana Kajon	W Emilija, Oderber 1909, S. Josip 1932, Marcel 1935, I		3
1375	P-	Papo Gracija	Sarjevo 1876	Sarajevo entire period	Moso	Rena Musafia	D. Rahela 1899, Renika 1919		2
1376	P68	Papo Isak	Sarajevo 1906	Sarajevo entire period	Rafael	Rifka Papo	W. Ruza, B. Brod 1910		1
1377		Papo Jakov	Sarajevo 1889	Sarajevo entire period	Markus		W. Hermina Farkas Deruki 1872		1
1378		Papo Josip	Sarajevo 1932	Sarajevo entire period	David	Erna Herjan	W. Rena 1929		1
1379	P1	Papo Josip	Sarajevo 1889	Sarajevo entire period	Markus		W. Hermina Far		
1380	P74	Papo Mirjama	Sarajevo 1902	Sarajevo entire period	Rafael	Rifka Papo			
1381	P62	Papo Moric	Sarajevo 1909	Sarajevo entire period	Josef	Flora Altarc			
1382	P6	Papo Sultana	Sarajvo 1860	Sarajevo entire period	Juda	Barbara Alhalel			

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1383		Pazder-Altarac Bukica	Sarajevo 1906	Sarajevo entire period	David	Rahela Montiljo		
1384	P219	Peric Zalta	Samac 1906	Sarajevo entire period	Avram			
1385	P103	Pisen Dr. Ljudevit,	From Sarajevo 1884	Sarajevo entire period			W. Marija 1879	1
1386		Pocder Lenka	Sarajevo 1906	Sarajevo entire period	David	Rahela Montiljo		
1387		Posder Altarac Lenka	Sarajevo 1906	Sarajevo entire period	David	Rahela Montilo	H Salih Pozder, mixed marriage	
1388	R39	Rauser-Maestro Erna	Sarajevo 1904	Sarajevo entire period	Rafael	Luna Altarac		
1389		Sadic Levi Zlata	Sarajevo1895	Sarajevo entire period	Nikola	?	*Mixed marriage, husband was Izidor Levi)	1
1390	S43	Samakovlija Dr.Isak	Gorazde1889	Sarajevo entire period	Moso		W. Heda Brown Gorazde 1896, D. Marijanka 1921	2
1391		Samakovlija Miso	Gorazde1920	Sarajevo entire period	Isak	Heda Brown	W. Melita Zadar, 1921	1
1392	S35	Samakovlija Rifka	Sarajevo 1891	Sarajevo entire period	Mordehaj	Flora Papo		
1393	S38	Samakov. Sabina	Peruovic 1865	Sarajevo entire period	Moses	Matilda Krojin		
1394	S117	Samek Mavro	Marbunjanec 1881	Sarajevo entire period	Josef	Josipa Kastel	W. Pizela 1889	1
1395	S18	Sandor Regina	Sarajevo 1908	Sarajevo entire period	Moise	Rifka Katan	D. Erna 1941	1
1396	Sh3-5	Snicler Ing. Josip	Vukovar 1897	Sarajevo entire period	Vilim	Pauline Berger	W. Hilda Wein 1904, S. Gedeon 1931	2
1397	S106	Solner Dr. Bela	Tridenje ?1895	Sarajevo entire period	Jakob	Berta Horn		
1398	S105	Solner Katinka	Vlasenica 1903	Sarajevo entire period	Jakob	Berta Horn		
1399	S	Sredanovic-Kvartzler Sofi	Zagreb 1913	Sarajevo entire period				
1400	Sh?	Stojs Savka	Sarajevo 1936	Sarajevo entire period	Bogdan	Marija Rapic		
1401	S30	Sulhof Sabina	Martinac 1877	Sarajevo entire period	Josip	Josefina Karti		
1402	S	Suzman Zora	Pirot 1911	Sarajevo entire period	Mihajlo	Milica		
1403	Sh22	Svarc Helena	Osijek 1859	Sarajevo entire period	Anton	Narici Singer		
1404	T-	Taubmen Ivan	Sarajavo 1920	Sarajevo entire period	Josip	Hermina Farks	W. Ljubica, Foca 1920	1
1405		Tronti Levi Erna	Sarajevo 1906	Sarajevo entire period	Jako	Rifka Atias	S. Mihael 1925, D. Sida 1937, Rifka 1943 all in Sarajevo	3
1406	U3	Ungar Mici	Tuzla 1891	Sarajevo entire period	Moric	Johana Diraser	Sist. Etel, Tuzla 1882	1
1407	V18	Vasilovic Kon Hermina	From Sarajevo 1894	Sarajevo entire period	Eduard	Sofija Srajber		
1408	V1-4	Vogel Bethold	Sarajevo 1909	Sarajevo entire period	Julijo	Tereza Markus	W. Sarika Kamhi, 1909, S. Josip 1937, Daniel 1940	3
1409	V8	Vosvjer Josefina	Trebeuje 1908	Sarajevo entire period	Boris	Gizela Berger		
1410	B1-3	Baruh Dr. Avram	From Sarajevo ?	Sarajevo entire period, Judge	Salamon	Flora Abinun	W. Vera Mitrovic, 1901, D. Flora 1930	2
1411	K-	Kovac Demajo Bela	Belgrad 1901	Sarajevo entire time,	Hajim	Ruza Medina	H. Vilim, 1899	1
1412	M-	Milic Levi Ruzica	Sarajevo1900	Sarajevo entire time, mixed marr.	Levi	Solci Bahar	H. Gojko Milic, S. Miso 1929, Zug 1932, D. Milkica 1937	3
1413	S124	Sinjski Dr. Gustav	Zagreb 1899	Sarajevo from 1942 Military Hospit	Lavoslav	Sidonija Falinsk	W. Marija Krizan, Wein 1898	1
1414	J.Romano	Svarc Dr, Miroslav	Kupres 1903	Sarajevo Medical Command, MOV 1945				
1415	S54-57	Salom Ante-Buki	Sarajevo 1916	Sarajevo Milit. Hospit. 1943 NOV	Isak	Esperanza Finzi	W. Marija Pilat 1916, S. Buno 1941, Zlatko 1943,(mixed	3
1416		Danon Macorovic Erana	Sarajevo 1907	Sarajevo the entire perid	Moric	Estera Altarac	S. Vidim 1932, Dordio 1934, Milorad 1935	3
1417	S49	Savirin Maks	Vinkovci 1912	Sarajevo to 1943, NOP	Filip	Ela Gajger	W. Vieka 1920	1
1418		Papo Dr.Rafael	Sarajevo 1886	Sarajevo to 1943, NOV Metkovic till lib	Eliezer	Sara Atlas	W. Debra Gjerasi, Belgrade 1891	1
1419	K214	Kaufer Dr. Leopold	Virije 1903	Sarajevo to 1944, NOP physician	Salamon	Ruza Gros	W. Ilza, Berlin 1902	1
1420	A72, 270	Altarac Avram	Sarajevo 1918	Sarajevo until 1942, NOP fighter	Juda	Estera Levi	W. Dragica 1924, Married in 1947	
1421	G-71	Albahari Blanka,Tesanj	Sarajevo1919	Sarajevo until 1943, 1943 North Ameri	Avram	Raheri Danon		1
1422	J.Romano	Albahari Blanka,Ferusic	Sarajevo 1922	Sarajevo until 1943, member of MK KPJ				
1423	A167-79	Alkalaj Dr. Mosa	Sabac 1892	Sarajevoentire period- Railroad	David	Sara Levi	W. Reni Atijas, 1899. D. Olga 1931, S. 1935	3
1424		Maestro Izidor	Travnik 1921	Sarajevo, forced labor entire period	Josef	Lenka Levi	W. Rikica 1919	1
1425	P137	Pinto Dr. Leon	Sarajevo 1889	Sarajevo, NOP ?			W. Marga 1904	1
1426	K43,46	Kabiljo Moric	Doboj 1914	Sarajevo, Split NOV in Italy	Avram	Sipora Atias	M. Sipora, 1876, W. Sarika Papo 1928, P23	2
1427	D67-69	Danon Mihajlo	Sarajevo 1917	Serbija entire period	Avram	Estera Papo	W. Rikica Konforte, 1920	1
1428		Samakovlija Ing. Haim	Sarajevo 1912	Serbija, NOV	Baruh	Gracia Finci	W. Margo 1912, D. Sasa 1942.	2
1429	J.Romano	Levi Kalmi	Sarajevo ?	Sid -hiding to1944, NOV				
1430	K28.V.50	Kirilovic-Levi Jovan	From Sarajevo 1910	Skopije	Jakob	Regina Demajo	W. Anica 1915, S. Zlatko	2
1432	K179	Klinger Mela	Sarajevo 1902	Slavonija entire period	Moric	Amilia Sternberg	S. Franjo 1927, Sasa 1933	2
1433	E30,31	Erbsenahut Savao	Bukovi,1889	Solin to 1943, NOP	Salamon	Rahela Jurman	Rahela Hebring	1
1434	K82	Katan Sara	Sarajevo 1875	Solni the entire period	Isak	Luna Papo	S. Sandor	1
1435		Alatarac Salamon	Visegrad 1924	Split	Leon	Flora		
1436	F36	Finzi Leon	Sarajevo 1902	Split	Davidof		W. Rena,1902, D sida 1928, S David 1931,	3
1437	J.Romano	Konforti-Klara-Lala	Sarajevo 1921	Split to 1943, NOV 1944 trans. Italy hospital				
1438	J.Romano	Kajon Hagara-Seka	Sarajevo 1922	Split to 1943, NOV				
1439	J.Romano	Levi Iso	Sarajevo 1916	Split to 1943, NOV				
1440	J.Romano	Alkalaj Josko	Sarajevo 1920	Split to 1943, NOV fighter	Isak			
1441	K56	Kabiljo Palomba	R Samac 1928	Split to Capitul. Italy 1943 then Sarajev	Moric	Lenka Salamon		
1442	B91	Baravram Merjama	Zapce 1895	Split 1943, Italy	Jakob	Blanka Altarac		
1443		Albahari Albert	Sarajevo 1937	Split entire period	Hari	Erna Elazar		
1444		Cajhner Roza	Kolomea, 1872	Split entire period	Herman			
1445		Engel Demer Hoerta	Kjuc 1907	Split entire period	Oleksanc	Ava Dolicek	S. Fedor 1934, Pavle 1936	2
1446	G97	Grof Janka	Tuzla 1900	Split entire period	Bela			
1447	K150	Kaveson Eema	Sarajevo 1936	Split entire period	Bencion	Sharika		
1448	K151	Kaveson Jakica	Sarajevo 1938	Split entire period	Bencion	Sharika		
1449	K149	Kaveson Sarika	Sarajevo 1914	Split entire period	Jakob	Rena Perera		
1450	L39,40	Levi Tinka	Sarajevo 1906	Split entire period	David	Sida Elazar	D. Renka 1930	1
1451	P84	Papo Rahela	Sarajevo 1881	Split entire period	Mojsije	Ester Papo		
1452	ST9,10	Stemberg Gabriel	Sarajevo1932	Split entire period	Arnold	Amelia Steinber	Sist. Leona Sarajevo 1932	1
1453		Ungar Gizela	Dubrovnik 1870	Split entire period	Avram	Regina Tolentino		
1454	F54	Finci Zak	Sarajevo 1921	Split NOP fighter	Leon		W. Loni 1922	1
1455	J.Romano	Salom Moric-Mile	Visegrad 1906	Split ro 1943, NOV				
1456	D30	Danon Elias	Sarajevo, 1915	Split til 1943, Switzerland	Salamon	Hana Baruh	W. Ljerka 1923	2
1457	J.Romano	Papo Roza	Sarajevo 1913	Split to 1943, NOV, Member of KPJ	Juda			
1458	J.Romano	Radosevic-Stajsni Ana	Budeovic1915	Split to 1942, NOP	Edvard			
1459	J.Romano	Finci Jakov	Sarajevo 1921	Split to 1942, NOV	Leon			
1460	J.Romano	Majder Tamara	Sarjevo 1919	Split to 1942, NOV	Moric			
1461	J.Romano	Papo Haim-Karanfil	Sarajevo 1920	Split to 1942, NOV	Salamon			
1462		Pesah Sedo	Sarajevo 1917	Split to 1942, NOV	Moric	Dentila Levi	W. Ramza 1923 Mixed marriage	
1463	J.Romano	Radosevic-Rajs Ing. Nenad	Sarajevo 1912	Split to 1942, NOV				
1464	J.Romano	Romano Leon	Sarajevo 1908	Split to 1942, NOV	Jozef			
1465	J.Romano	Finci Sida	Sarajevo, 1928	Split to 1942, NOV 1943	Leon			
1466	J.Romano	Alkalaj Sarika	Sarajevo, 1924	Split to 1942, NOV fighter	Moric			
1467	K192-4	Kajon Ing. Salamon	Sarajevo 1908	Split to 1943, Italy	Vita	Regina Papo	W. Debora, Zenica 1920, D. Gina, 1941.	2
1468	J.Romano	Danon Salamon-Moni	Sarajevo 1911	Split to 1943, NOV				
1469	A130	Atias Lea	Sarajevo 1880	Split to 1943, Zbijeg	Josef	Rena Danon		
1470	A85	Altarac Erna	Sarajevo 1890	Split to 1943, Italy	Josef	Rena Kabiljo		
1471	F52	Finci Renka	Sarajevo 1890	Split to 1943, Italy	Juda			
1472		Salom Rafael	Sarajevo 1919	Split to 1943, Italy	Isak	Esperanza Finci	W. Hanika 1926, D. Nada, Bari 1943	2
1473	P139	Pinto Avram	Sarajevo 1892	Split to 1943, Italy, 1944 USA	Benjamin	Sara Altarac	W. Klara, 1904	1
1474	J.Romano	Montiljo Simha	Sarajevo 1894	Split to 1943, NOP	Hajim			
1475	P88	Papo Jakob	Sarajevo 1910	Split to 1943, NOP fighter	Avram	Rifka Abinun		
1476	J.Romano	Alkalaj Isidor	Sarajevo 1921	Split to 1943, NOV	A.			
1477	J.Romano	Alkalaj Sida	Sarajevo 1923	Split to 1943, NOV				
1478	J.Romano	Altarac David	Sarajevo 1907	Split to 1943, NOV	Izrael			
1479	J.Romano	Altarac Jakov,(Jakovljevic Z	Sarajevo 1914	Split to 1943, NOV				
1480	J.Romano	Altarac Marko	Sarajevo 1909	Split to 1943, NOV	L?			
1481	J.Romano	Daniti Hana	Salarjevo 1927	Split to 1943, NOV	Jozef			
1482	J.Romano	Danon Jasa	Sarajevo 1918	Split to 1943, NOV	Moric			
1483	L. Romano	Danon Sua	Sarajevo 1913	Split to 1943, NOV	Aron	Estera	W. Mina Felbauer, Zagreb 1919	1

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1484	J.Romano	Danoon Ela	Sarajevo 1918	Split to 1943, NOV	M.?			
1485	F46	Finci Albert,	Zenica 1913	Split to 1943, NOV	Leon			
1486	J.Romano	Finci Bukica	Sarajevo ?	Split to 1943, NOV	Moric			
1487	J.Romano	Finci Dr. Leon	Sarajevo 1896	Split to 1943, NOV	J.			
1488	J.Romano	Finci Jahiel	Sarajevo 1909	Split to 1943, NOV	Shalom			
1489	J.Romano	Finci Leon	Sarajevo 1916	Split to 1943, NOV	Josef			
1490	F 9	Finci Sida	Sarajevo, 1888	Split to 1943, NOV	Elias			
1491	J.Romano	Finci Sida	Sarajevo ?	Split to 1943, NOV	A.			
1492		Gaon Mordo	From Sarajevo 1908	Split to 1943, NOV	Isak		W Erna 1914, S 1939	2
1493	J.Romano	Hahamovic Ing. Julije	Sarajevo 1897	Split to 1943, NOV				
1494	J.Romano	Herman Iso	Sarajevo 1887	Split to 1943, NOV				
1495	J.Romano	Kabiljo Erna	Sarajevo, 1921	Split to 1943, NOV	Isak			
1496	J.Romano	Kabiljo Santo	Sarajevo, 1911	Split to 1943, NOV	I.			
1497	J.Romano	Kamhi Mario	Sarajevo 1913	Split to 1943, NOV				
1498	J.Romano	Kamhi Moric	Sarajevo 1920	Split to 1943, NOV				
1499	J.Romano	Katan Salamon	Sarajevo 1909	Split to 1943, NOV	Mose			
1500	K79,80,81	Katan Sanador	Sarajevo 1911	Split to 1943, NOV	Mojsije	Sara Levi	W. Ruzica 1909, D. Sara 1938	2
1501	J.Romano	Montiljo-Kabiljo Sida	Sarajevo 1895	Split to 1943, NOV	Hajim			
1502	J.Romano	Montiljo Rafael	Sarajevo 1897	Split to 1943, NOV	Jozef			
1503	J.Romano	Montiljo Rozika	Sarajevo 1920	Split to 1943, NOV	Jozef			
1504	J.Romano	Montiljo Sarika	Sarajevo 1925	Split to 1943, NOV	Jozef			
1505	J.Romano	Montiljo Sida	Sarajevo 1908	Split to 1943, NOV	Hajim			
1506	J.Romano	Musafia Josif	Sarajevo 1920	Split to 1943, NOV				
1507	J.Romano	Papo Ela	Sarajevo 1921	Split to 1943, NOV	Sabtaj			
1508	J.Romano	Papo Haim	Sarajevo 1916	Split to 1943, NOV				
1509	J.Romano	Papo Jakica	Sarajevo 1910	Split to 1943, NOV	Avran			
1510	J.Romano	Pinto Gordana	Sarajevo 1922	Split to 1943, NOV	Samuel			
1511	J.Romano	Romano David-Dudo	Sarajevo 1925	Split to 1943, NOV				
1512	U6	Ungar Viktor	Sarajevo 1910	Split to 1943, NOV	Julio	Gisela Mandolfo	W. Tea 1922, D. Dubravka 1941	2
1513	J.Romano	Abinun Klara	Sarajevo 1920	Split to 1943, NOV	Albert			
1514	J.Romano	Alkalaj Braco	Sarajevo 1924	Split to 1943, NOV				1
1515	J.Romano	Finci Ing. Solomon	Sarajevo 1905	Split to 1943, NOV	Salom			
1516	J.Romano	Kamhi Blanka	Sarajevo1918	Split to 1943, NOV 1943	A.			
1517	J.Romano	Alkalaj Sida	Sarajevo, 1923	Split to 1943, NOV fighter				
1518	J.Romano	Baruh Jozi,	Sarajevo 1918	Split to 1943, NOV fighter				
1519	J.Romano	Cajt Adolf	Sarajevo 1922	Split to 1943, NOV fighter	Bernard			
1520	J.Romano	Finci Salamon	Sarajevo 1919	Split to 1943, NOV with Dalamat. partisans				
1521	J.Romano	Goldstejn Emil	Sarajevo 1920	Split to 1943, NOV, Dalmatian Div.				
1522	J.Romano	Atias Luna	Srajevo 1908	Split to 1943, NOV, Italy hospital	Avram			
1523	J.Romano	Finci Rozika	Sarjevo 1918	Split to 1943, NOV, nurse in El Shat	Egypt			
1524	J.Romano	Finci Stanko	Sarajevo, 1919	Split to 1943, NOV, with corpus in Vis	Jakov			
1525	J.Romano	Singer Sofia	Sarajevo 1929	Split to 1943, Rab				
1526	G11,12	Gaon Moric	Sarajevo 1906	Split to 1943, then Italy	Isak		W. Merjama 1914	1
1527	S7	Salom Flora	Bugojno 1928	Split to 1943, Zbjeg	David	Luna Kabiljo	W. Sado 1920,	1
1528	J.Romano	Finci Josip	Sarajevo 1926	Split to 1944, NOP (Zavnoh)	Rafael			
1529	J.Romano	Montiljo Hanika	Sarajevo1927	Split to 1944, NOV	Jozef			
1530	K205	Konforte Klara	Sarajevo 1921	Split to capitu Italy 1943, NOV	Albert	Cipora Atias		
1531	J.Romano	Kos Leo	Sarajevo 1920	Split to capitu Italy 1943, NOV	Samuel			
1532	J.Romano	Kostic Rozika	Sarajevo 1920	Split to capitu Italy 1943, NOV	Jozef	? Kabiljo		
1533	A216	Abinum Albert	Gracinca 1876	Split to capitu. Italy 1943, Italy	Salamon	Blanka sara Finci		
1534	K28-30	Kabiljo David	Sarajevo 1911	Split to capitu. Italy 1943, Italy Bari, US	Isak	Luna Levi	W. Berta, 1914, Luna, 1939	2
1535	P-	Papo Flora	Sarajevo 1891	Split to capitu. Italy 1943, sbijeg	David	Estera Bararon	S. Moise 1909	1
1536	L 154,56	Levi Josef	Bijelina 1904	Split to capit. Italy 1943, NOV fighter	Salamon	Sara Nahmias	W. Zlata 1921, D. Sara 1941	2
1537	L124	Levi Menahem	Sarajevo 1929	Split to Capit. Italy, 1942, Switzerland	Moric	Lenka Elazar		
1538	J.Romano	Finci Ing. Jahiel	Sarajevo 1911	Split until 1941, NOP, known as Matic	Jakov		W. Olga 1923,	1
1539	A14,15	Atias Leon	Sarajevo 1908	Split until 1943, NOP	Salamon	Rena Levi	W. Lunci Kamhi,1908, D. Valen 1931	2
1540	A116,19	Atias Luna	Sarajevo 1912	Split until 1943, NOV fighter	Elisha	Rahela Montiljo	W. Flora Kabiljo, 1915, D. Luna 1937,	2
1541	K55	Kabiljo Avram	Zepce 1901	Split until capt. Italy 1942, Italy, 1944 U	Jakob	Blanka Altias		
1542	P59,60	Papo Avram	Visoko 1891	Sredje entire time	Mihael	G Roman	W Sida 1892	1
1543	C15-17	Caler David	Sujati 1876	Strbci Uvac	Isak		W. Berta Lurkes, 1886, D. Viktoria Vares 1913	2
1544	D	Danon Josef	Sarajevo 1924	Switzerland entire period	jakov	ReginaGotesma	W. Ana, 1922	1
1545	N20,1	Neuman Alfred	Osijek 1913	Switzerland 1942, NOV fighter	Arpad	Erera Ejhner	W. Anica Budapesht, 1922	1
1546	A200-2	Abinun Aron	Gote BiH 1911	Tirana entire period	Daniel	Estera Kamhi		
1547	S72	Sarcevic Renert Etelka	Viseggrad 1912	Travnik entire period	Poldi	Regina Serf	D. Léla, Travnik 1939, S. Neolo Travnik 1944	2
1548		Ninkovic Alkalaj Sarika	From Sarajevo 1918	Trebinje entire period	Salamon	Rahela Musafija	S. Gjoko, Teslic 1940, Janko Trebinje 1942	2
1549	A-	Atias Jakob	Sarajevo 1913	Trogir to 1943, NOP	Salamon	Lenka Altarac	W. Boncika 1914	1
1550	M11	Maestro Rafo	Sarajevo 1908	Trogir to 1943, Zbjeg	Jakob	Rahela Salom	W. Vilma Sigman 1921,	1
1551	S16	Sceha Gris Elza	Doboj 1917	Tuzala, Zagreb entire period	Maks	Margita Gris	S. Enes Zivnici 1939	2
1552	S20	Svarc Dr. Aleksandar	Osijek1910	Tuzla to 1943, NOV physician	Ignjo	Regina Algusi	W. Dr. Roza Fertig, 1914	1
1553	L131-133	Levinger Dragutin	Novi Sad 1922	Vaes imprisoned to 1944, NOV	Ljudevit	Josefina Dojc	W. Katica Sulebh, 1925	1
1554		Altarac Haim	Sarajevo 1896	Vares entire period	Salamon		Sister Fermoza, 1900	1
1555	F32-34	Finci Kabiljo Palomba	Zepce 1912	Vares entire period	Avram		D. Hanika 1938, D, Rahela Vares 1943	2
1556	P256-8	Papo Anica	Vares 1897	Vares entire period	Ivo		D. Rikica, Brez 1935, Meri 1939	2
1557	P240	Papo Fermoza	Sarajevo 1892	Vares entire period	Salamon	Rifka Kabiljo		
1558	B88	Berger Elza	Mjesienice 1878	Visoko entire period	Joahim	Augusta Lavner		
1559	A	Altarac Lezo	Vlasenica 1908	Vlasenica 1942, NOV	Sumbul	Berta Katan	W. Danica Hajmovic, 1912	1
1560		Falkaj Janka	From Sarajevo 1867	Vrsac	Farkas			
1561	B74,75	Breher Avram	Baligrad,1905	Zagreb and Germany	Moric	Hana Zajhner	W. Ida Montiljo, 1913,	1
1562	L6.III.51	Landau Josip	Slodricko 1895	Zagreb and Split zbijeg on a run!	Isak	Beti Torton	W.Albina Smidet?	
1563	F70	Frenkel Lota	Falken 1908	Zagreb entire period	Lav			
1564	G21-23	Gaon Hajim	Visegrad 1908	Zagreb entire period	David		W. Esperansa 1914, S Silvijo 1940,	2
1565	M136	Milih Vajs Elsa	Visegrad 1903	Zagreb entire period	Adolf	Hermina Stem		
1566		Stark Danica	Pakrac 1916	Zagreb entire period	Kilan	Irena Druker		
1567	St.?	Stern Dr. Pavao	Varazdin 1913	Zagreb entire period	Moric	Natalija Svarc	W. Rosa 1920	1
1568	P181	Pavlovic Djurdinka	Mostar 1891	Zagreb entire period in Red Cross	Djorde	Stera Micic	*knwn also as Ester Bat Avram	1
1569	O35	Ozmo Regina	Kladanj 1916	Zagreb, Italy	Avram	Estera Papo	S. Slobodan, Bari 1945	1
1570	H11	Holdhajm Johana	Aachen 1881	Zagreb, Sarajevo	Nortert			
1571	S134,5	SinkovicSinger Lota	Poland1906	Zavidovic on small farm entire period	Herman	Roza Gothaj	D. Ruzica, Osijek 1935	1
1572	E20	Elazar Samuel	Gracanica 1902	Zenica entire period	Moso	Estera Kabiljo	W. Flora Pesah, 1909, D Estera 1941	2
1573	E5	Elazar Sara	Gracinica 1899	Zenica entire period	Moso	Estera Kabiljo		
1574	F27	Finci Sabetaj	Sarajevo 1879	Zovik	Avram		W. Mirijam, 1883	1
1575	F29	Finci Alfred	Sarajevo 1908	Zovik entire period	Saetaj		w. Regina 1907, Sabetaj 1940	2
				Total Number of Registered				**1575**
				Additional Surviving Family Members				**880**
				Total Number of Survivors				**2455**

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Appendix 4.2.0: Permit for transport of 19 packages to the concentration Camp in Birkenau Arbeitslager in Germany. The employees of the various Jewish communities have traveled widely, never forgetting their friends and relatives in the camps.

Molba DEUTSCH Andrije za odašiljanje živežnih namirnica u Arbeitslager Birkenau, gornja Slesko, Njemačka.

MINISTARSTVO NARODNOG GOSPODARSTVA,

Odjel za vanjsku trgovinu

Z a g r e b.

Uljudno molim, da mi gornji naslov podieli dozvolu za izvoz živežnih namirnica i starog nošenog odiela po 5 kg. za sliedeće niže navedene osobe:

1. DEUTSCH Hlla,
2. GEWOLB Slavica,
3. KON Dragica,
4. LONY Lorand,
5. ROMANO Paula,
6. SCHWARZ Alice,
7. POLLAK Egon,
8. FREIBERGER Irena,
9. RICHTER Ernest,
10. VOGEL Moric,
11. GLUCK Mira,
12. GLUCK Nada,
13. HIRSCHL Nada,
14. SOMMER Zlata,
15. KLEIN Branko,
16. KONIG Trude,
17. WEISS Nada,
18. KABILJO Leo,
19. SAUERBRUNN Ignac

U Zagrebu, dne 29.XI.1943.

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Appendix 4. 2.1: Rabbi Dr. Freiberger of Zagreb was personally involved in fundraising. He signed hundreds of fundraising letters that were mailed all over NDH and abroad asking for financial assistance for the upkeep of the inmates in the various concentration camps. (JIM, BELGRADE, 4850 K-60-1-1/1-45)

U ZAGREBU
Otpremljeno:

JEVREJSKI ISTORIJSKI MUZEJ — BEOGRAD
Reg. br. 4850 | Signatura: K-60-1-1/1-45 | Br. negativa:

11. siečnja 1943.

238/F/43 Dr.F/mf.

občinski primos.

Gospodja
Lili F U C H S, Herrmanesky,
Z A G R E B
Mošinskoga 18.

Poštovana gospodjo!

Židovska bogoštovna občina u Zagrebu, koja je - kako Vam je poznato - pod nadzorom Glavnog ravnateljstva za javni red i sigurnost /Židovski odsjek/, vrši uz najveće napore svoje poslove, kako bi udovoljila svojim od vlasti i od zajednice odredjenim dužnostima, koje su vrlo velike.

Moramo obskrbljivati i uzdržavati 220 starca i staricu, smještenih u šest naših domova, a dodieljenih nam od vaše časti, po Ustaškoj nadzornoj službi.

Podupiremo novčanom podporom i hranom osiromašjele Židove. Dnevno dieli naša pučka kuhinja oko 350 obroka hrane bezplatno, a stanoviti broj uz sniženu cienu.

Šaljemo pakete sa hranom zatočenicima u logorima. 600 se osoba redovito obraća na nas radi šiljanja paketa. Tjedno šaljemo na trošak občine oko 150 takovih.

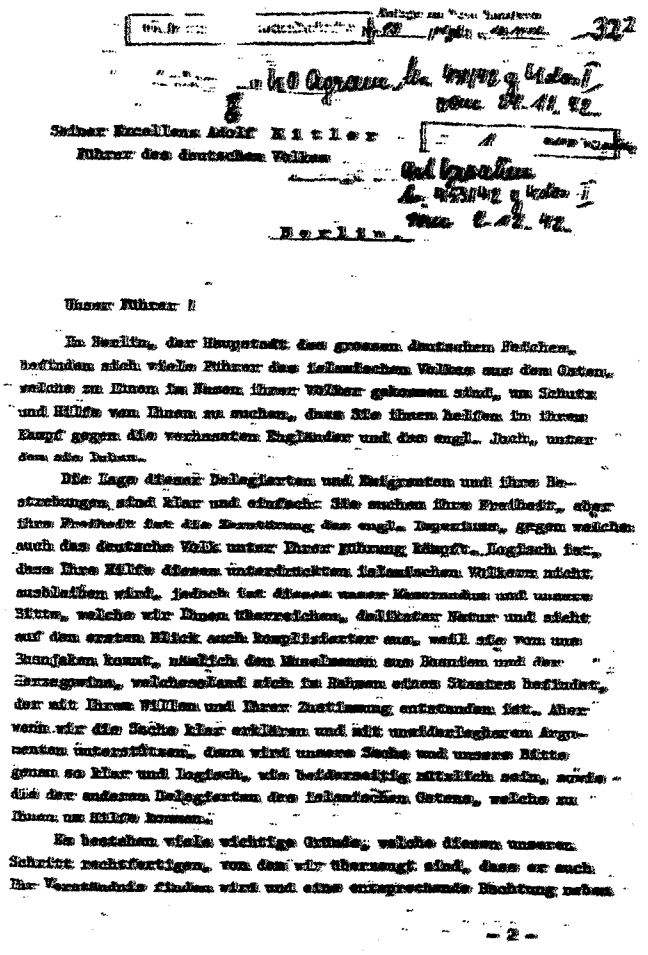
Vi ste u prošlom godišnjem razdoblju uplatili jedan dio svojega razrezanog Vam prinosa, i mi Vam zahvaljujemo na pokazanoj dobroj volji. Znatan je ostatak ostao neplaćen samo nepažnjom, jer si ne možemo zamisliti, da biste prestali plaćati zbog nedostatka interesa na brigama, koje nas sve pod jednako tište.

Molimo Vas stoga, da po svojim mogućnostima, a još više prema svom srdcu, društvenom osjećanju i shvaćanju naših briga odredite po svom vlastitom nahodjenju prinos, koji ćete plaćati ubuduće svaki mjesec. Tvrdo smo uvjereni, da će taj biti veći od onoga, koji bismo mogli odrediti kao službeni razrez. Sjetite se na one, koji pate, na one, koji će jesti ili ostati gladni, prema tome, hoćemo li moći dati hranu ili ne, na one, koji u logorima stradaju, hoće li dobiti naš paket, i hoće li u njemu opet biti i masti i sira, marmelada i voća kao do sada. U zimi, kraj koje pođi, treba na to misliti.

Izvolite nam na priloženom očitovanju javiti, na koji način želite platiti svoje uplate, a mi bismo Vam bili zahvalni, ako biste nam prvu uplatu odmah poslali prilikom čekovnom uplatnicom.

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Appendix 4.2.3: On November 11, 1942 the Bosnian Muslims wrote a letter to Hitler, addressing him as "Unser Fuhrer" (Our Leader), informing him that the Muslims were ready to assist.(Source J. Lebel, Haj Amin el Husseini in Berlin, 131)



Seiner Excellenz Adolf Hitler
Führer des deutschen Volkes

Berlin

Unser Führer !

In Berlin, der Hauptstadt des grossen deutschen Reiches, befindem sich viele Führer des islamischen Volkes aus dem Osten, welche zu Einem im Namen ihrer Völker gekommen sind, um Schutz und Hilfe von Ihnen zu suchen, dass Sie ihnen helfen im ihrem Kampf gegen die verhassten Engländer und den engl. Juch, unter dem alle Leiden.

Die Lage dieser Delegierten und Delegierten und ihre Bestrebungen, sind klar und einfach: Sie suchen ihre Freiheit, aber ihre Freiheit hat die Beseitigung des engl. Imperiums, gegen welches auch das deutsche Volk unter Ihrer Führung kämpft. Logisch ist, dass Ihre Hilfe diesem unterdrückten islamischen Völkern nicht ausbleiben wird, jedoch ist dieses unser Memorandum und unsere Bitte, welche wir Ihnen überreichen, delikater Natur und sieht auf den ersten Blick auch komplizierter aus, weil sie vom uns Jugoslaven kommt, nämlich den Muselmanen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina, welcheseland sich im Rahmen eines Staates befindet, der mit Ihrem Willen und Ihrer Zustimmung entstanden ist. Aber wenn wir die Sache klar erklären und mit unwiderlegbarem Argumenten unterstützen, dann wird unsere Sache und unsere Bitte genau so klar und logisch, wie beiderseitig nützlich sein, sowie die der anderen Delegierten des islamischen Ostens, welche zu Ihnen um Hilfe kommen.

Es bestehen viele wichtige Gründe, welche diesen unseren Schritt rechtfertigen, von dem wir überzeugt sind, dass er auch Ihr Verständnis finden wird und eine entsprechende Beachtung neben

- 2 -

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Appendix 4.2.4: Addressed to Aser Kabiljo, a protected Jew, from ZOZ requesting payment of dues at least in the amount received the previous year. The letter explains the difficulties under which it operates and the high cost in maintaining the numerous inmates in the concentration camps.(JIM K-62-6-1/1-32)

ŽIDOVSKA BOGOŠTOVNA OBĆINA U ZAGREBU
15-I-43
Upravljeno:

JEVREJSKI MUZEJ
Signatura:
K-62-6-1/1-32

12.siečnja 1943.

332/K/43-drF/nk.

občinski primos.

Gospodin
Ašer K a b i l j o,
Z a g r e b,
Dvorničićeva 29

Poštovani gospodine!

Židovska bogoštovna občina u Zagrebu, koja je - kako Vam je poznato - pod nadzorom Glavnog ravnateljstva za javni red i sigurnost /židovski odsjek/, uz najveće napore vrši svoje poslove, kako bi udovoljila svojim od vlasti i od zajednice određenim dužnostima, koje su vrlo velike. Valja obskrbljivati i uzdržavati 220 ljudi smještenih po staračkim domovima, a dodijeljenih nam od vrlo često od Ustaške nadzorne službe. Valja podupirati osiromašjele židove, i novčanom podporom i hranom. Narvno dieli naša puška kuhinja 350 obroka hrane besplatno, a stanoviti broj uz smiješan dienn. Valja slati pakete zatočenicima, koji se nalaze u zahirnim logorima, od koji su preko 600 obraća na ovu občinu s molbom da im se pošalju paketi. Tjedno šaljemo oko 150 takovih paketa sa hranom i odjevnim predmetima.

Sve su to dužnosti, koje iziskuju velike novčane napore.

Vi ste, poštovani gospodine, u prošloj godini ispunili svoje porezne obveze prema našoj občini. Mi Vam za to zahvaljujemo, ali Vas molimo, da prema vlastitoj uvidjavnosti povisite svoj doprinos koliko možete. Svako i najmanje povišenje naših prihoda olakšat će naš rad, a i sami znadete, koliko je sve poskupilo u posljednje vrieme i kako su naši prihodi iz dana u dan opadali. Tvrdo smo uvjereni, da će ovaj naš apel na Vaš ljudski osjeaj, nego li ga bismo mogli postići, kad bismo za svoje strane odredili povišenje.

Shvatit ćete, da nam nije moguće, bez štete za one o kojima se radi, smanjiti naše izdatke, koji su racionalno svedeni na najmanju mjeru mogućnosti. Ali se ne možemo odlučiti na to, da smanjimo obroke, koje pružamo našim starcima i nemoćnima, ili da smanjimo broj ili sadržaj naših i onako skromnih paketa, koje šaljemo u logore. Molimo ste si i sami zamisliti, koliko za svakoga od njih znači primanje tih paketa, koliko znači svaka deka više, sira ili sardela, svako jabuka ili limun.

Tvrdo smo uvjereni, da ćete se našem pozivu odazvati i da ćete nam svojom pomoći omogućiti, da uzbdo održimo svoj rad.

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Appendix 4.2.5: Due to massive deportations from Sarajevo, the Ashkenazi Jewish Community is left with two employees and the Sephardic with six. The trustees of these two communities sent a request to the Jewish Community in Zagreb (ZOZ) to without delay appeal to Minister of the Interior with a request to leave a larger number of employees due to the enormous amount of work.

P r i e p i s

Reg. br. 4859 Signatura K65-1-1 -8

POVJERENICI
ŽIDOVSKIH OBĆINA
SARAJEVO

rećko Dujas, predstojni kotar.suda i
ranko Milaković, kotar.sudac
Broj Io89/41

Sarajevo,25.prosinca 1941

P.n.

ŽIDOVSKOJ BOGOŠTOVNOJ OBĆINI

Z a g r e b

U vezi sa našim dosadašnjim izvještajima hoćemo da Vas izvijestimo da se ovdje očekuje dalje kupljenje Židova za internaciju, od prilike generalno čišćenje grada od Židova. Potvrdu za ovo mišljenje imamo u tome što se općenito tvrdi da se grad u najkorije vrijeme, možda još tokom ovoga mjeseca, ima očistiti od Židova.

Ne znamo još da li postoji kakovo naredjenje od strane Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova da li se imaju održati općine ili ne. Kako smo Vam već javili, sarajevsko redarstvo dozvolilo je za sada da aškenaska općina zadrži 2 službenika, a sefardska općina 4 službenika. Danas općina funkcioniša samo sa ovih 6 službenika tako da je rad općinski sasvim onemogućen. Općine nemaju više rabina, grobara, kupača mrtvaca, niti jednog drugog službenika koji bi vršio vanjske poslove u vezi sa održavanjem ritusa.

Ne znamo dalje da li će vlasti tolerisati rad i ovih 6 službenika. Mislimo da bi taj broj službenika bio vrlo malen i u slučaju da se u Sarajevu provede generalno čišćenje, jer dužnosti koje država nameće Židovskim općinama, pa makar bile one i u likvidaciji, tolike su da ovaj broj službenika ne bi mogao obaviti ovaj posao onako kao što bi to moralo da budo.

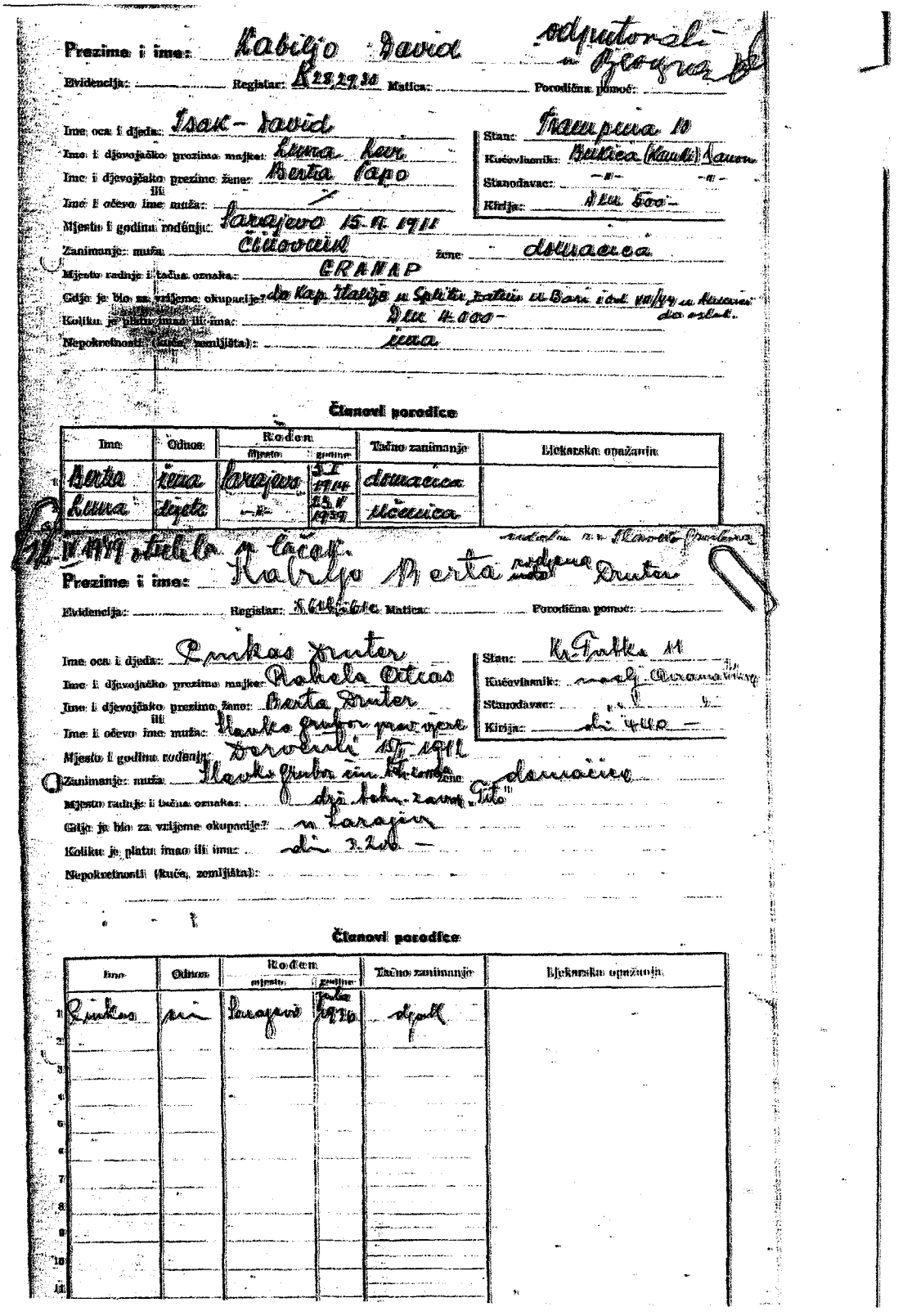
Mislimo da bi bilo bezuvjetno potrebno da se najhitnije zatraži i isposluje od Ministarstva unutr.poslova naredjenje ovdašnjem redarstvu da se općine imaju održati, da se povjerenicima općina u Sarajevu dadne ovlaštenje da sami odrede potreban broj službenika za obavljanje općinskih poslova, jer oni najbolje znaju koji je posao općina i ko je sve potreban za obavljanje tih poslova. Korake u tom smislu trebalo bi poduzeti odmah, najhitnije i energično.

Očekujući Vašu hitnu intervenciju i vijesti u vezi s njim ostajemo

s poštovanjem
POVJERENICI
ŽIDOVSKIH OBĆINA
SARAJEVO

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Appendix 4.3.1: David Kabiljo's family survived in Split, in the Italian zone, until the capitulation of Italy in 1943; with the assistance of the Partisans and the Allies, his family were transferred to Bari Italy. In July 1944, they arrived at Fort Lee, Oswego, U.S.A. In May 1945, they returned to Yugoslavia.



Prezime i ime: Kabiljo David odputovali u Bosnu

Evidencija: ____ Registar: K 22.2.38 Matica: ____ Porodična pomoć: ____

Ime oca i djeda: Isak - David

Ime i djevojačko prezime majke: Luna Levi

Ime i djevojačko prezime žene: Berta Papo

ili

Ime i očevo ime muža: /

Mjesto i godina rođenja: Sarajevo 15.9.1911

Zanimanje: muža Činovnik žene domaćica

Mjesto radnje i tačna oznaka: GRANAP

Gdje je bio za vrijeme okupacije? do kap. Italije u Splitu, zatim u Bari do 11/44 u Kanadi do oslob.

Koliku je platu imao ili ima: Din 4.000-

Nepokretnosti (kuće, zemljišta): ima

Stan: Trumbića 10

Kućevlasnik: Bukica (Kauli) Lavon

Stanodavac: -"- -"-

Kirija: Din 500-

Članovi porodice

Ime	Odnos	Rođen mjesto	Rođen godina	Tačno zanimanje	Ljekarska opažanja
Berta	žena	Sarajevo	31 1914	domaćica	
Luna	dijete	-"-	23.V 1939	učenica	

22.V 1944 stigla u Čačak

Prezime i ime: Kabiljo Berta rođena Gruter

Evidencija: ____ Registar: S 6/6.6/6 Matica: ____ Porodična pomoć: ____

Ime oca i djeda: Pinkas Gruter

Ime i djevojačko prezime majke: Rahela Otteas

Ime i djevojačko prezime žene: Berta Gruter

ili

Ime i očevo ime muža: Hayim Gruber pravoslavne

Mjesto i godina rođenja: Sarajevo 15.V 1911

Zanimanje: muža Hayim Gruber zim. kr. činovnik žene domaćica

Mjesto radnje i tačna oznaka: dž. kol. zavoda "Gitto"

Gdje je bio za vrijeme okupacije? u Sarajevu

Koliku je platu imao ili ima: din 3.240 —

Nepokretnosti (kuće, zemljišta): ____

Stan: Kr. Petra 11

Kućevlasnik: nasl. Atanasijević

Stanodavac: ____

Kirija: din 440 —

Članovi porodice

	Ime	Odnos	Rođen mjesto	Rođen godina	Tačno zanimanje	Ljekarska opažanja
1	Pinkas	otac	Sarajevo	1910	djak	
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						

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Appendix 4.3.2: Gavro Danon's family survived by escaping to the Italian Zone - they stayed in Korcula until 1943. After the capitulation of Italy, they transferred to Bari and Santa Maria de Bagnio, Italy.



Prezime i ime: Danon Gavro

Evidencija: _____ Registrar: Δ 35.86.699 Matica: 2961 Porodična pomoć: _____

Ime oca i djeda: Avram - Jacob

Ime i djevojačko prezime majke: Estera Papo

Ime i djevojačko prezime žene: Rina (Berta) Kavcov

ili

Ime i očevo ime muža: x

Mjesto i godina rođenja: Sarajevo 4 III 1905

Zanimanje: muža postolovoda žene domaćica

Mjesto radnje i tačna oznaka: Zemun

Gdje je bio za vrijeme okupacije? do 1941 Italija na Korčuli, zatim u Italiji

Koliku je platu imao ili ima: Din 4000-

Nepokretnosti (kuće, zemljišta): Žiča ima

Stan: Garsonjera 1o

Kućevlasnik: vlastela

Stanodavac: - " -

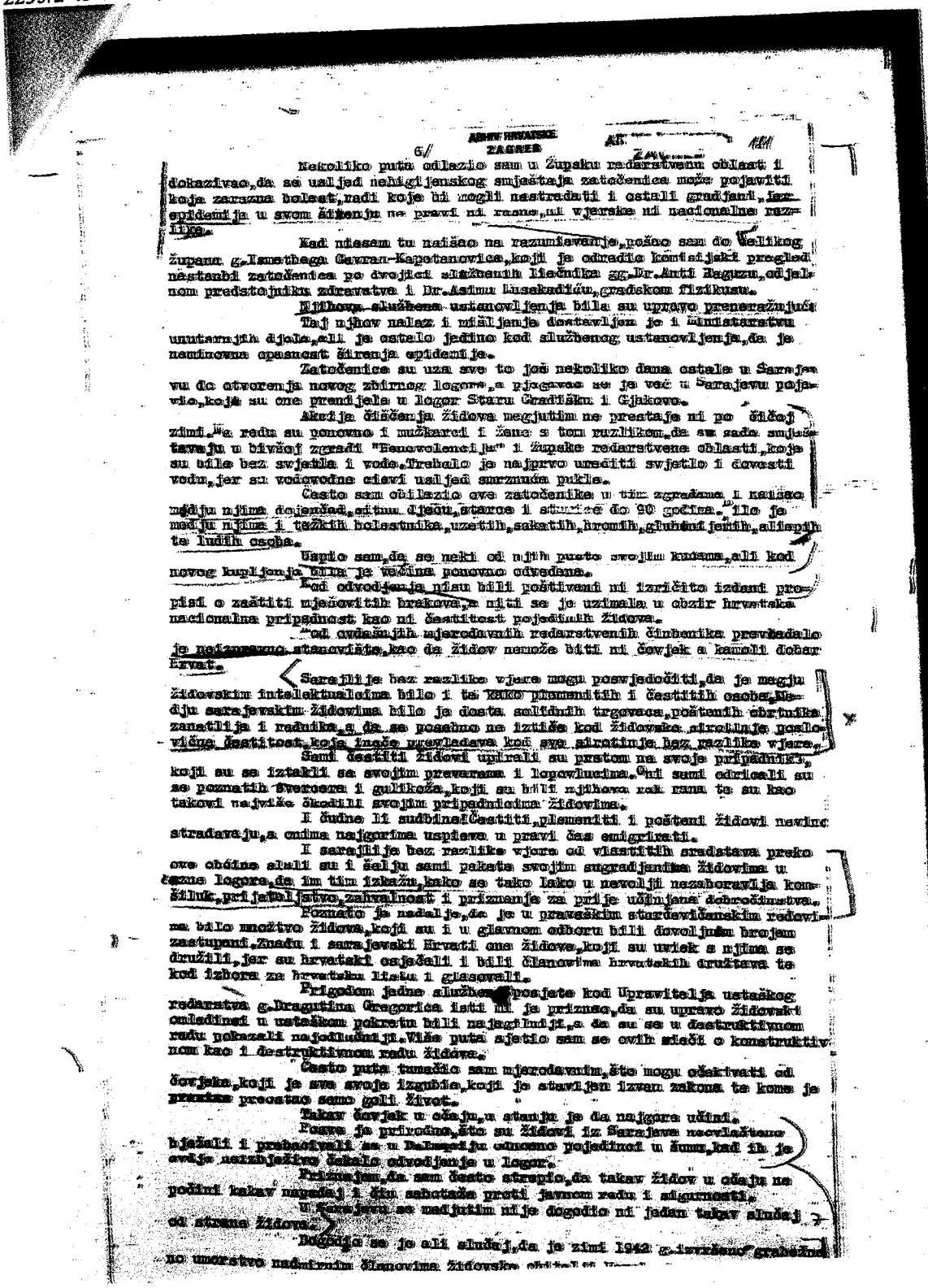
Kirija: -0-

Članovi porodice

	Ime	Odnos	Rođen: mjesto	Rođen: godine	Tačno zanimanje	Ljekarska opažanja
1	Rina Kavcov	žena	Sarajevo	24. I 1910	domaćica	Tbc Cholecystit. - Icterus
2	Erika	kćerka	- " -	2.6.1939	učenica	Tbc Tonsilit. Anamn. R. normall + Rachitis Dent.
3						
4						
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Appendix 4.3.3: Judge Bujas, the trustee of the Sephardic Jewish Community, testified in 1944 before the National Committee, acknowledging the help offered to the Jews by the residents of Sarajevo. Many Jews were rescued, but for various reasons some remained in Sarajevo only to face death. (HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/2-45 box 10, 207-263.)



ARHIV HRVATSKE
ZAGREB

6/

Nekoliko puta odlazio sam u Županu redarstvenu oblast i dokazivao,da sa uzljed nehigijenskog smještaja zatočenica može pojaviti koja zarazna bolest,radi koje bi mogli nastradati i ostali građani,jer epidemija u svom širenju ne pravi ni razne,ni vjerske ni nacionalne razlike.

Kad danas tu nailazo na razumijevanje,pošao sam do Velikog župana g.Ismetbega Čavran-Kapetanovića,koji je odredio komisijski pregled nastanbi zatočenica po dvojici službenih liječnika gg.Dr.Anti Baguzu,odjelnom predstojniku zdravstva i Dr.Asimu Lusakadiću,gradskom fizikusu.

Njihovo službeno ustanovljenje bilo su upravo preneražujuće.

Taj njihov nalaz i mišljenje dostavljen je i Ministarstvu unutarnjih djela,ali je ostalo jedino kod službenog ustanovljenja,da je neodmovna opasnost širenja epidemije.

Zatočenice su uza sve to još nekoliko dana ostale u Sarajevu do otvorenja novog zbirnog logora,a pjegavac se je već u Sarajevu pojavio,koje su one prenijele u logor Staru Gradišku i Đakovo.

Akcija čišćenja židova nejutim ne prestaje ni po čitoj zimi,a redu su ponovno i muškarci i žene s tom razlikom,da su sada smještavaju u bivšoj zgradi "Benevolencije" i župske redarstvene oblasti,koja su bila bez svjetla i vode.Trebalo je najprvo urediti svjetlo i dovesti vodu,jer su vodovodne cievi usljed smrzmuća pukle.

Često sam obilazio ove zatočenike u tim zgradama i nalazio među njima dojenčad,djecu,starce i starice do 90 godina.Ilo je među njima i težkih bolesnika,uzetih,sakatih,hromih,gluhonijemih,slijepih te ludih osoba.

Uspio sam,da se neki od njih puste svojim kućama,ali kod novog kupljenja bili su većina ponovno odvedena.

Od odvodjenja nisu bili pošteđeni ni izričito izdani propisi o zaštiti mješovitih brakova,a nitii se je uzimala u obzir hrvatska nacionalna pripadnost kao ni čestitost pojedinih židova.

Od ovdašnjih najerodavnih redarstvenih činbenika prevladalo je neizmjerno stanovište,kao da židov nemože biti ni čovjek a kamoli dobar Hrvat.

Sarajlije bez razlike vjere mogu posvjedočiti,da je među židovskim intelektualcima bilo i te kako plemenitih i čestitih osoba.Među sarajevskim židovima bilo je dosta solidnih trgovaca,poštenih obrtnika zanatlija i radnika,a da se posebno ne iztiče kod židovske siromašnje poštenje čestitost,koja inače prevladava kod sve siromašnje bez razlike vjere.

Sami čestiti židovi upirali su prstom na svoje pripadnike, koji su se iztakli sa svojim prevarama i lopovlucima.Oni sami odricali su se poznatih švercera i gulikoža,koji su bili njihova rak rana te su kao takovi najviše škodili svojim pripadnicima židovima.

I čudne li sudbine!Čestiti,plemeniti i pošteni židovi nevino stradavaju,a onima najgorima uspjeva u pravi čas emigrirati.

I sarajlije bez razlike vjere od vlastitih sradstava preko ove občine sluđi su i šalju sami pakete svojim sugrađanima židovima u razne logore,da im tim izkažu,kako se tako lako u nevolji nezaboravlja konšiluk,prijateljstvo,zahvalnost i priznanje za prije učinjena dobročinstva.

Poznato je nadalje,da je u pravoslavnim stručevidenskim redovima bilo mnoštvo židova,koji su i u glavnom odboru bili dovoljnim brojem zastupani.Znadu i sarajevski Hrvati ona židova,koji su uviek s njima se družili,jer su hrvatski osjećali i bili članovima hrvatskih društava te kod izbora za hrvatska lista i glasovali.

Prigodom jedne službene posjete kod Upravitelja ustaškog redarstva g.Dragutina Gregorića isti mi je priznao,da su upravo židovski emigranti u ustaškom pokretu bili najagilniji,a da su se u destruktivnom radu pokazali najsposobniji.Više puta sjetio sam se ovih riječi o konstruktivnom kao i destruktivnom radu židova.

Često puta tumačio sam njemačkim,što mogu očekivati od čovjeka,koji je sva svoja izgubio,koji je stavljen izvan zakona te kome je preostao samo goli život.

Takav čovjek u očaju,u stanju je da najgore učini.

Posve je prirodno,što su židovi iz Sarajeva nevoljotno bježali i prebacivali se u Dalmaciju odnosno pojedinci u šumu,kad ih je svuda neizbježivo čekalo odvodjenje u logor.

Priznajem,da sam često strepio,da takav židov u očaju na podini takav napadaj i čin sabotaže protiv javnom redu i sigurnosti.

U Sarajevu se međutim nije dogodio ni jedan takav slučaj od strane židova.

Dogodio se je ali slučaj,da je zimi 1942 g.izvršeno grabežno no umorstvo nadstrešnim činovnika židovske občine od strane

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Appendix 5.1.0: Nationalized Comanies -- Jews Essential For the Economy

Trustees Appointed over Nationalized businesses request: First to release from CC former key employees and second to refrain from dismissing them.
HDA, Sources regarding Companies, Partnerships, and Corporations: Ministry of Commerce and Trade wholesale and retail NDH, 1941-45.
HDA, Ministry of National Treasury, NDH
Commission for Corporate Business before the establishment of NDH
Ponova 1.1076 Jewish 388/1076
HDA, Ministry of the Treasury Treasury, Ponova, division for the maintenance of government property finance division, Zagreb, 1941-45.

Sources of information: HDA RUR 252, PONOVA- registration of Jewish property, DKI -Jewish property, 3-2-1 books, 3-2-2 file, 3-2-3 file cards, 3-3 Reg, Zagreb Sources for Historical research (HDA during 1997, 1998 i 1999 g. za Holocaust Memorial Museum iz Washington photograph next sources office Decision regarding maintenance of Jewish Property 2. Jewish Division Books and Lists, 3. DKI Books name-registry 4. DKI, file cards, 5. Reg- search for Jewish books6. Reg t - search for Jewish firms. 7. P - registration of Jewish assets , (registration of Jewish property. 8. File cards- maintenance of Jewish property. 9. Sales Agreements.

Status	Name	Company name	Date	Place	File No.	ZO No.	Remarks
?	Abinun Lea	Jewish Community Sarajevo	12.06.42	Sarajevo	29545	4317	
D? 41	Albahari J. Mavro	vl. tt. Juta-lan-konop"	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Registration in National office for and PONOVA. Confrmd only by ZOZ?
D	Aldan Michael	"Ris" tvornica gume	01.07.41	Zagreb	27538	0977	1941 logor Pag
?	Aleksander Dr. Branko	Drzavno Ravnateistvo za Gospo. Ponovu	19.07.41	Zagreb	27773	1802	Recv. 10 Z Jewish signs destiny ?
?	Altarac Haim	Nacelnik Opcine Vares	20.11.41	Vares	28702	0275	
X	Altsatder Pavao	S. Radan, Intercontinental & Caro I Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27683	1358	
D?	Angelus Gjuro	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Recv. 2Z Jewish signs ,RKt 1941destiny ?
D?42	Anhaltzer Vera	T. Brandt & Sohn	16.05.42	Zagreb	29367	3832	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs
?	Arenstein Ing. Hugo	Union, tvornica kandita i cokolade	18.09.41	Zagreb	28156	4789	Recv. 4 Z Jewish signs destiny ? RKt 41,released from Jaseno. 1941?
D?42	Armuth Gjuro	Slavija Kemicka tvornica	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	3 versions, Jasenovac 1942, other in 1945 and yet in some in 1941.
D?42	Armuth Gustav	Slavija Kemicka tvornica	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	1942 leaves for Italian Zone, 1944 taken to Auschwitz.
D?41	Armuth Imbro	Slavija Kemicka tvornica	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	1941 captured and sent to Jasenovac, survived till 1945
X	Arnstein Hugo	Tv.Kandita I coko. Petar Fabris Ing	18.09.41	Zagreb	28156	4689	
D	Ascher Josip	Croatia, Kemicko-tehnicni i metalni proiz	01.08.41	Zagreb	27946	2779	1943 Auschwitz
D?43	Ascher Mijo, sef trgovc	Povlasceno Hrvatsko Industrijsko Trg.D.D	09.07.41	Zagreb	16065	PONV.	Recv. 8 Z Jewish signs destiny ?
X	Ascher Nada	A.B.C. trgovacko d.d.	28.07.42	Zagreb	29758	4973	AGZ, statement of welfare # 33611 expenses list #16406
?	Atias Hilda	Tipografija	08.04.42	Zagreb	29152	3214	Convert. to rkt., ZOZ, roller deck 1941 Jewish Sign
D	Atias Jeso	Vl. A. Skomina	05.06.41	Zagreb	27296	0357	1941 Jadvino
?	Axelrad Sime	Baselsko, Osigur. drustvo protiv pozara	27.03.42	Zagreb	29456	4058	Receiv. 6 Z Jewish signs, wife RKt. destiny? convert. RKt 1941
D	Bacharach Dr. Drago	Filip Deutsch I sinovi	02.12.41	Zagreb	28607	8278	AH, ZOZ Auschwitz 1942 during mass deportations
X	Baran Milan	Unitas, d.d.	01.08.41	Zagreb	27944	2777	ZOZ 1946, converted back to Judaism
X	Barany Arnold	Savez Veleobrtnika i Trgovaca, Sumski	27.08.41	Zagreb	28408	7389	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs destiny ? RKt. 1941
X	Bartos Eugen	Velebit-Karlovac	27.10.42	Karlovac	29979	5674	Tel. Book 1946-48
?	Bauer Dr. Otto	Ing. Josip Feric,Sandor i Slavko Deutch	20.09.41	Zagreb	28159	4792	
D?	Bauer Ferdinand	Tipografija dd.	19.09.41	Zagreb	28157	4790	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs destiny ? RKt 1941
D	Baum Feliks	"Sana" dd.	02.07.41	Zagreb	27551	1015	Died somewher on Velebit.
?	Baum Filip	Ravnateljstovo Ustaskog Redarstva	27.01.41	Zagreb	28829	1210	
*D41	Bauer Emil	Spanic- Tvornica Kandita	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	imprisoned and died in Jasenovc toward. end of 1941
?	Bayer Milan	Sumskog Veleobrtnog d.d.	27.07.42	Zagreb	29818	5117	
D	Bayer Zora	Bogdan Priskic	03.06.42	Zagreb	29495	4154	pshchological problems died in Vrapce during a fire 1944, RKt 1938
D42	Beck Mahe	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Stata Gradiska , 1942
X	Beck Misko	Papieros	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	
X	Becker Otto	Zidovska Opcina Sarajevo	12.06.42	Sarajevo	29545	4317	ZOZ 1946 registration
D	Begovic Ivo	Braca Plan	03.09.41	Zagreb	28170	4835	1941Jasenovac
D,42	Behrmann Hinko	Zlatarka, k.d.	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from the State office of Treasury-PONOVA.Taken to Jasenovac
X	Behrmann Manko	Upravitelj Hrvatske Enciklopedije	27.04.42	Zagreb	f.1076	69/4	
D?	Bendek Rudolf	Silk	28.05.41	Zagreb	27071	2119	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs destiny? RKt 1938
D?	Bendek Vojislav	"Noris" veletrg. elektr.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs destiny ?
X	Benedik Slavko	Asfalt, Beton grad. I asfalt. poduzece	03.06.41	Zagreb	27247	0278	1946 Tel. Book
X	Benedik Vojko	Asfalt, Beton grad. I asfalt. poduzece	03.06.41	Zagreb	27247	0278	ZOZ M.Svob, 1946 Tel. Book
X	Berger Adolf	Zlatar	26.11.41	Zagreb	29853	7429	Relesed from Jasenovc, Reqst Ustaske Nadzorne Sluzbe, lives in Israel.
X	Berger Ani	Pliva	24.07.42	Zagreb	29700	4785	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs destiny ? lived in Zag. Hatsova 3
X	Berger Geza	Continentale & Caro i Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27685	1362	
X	Berger Geza	S. Radan, Intercontinental & Caro I Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27683	1358	
D	Berger Vilim	Higiea, D.D.	25.06.41	Zagreb	27479	0860	1941 Logor Karlobag?
?	Berger Vojislav r.katolik	Prerada papirnate robe	26.06.41	Zagreb	27478	0859	
?	Berger Zeljko Viktor	Tiza	16.03.42	Zemun	29048	2605	
D	Berkes Dr. Aleksandar	tt. Singer I Berkes	13.08.41	Bjelovar	28326	7020	Killed during the bombardments of 1945
X	Berkes mr. ph.Milan	tt. ljekovi I kemikalije	12.07.41	Zagreb	27658	1315	Tel. Book 1946-48
X	Berkovic Rudolf	Kemijske Tvornice Bernard Moster	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from Drz. Rav. za Grospodarstvenu Ponovu, RKt 1941
D	Berl Ljuba	Friedheim i sin	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs. Died in Auschwitz?
D,42	Berl Ljuba	Trgovacka tiskara	30.06.42	Zagreb	29609	4509	AH, ZOZ, Auschwitz 1942 during mass deportations
D	Berl Milan	Medisan	25.06.41	Zagreb	27457	0820	AH, ZOZ Slano 1941some version sugg. in Jasenovac
D,42	Biller Zeljko	Juvan Opticar	05.06.41	Zagreb	27295	0356	Sent to Jasenovac and killed in 1942
D	Blau Artur Antun	Drzavna poslovna sredisnjica	01.07.42	Zagreb	29571	4412	Recv. 10 Z Jewish signs, died in Hungury 1941
?	Blau Stjepan	Obnova, dionicko drstvo za trgovinu	13.07.42	Varazdin	29676	4716	#4716/42 Decision: the subject would remain in his place of work undistur
?	Bluch Ruza	Matador	13.07.41	Zagreb	27650	1301	
X	Bluhweiss Ing.Boris	"Noris" veletrg. elektr.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	Tel. Book 1946
D	Braun Fanika	tt Schreiber i Mayer	06.07.41	Zagreb	27610	1177	Auschwitz 1942 during mass deportations
D	Braun Otto	Ing.Josip Feric, Sandor i Slavko Deutsch	19.09.41	Zagreb	28159	4792	Auschwitz 1944, Braun had a protection from the Ministar Unutra. Poslova
D?	Breider Ernest	Sandoz, Basel, izrada drvene vune	03.09.41	Zagreb	28053	4257	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs destiny D ? not known where and when
?	Bremen Croneck	W. Erken, Privredni Povjerenik Njemack	25.09.41	Zagreb	28300	6804	
D?X	Breyer Ljubica	St. Kugli, knjizara	26.06.42	Zagreb	29610	4510	AH sugg. imprisoned in 43 where she died from beatings, ZOZ indic. alive
X	Brichta Felix	Izaslanstvo talijanske vojne misije	23.03.42	Zagreb	29823	2904	Excused from all measures taken against non Aryans Rcv 4 Z Sign
X	Brichta Ing. Ivan	Tvor. lakova I boja	24.07.41	Zagreb	27834	2110	ZOZ
D42	Bril Slavko	"Gorica" dd.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27657	1314	Recv. 4 Z Jewish signs destiny, 1942 Jasenovac
D?	Bruck Pavlo	vl. Tir. Kartopapir	11.08.42	Zagreb	29805	5099	WWI hero, may remain in his work place. ZOZ only time & place unkown
D 41	Bruckner Dragutin	DD. Pivovara "Union"	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Was sent to Pag and transfered to Jasenovac where he died in 1941.
D41	Bruckner Miroslav	DD. Pivovara "Union"	23.06.41	Zagreb	27424	0711	Jasenovac died the same year. Scnd docu28.08.41RUR28015 ZO4138
?	Buchbinder Hinko	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
X	Buchler Feliks	Otpremnika iz Zagreba	15.06.41	Zagreb	27328	0444	1946 Telefonski imenik
?	Buchler Leo	Felix Buchler Franz i drug	18.07.41	Zagreb	27751	1708	
?	Capo Dr. Stjepan	NDH, Drzavna Riznica	21.01.39	Zagreb	28769	0794	
X	Chassel Herman	Tipografija dd.	19.09.41	Zagreb	28157	4790	
X	Conforty Salvator	tt. Salvator Conforty povjer. Sikic	12.07.41	Zagreb	27655	1311	Recv. 4 Z Jewish signs
X	Darvas Pavao	Povlasceno Hrvatsko Industrijsko Trg.D.D	09.07.41	Zagreb	16065	PONV.	Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs destiny? RKt 1941
D?	Davidovic Zeljko	L. Steiner	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Captur. 06.4, sent to Gospic, transf. to Jadovno where he was murdered
?	Dean Dr. Ante	Janko Kihalic, Podnadzornik red. detekt.	22.07.41	Zagreb	2815	5308	No info.
X	Demonstain Ljudevit	Kontakt, elekt. Tvornica	18.09.41	Zagreb	28953	2247	

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?	Deutsch Aleksander	Nasicka tvornica tanina (Dolac)	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Deutsch Branko	tt. Ing. Deutsch	04.11.41	Zagreb	28543	8074	
D?	Deutsch M. Josip	Vaga,	04.07.41	Zagreb	28158	4791	Confirmed only by ZOZ that he died Jasenovac 1941?
?	Deutsch Julio	Tvrtka Julio Deutsch	22.07.41	Zagreb	27810	1979	
X	Deutsch Gustav	Filip Deutsch I sinovi	02.12.41	Zagreb	28607	8278	
D	Deutsch Velimir	Arbex	16.07.41	Zagreb	27971	2909	Unkowen CC
D	Deutsch Walter	Ljekovi i Kemikalije	12.07.41	Zagreb	27658	1315	Jasenovac
?	Dezider Furth	Viktor Shan i brat	13.01.42	Zagreb	28735	0496	
?	Dobrinac (Godman)V.	"Pogod" povlasceno gospodarstvo	28.09.41	Zagreb	28623	8331	
D?	Donerkeil Oton	Tvornica konca Unitas	23.10.41	Zagreb	28392	7315	Request by the Ministarstvo Hrvatskog Domobranstva
D??	Drucker Leo	NDH, Ministarstvo Vanjskih Poslova	24.07.41	Zagreb	27840	2121	ZOZ only, Docum. does not indicate place and time? Rec. 6 Z signs
X	Drucker Otokar	Zidovska Opcina Sarajevo	12.06.42	Sarajevo	29545	4317	ZOZ 1946 registration
D43	Ebenspanger Robert	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Escaped to NOV.1943
D41	Ehrenfreund Mojsije	Industrokemika	11.07.41	Zagreb	29174	3361	Last time heard off Jasenovac end 1941. exact palce & time unkonwn
D41	Ehrenfreund, Dr. Rudol	tt. Neptun, d.d.	22.07.41	Zagreb	27808	1976	1941 killed in Krapje near Jasenovc
?	Eisenstadter Drago	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Took 4 Z signs, No info.
D?	Eisenstadter Ivan	Josip Gmaz, Trgovina Drvenom Robom	12.07.41	Zagreb	27694	1383	Took 2 Z signs, 1941 Jasenovac
X	Endreny Otto	Pogod	21.06.41	Zagreb	28073	4315	
X	Endreny Ziga	Pogod	21.06.41	Zagreb	28073	4315	
?	Engl Blanka	Olex, Proizvodi Nafte	22.07.41	Zagreb	27804	1969	Took 2 Z signs, No info.
?	Engel Makso	Vl. tvrke Makso Engel	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from National Office of the Treasury PONOVA took 4 Z signes
?	Engl Josipon	Radiofonija, specialna radiona za poprav.	18.07.41	Zagreb	27754	1730	Took 8 Z signs, Jasenovac II, 1944. No info.
?	Engelmann Giza	Sumskog Veleobrtnog d.d.	27.07.42	Zagreb	29818	5117	
X	Epstein Vera	Prodajni ured Hrvatskih rudnika i talionic.	11.01.42	Zagreb	28074	4303	
D?41	Farkas Dr. Milan	tt. Farmabion-Biokemijskog Laboratoria	08.07.41	Zagreb	27770	1790	It may be a diff. prson that D in 41.still alive 19.07.42 docu. RUR29803-50
?	Fedor Rozah	tt. Crsnia d.d.	01.09.41	Zagreb	28950	2249	
D43	Feuerstein Kurt	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	1943 died in one of the German CC.
?	Ficher Eugen	Tvor. papira I ljepenka d.s.o.g.	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	
?	Filip Ernest	Krojacki Obrtnik, Filip Ernest	04.09.41	Zagreb	28561	8114	Signed by employees
D?	Fischer Franjo	Povjerenik Mestrovic Kresimir ZORA	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	Took 2 Z signs, probably D no conclusive info.
?	Fischer Pavao	Krap. tes. Ind.	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	No info.
?	Fles Fedor	Med. Dent. Dr. A. Cerer	10.07.41	Zagreb	27781	1827	No info
D?	Fleischhacker Fenic Z.	Opticar	03.06.41	Zagreb	27241	0268	Jadovo lost contact
D?	Fodor Dr. Marta	Optolux	11.07.41	Zagreb	28534	8051	Took 6 Z signs died in unkown place and time.
X?D?	Frank Dr. Sasa	L. Steiner	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 10 Z signs, probably died 1941,likely returned to Zagreb.
?	Freid Arnold	tt. Schreiber I Mayer	08.07.41	Zagreb	27610	1177	No info
?	Frelic Aleksander	Dom Milosrdja	21.06.41	Zagreb	27467	0836	No info
?	Frelih Dr. Julijo	Ravnateljstvo Dvorazredne trgov. skole	25.05.41	Zagreb	29586	4456	
D?	Freundlich Oskar	Tt. Oskar Freundlich	08.01.42	Zagreb	28680	0220	Took 8 Z signs, probably died in CC no info
X	Fried Ernest	Jadran	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	Took 2 Z signs, Rkt. 1941.
D?	Friedfield Dr. Lavoslav	tt. Madex	14.07.41	Zagreb	27695	1385	Took 6 Z signs, probably died no info
X	Friedlander Zlatko	Konfekcija Albeka k.d.		Zagreb	28784	0975	1946 Tel.Book, ZOZ M. Svob
?	Friedlender Ernest	Trgovina Friedlender Ernest	23.08.41	Zagreb	28443	7501	killed unkown place and time
D?	Friedman Ing. Armin	Ing. Armin Friedman, Builder	03.05.42	Zagreb	29461	4067	#4067 permit granted for free movment and wearing of "Z", took 4 Z signs
D?	Friedman Moro	Advokat Franic Niko	11.08.42	Zagreb	29778	5046	Took 8 Z signs, probably died in CC.
X	Fritz Ivan	"La mode" konfekcija	07.01.42	Zagreb	28682	0224	1946 Tel. Book
?	Fritz Margaret	"La mode" konfekcija	07.01.42	Zagreb	28682	0224	No info
X	Frkovic Ivica	Savez Veleobrtnika i Trgovaca, Sumski	27.08.41	Zagreb	28408	7389	1946 Tel. Book
D?	Frolich Fritzika	Continentale & Caro i Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27685	1362	Took 2 Z signs, Rkt. 1941,likely died CC. 1942
D	Frommer Leo	tt. Rosija- - Fonsier Osig. Drustvo	05.06.41	Zagreb	27297	0358	Jasenovac October 1941
?	Fuchs Egon	Staklordvor, trgovina stakla i porculana	27.10.41	Zagreb	28278	6515	
D?	Fuchs/Franic/Milan	Restoracija "IVO"	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from National Office of the Treasury PONOVA took 4 Z signes
X?	Fuchs Miroslav	Savez, Hrvatskih Privatnih Namjestenika	29.07.41	Bosna	27897	2433	Took 2 Z signs, No info
D	Fuhrmann Adolf	Guster, trgovina torbica	18.07.42	Zagreb	29862	5274	ZOZ registered as alive, HDA Supesdly died in 1942
X	Fuhrmann Alfred	Tanin, tvornica tanina	09.07.41	Zagreb	28683	0225	
D?	Furst Robert	Tvornica Koh-i-noor olovaka L & C.	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from National Office of the Treasury PONOVA took 6 Z signes
D?	Furst Sandor	Tvornica Koh-i-noor olovaka L & C	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from National Office of the Treasury PONOVA took 6 Z signes
X	Furth Desider	tt. Ing. Viktor Schon i brat	13.01.42	Zagreb	28735	0496	Took 6 Z signs,
D?	Gerber Draga	Union (tv. Kandita coko.)	16.07.41	Zagreb	27737	1576	Took 2 Z signs, probably died CC No info
?	Gerbl Dragan	Mapa M, tvornica listovnih Kutija i Mapa	04.07.41	Zagreb	27560	1035	
D	Gewolb Fanika	Umjetnicki Salon Ulrich	02.09.42	Zagreb	29873	5317	1942 died in Jasenovac II,
D	Gissinger Ladislav	Panradio	25.07.41	Zagreb	27864	2213	No info
?	Glaser Alfred	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	No info
?	Glasser Teodor	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	No info
D?42	Glesinger Viktor	Jadam, veletrgovina papira	19.07.42	Zagreb	29803	5091	Place and time unkown
?	Gluck Rudolf	Josip Rendeli	15.07.41	Karlovac	27816	1995	
X	Glucksthal Otto	Sava osiguraci	00. 07.41	Zagreb	27621	?	
X	Goldberg Dr. Josip	Geofizicki Zavod	01.09.41	Zagreb	28318	6925	Approval: still performs climate investigations, took 4 Z signs
?	Goldberger Edit	Tvornica Pamuc.ind.	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 6 Z signs, no info, did not die in CC
X	Goldberger Ernest	"Zenit" Pletena roba	14.07.41	Zagreb	27668	1336	Took 4 Z signs, not known
?	Goldberger Julijo	Drzavna riznica tvornica vagona	21.01.42	Zagreb	28769	0794	
D?	Goldberger Viktor	Trgopromet, Dionicarsko Drustvo	31.04.41	Zagreb	27960	2825	1941 Jasenovac, took 4 Z signs
?	Goldmann Artur	Oskar Freundlich, Pama Pilana i eksport	23.09.41	Zagreb	28186	4896	
?	Goldschmitd Zlata	Zidovska Opcina Zagreb	31.03.42	Zagreb	27994	3079	Due to colsin ZO Osijek freed from Dakovo to Zagreb; took 4 Z signs
D	Goldstein Armin	Freed from C.C.,& return ed to his work	26.03.42	Zagreb	29011	2482	Died in Jasenovac ZKRZ, ZOZ
D?	Gostel Artur	Kozara	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 6 Z signs, probably died in 1941 Jasenovac
X	Gostel Ing. Zvonko	Drzavno Tajnistvo za Javne Radove	22.07.41	Zagreb	27806	1973	ZOZ
X	Gostel Mira	Stjepan Barcevic I drug	29.05.42	Zagreb	29455	4055	ZOZ
D	Gottlieb Miroslav F.	Herman Denos & Co.dd.	?	Zagreb	28900	1817	Possibly died in Jasenovac 1941, took 8 Z signs
X	Grabaric Marko	NDH Drzavan Riznica, Racunovodstvo	13.03.42	Zagreb	29852	5227	1946 Tel. Book,H.Helms# 171Jew worked for NDH (prehranu)
X	Grabaric Otokar	Ministarsatvo za obrt, veleobrt i trgovinu	03.07.42	Zagreb	29851	5226	1946 Tel. Book
?	Graf -Goranic Gjure	Gospodarstvo Povjerenistva, Hrvatska	24.09.42	Zagreb	29788	5068	
D	Greiner Julio	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Auschwitz 1942 during mass deportations
D?	Gries Ervin	tt. Elektron, trg. elekttotehnickim potrepstin.					Took 2 Z signs, no info.
D?	Gross Alica	Zidovska Opcina Zagreb	31.03.42	Zagreb	27994	3079	colsining the ZO Osijek more work in Zagreb; foremer empl. in Djakovo,
D?	Gross Ing. Gustav	Gradjanska Dionicka Stedionica	18.09.41	Zagreb	28150	4788	Took 8 Z signs, probably died in CC.
?	Gross Zdenko	Ignat Gross	28.03.42	Vinkovci	29480	4097	
?	Gruber Izidor	Rapid, Proizvodnja dejcijih kolica	04.08.41	Zagreb	27984	2967	
?	Grun Oto	Ignat Gross I sinovi (zelj. Ind.)	28.02.42	Vinkovci	29488	4113	
?	Grunberg Ela	Opticka rad. Dragutina Hirschla	10.07.41	Zagreb	27637	1239	
D?	Grunberger Dragutin	Matador	16.07.41	Zagreb	27737	1573	NDH Ministry of the Treasury, Took 4 Z signs,Jasenovac 41
X	Grunhut Alfred	Hrvatsko narodno kazaliste	31.06.41	Zagreb	27251	0281	Took 4 Z signs, Rkt. 1941, wife Aryan
D?X?	Grunwald Julija	Friedheim i sin	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 2 Z signs, most likely died in CC. no info.
D?	Haas Josip	S. Radan, Intercontinental & Caro I Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27683	1358	Also req. 29185,ZO 3384,Jasenovac I 1942, check if others w/ same name
X	Haberfeld Zora	Zidovska Opcina Zagreb	31.03.42	Zagreb	27994	3079	Due to colsing ZO Osijek,moved to Zagreb;releasefrom Djakovo,4 Z sign.
D?42	Hahn Jelka	tt. Sredisnjica Stocarkih Zadruga	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Req. by Drz. Rav. za Gospodarstvenu Ponovu, 2 Z signs
X	Hahn Ing. Viktor	tt. Kasterl	12.07.42	Zagreb	29783	5057	1946 Telefonski imenik, ZOZ 1946
D 41	Handler/Hinic/ Herman	Stil, vl. Herman Handler/Hincic	14.07.41	Zagreb	16422/41	Ponova	388/1076 took 4 Z sings, died in Jasenovac 1941.

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D?	Hanf Salamon	W. Erkén, Privredni Povjerenik Njemack	25.09.41	Zagreb	28300	6804	Place and time unkown
?	Heinrich Zlatko	Nihang (first letter)	29.12.41	Zagreb	28619	8310	
?	Herlinger Ivo	Matador	13.07.41	Zagreb	27650	1301	Took 6 Z signs, no further info.
?	Herman Chasse	Tipografija dd.	19.09.41	Zagreb	28157	4790	
?	Herman Libling	Muslimansko dobrotvorno drustvo	26.03.42	Travnik	29007	2478	
?	Hermann Vladimir	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Herrenheiser Oskar	Mapa	16.07.41	Zagreb	16417/41	Ponova	388/1076
D	Herrnstein Greta	Bosna, Medjunarodno Otpreminstvo i	12.07.42	Zagreb	29791	5072	1942 died in Jasenovac.
D	Herrnstein Eugen	Hrvatska Sveopca Kreditna Banka	24.09.41	Zagreb	28190	4906	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt. 41, died in Jasenovac 41
D	Herschkowitz Adolf	Zagrebacka Tvornica Cipela, D.D.	21.07.41	Zagreb	28417	7424	Took 4 Z signs, most likely died in Jasenovac 41
D	Herskovic Aleksander	Aleksander Herskovic, Krojacki Pribor	09.07.41	Zagreb	15926/41	PONV.	388/1076, Took 8 Z signs, died in Auschwitz 44
X	Hercog Ervin	Konzum, d.d.	10.07.41	Zagreb	28153	4783	Took 2 Z signs,
D	Hiller Franjo	tt. "Flud"	09.09.41	Zagreb	28093	4352	Took 4 Z signs, died in Jasenovac 41
X	Hireschenstein Olga	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
D	Hirsch Ing.Slavko	"Noris" veletrg. elektr.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	Jasenovac 1941
X	Hirschl Dragutin	Opticka rad. Dragutina Hirschla	10.07.41	Zagreb	27637	1239	
?	Hirschl Irena	Patrioti Hrvatske	28.11.41	Zagreb	28664	0054	
X	Hirschl Oton	Trgovacka Banka, d.d.	10.07.41	Zagreb	394.024	PONV.	388/1076 / Took 6 Z signs
X	Hirschl Pavao	Tvornica Koza Alkalay i Meyer	30.05.41	Zagreb	27142	0236	Took 2 Z signs. RKt. no date of conversion
D?	Hirschler Ziga	Hrvatski Glazbenici i Umjetnici	26.09.41	Zagreb	28264	6403	Bileten o Novi Omanut 1941?
D?X?	Hirschson Leo	Jupiter	25.07.41	Zagreb	27935	2589	Sent to freedom from Jasenovac, Br. 28833, ZO 1222, took 6 Z signs,Rkt
X	Hirsl Fredo	tt. Gorica, d.d.	08.07.41	Zagreb	28153	4783	Took 4 Z signs
D	Hochenberg Isak	Zora, tvornica koverti il papira	06.05.42	Zagreb	29316	3735	Took 10 Z signs, Sent to C.C. Jasenovac died in 1942
D	Hoff Desider	Medisan, Trgovina Medicinskih Potrepstin	29.08.41	Zagreb	28024	4163	Took 6 Z signs, appart. cross to Slovakija 1944
X	Hofman Slavko	Imro i Mlso Berger	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 4 Z signs, wife Aryan
?	Hohn Aleksander	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
D?	Hollo Helena	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Took 2 Z signs, no info
?	Horvat Ing. Josip	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Took 2 Z signs, no info
D?	Horvat Josip	Gradsko Poglavarsvo	12.12.41	Zagreb	28559	8110	Took 4 Z signs, likely died in CC , Rkt. 1938 no time and date
?	Hugo Pavel	Osma, Trikotaza	27.07.41	Zagreb	28006	4112	
?	Hupert Leon	Sumskog Veleobrtnog d.d.	27.07.42	Zagreb	29818	5117	
X	Ilic Mirko	Drzavna Riznica	13.08.42	Zagreb	29744	4932	1946 Tel.Book
?	Jelinek Josip	Ravnateljstvo Ustasko Redarstva	05.07.41	Zagreb	27564	1040	
D	Jettre Herman	Istok, Rafinerija i Kemicka Tvornica	05.12.41	Zagreb	29081a	7878	AH, ZOZ,Died in March 1945 in Gradina, Jaenovac, took 6 Z signs
?	Jovanovic Branislav	Rav. Ustaskog Red. NDH	27.03.42	Sarajevo	29116	3134	
?	Juhn Ivan	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
X	Jungwirth Otto	Nihang (letter) 29371, 3842 II leter	29.12.41	Zagreb	28619	8310	42 RUR 29704, ZO 4813, to catch & deport, Jasenovac 1943, Took 10 Z s
X	Kaiser Ing. Alexander	tt. Inzinjeri Daiser i Sega	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Req. of State for Ponova, took 2 Z signs Rkt 1940
?	Kalderon Jakov	Zidovska Opcina Sarajevo	12.06.42	Sarajevo	29545	4317	
D	Kalman Ing.Josip	tt. Kalman Josip	08.10.41	Zagreb	28797	1005	Uhapcen 1941i poslan u Jasenovac, cesce se javljao opcini izgu. trag
?	Kaposi Eugen	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Took 2 Z signs, 3 x changed address, disap.
X?	Kardos Vilko	Marinic i Kardos		Zagreb	29307	3705	captured while trying to escape NDH, diedJasenovac 1942, 1946 Tel.book
?	Karpen Oskar	tt. Tekstilna Industria	17.07.42	Zagreb	27929	2588	Zamjenik Ustash. Redestva demands immed. action to help Prpic
?	Karpelac Ignas	Primus	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 2 Z signs, Rkt. 1928
?	Kastel Ing.Gjure	Spiller i Kastel	26.09.41	Zagreb	28004	4110	Took 2 Z signs, mixed marriage, Rkr 1923
?	Katz Nela	Union, Francusko Drustvo za Osigur.	24.04.42	Paris, Za	29331	3766	Took 2 Z signs, no info
X	Kaufer Olga	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Keller Eduard	Jugokemika, Ing. Norbert Schwartz	22.08.41	Zagreb	28108	4369	
D	Kelleret Ziga	tt. Tip Top	29.07.41	Zagreb	27903	2440	killed in Jasenovac 1941
X	Koller Robert	Tvornica "Alat"	10.01.42	Zagreb	28709	293	
X	Kellert Vilim	tt. Tvornica za pamucnu industriju,d.d.	29.07.41	Zagreb	27914	2586	
?	Kening Vilko	Ignat Gross	28.03.42	Vinkovci	29480	4097	
D	Kern Etel	"Noris" veletrg. elektr.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	Djakovo 1942
?	Kerpen Oskar	Tekstilna ind. Milan Peric	31.07.41	Zagreb	27929	2588	Took 6 Z signs, wife Rkt
X	Kisicky Oskar	tt. Pohit d.d.	08.07.41	Zagreb	28662	0019	as Commercial employee indispnsible for the daily function of company
?	Klein Aleksander	Albeka	06.06.41	Zagreb	16392/41	Ponov.	Argument that the company is an Italian posession, 0 Z sign Rkt.
?	Klein Josip i Josipa	Selo Dolic kod Krapine	29.08.41	Krapina	28026	4178	
?	Klein Zoltan	Direkcija slavonske podravske zelj.	24.06.42	Zagreb	29593	4464	
?	Klepetar Emil	Patria	25.11.41	Zagreb	28432	7471	Took 2 Z signs, no into.
D	Kobiencer Josip	Tipografija d.d.	19.09.41	Zagreb	28157	4790	Jasenovac 1941
?	Kohn Ernest	tt. Suzana, d.d.	10.07.41	Zagreb	394.049	PONV.	
?	Kohn Gustav	tt. Mavro Vilim Fried	05.03.42	Ilok	28981	2375	
D	Kohn Hinko	Trogopromet	20.09.41	Zagreb	28880	1409	Jasenovac 1941
?	Kohn Marko	Siva, Tvornica Cetaka i Britvica	25.10.41	Zagreb	28250	6333	
?	Kohn (Marija Vilim) M.	Fedro Lamber	16.12.41	Zagreb	28858	1326	Took 8 Z signs, no info
X	Kohn Viktor	Restauracija "IVO"	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Req. of Drz. Rav. za Gospodarstvenu Ponovu
?	Kohn Vilim	tt. Ferdo Lamber	16.12.41	Zagreb	28858	1326	
X	Koller Robert	tt, Alat	10.01.42	Zagreb	28709	0293	
?	Kon Ing. Djuk	Tvornica papira Zag. Dionic.	08.07.41	Zagreb	27598	1137	
?	Konig Sam (Lieskovica)	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Konig Vilko	Ravnateljstvo Ustaskih Redarstva	09.03.42	Slav. Bro	28979	2307	
D	Kornhauser Dezso	Kemika, d.d.	20.10.41	Zagreb	28468	7758	Request to retain emplyee granted, died in Switzarland in 1944 or 45
?	Kos Marija	Vilim Steiner	10.07.41	Zagreb	27635	1232	Ravnatelj za Ponovu request his immediate release from camp
X	Kosser Jakob	Continentale & Caro i Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27685	1362	Took 2 Z signs
X	Kovac Jol	Tvrtka Jol Kovac	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Req. of Drz. Rav. za Gospodarstvenu Ponovu
D	Kovac Leopold	Tvrtka Jol Kovac	20.09.41	Zagreb	28532	8016	1941 imprisoned 1941, release from CC killed Jasempvac 1944, 2 Z .
D?	Kraus Alfred	Foto Umjetnost	02.08.41	Zagreb	28799	1008	D privt. cinov., Uhapsen 194, javio se sve do 03/45, killed bomb, 04/45.
X?	Kraus Dr. Ivan Rikard	Fabrika Aluminiuma D.D.	22.07.41	Zagreb	27799	1907	Took 0 Z sign, no info most likely alive
D	Kraus Tonka	Bela Polak	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	1944 NOB, Jasha Romano, worked in ZOZ kindergar. till 1941
D?	Lachman Jakob	Tvornica Deropa	16.07.41	Zagreb	27729	1520	Took 2 Z signs, no info
X	Landler Eduard	Croatia, Dionicko Drustvo za Indu. Drva	18.09.41	Zagreb	28708	0292	Took 2 Z signs.
D?	Landstein J.	J. Ivkovic, industrialists for batteries	15.07.41	Zagreb	27698	1397	Took 6 Z signs. Convered in 1941, No info.
D?	Lang Ruza	Kartonaze Rozankovski, Karton	30.12.41	Zagreb	28629	8350	Physicians killed in Jasenovc 1942? see Zidovi u Jasenovcu, took 4 Z
D?	Ledecki Dr. Artur	Postanska kreditna zadruga s.o.g. Zg.	02.08.41	Zagreb	27335	0460	
?	Lederer Dragutin	Dragutin Lederer, stolarija	03.10.41	Osijek	28939	2225	
D	Lederer Ernest	tt. Bobbin, mehan. proiz. za drvene robe.	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from the State office of Treasury-PONOVA.Took 4 Z signs
?	Lederer Josip	Kemijske Tvornice Bernard Moster	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from the State office of Treasury-PONOVA.
D	Lederer Marko	Tvrtka Hinko Lederer	01.08.41	Zagreb	28525	7995	imprisoned in 1941, killed in Jasenovac 1942, Took 12 Z signs
X	Lederer Mirko	tt. Mavro Lederer, krede i pisaceg pribora	18.09.41	Zagreb	28518	7967	Took 6 Z signs.
?	Lehner Milan	David Hercog, Trgv. Kolonijalnom Robom	14.07.41	Zagreb	27693	1373	Sec. Req. by the Office of the Treasury, PONOVA# 29185, ZO 3384 17.07
X	Lehner Ing. Vilko	NDH, Ministarstvo Vanjskih Poslova	24.07.41	Zagreb	27840	2121	ZOZ place and location of deathe not known? 1946Tel. book 2 "Z"
X	Landler Eduard	Croatia dionicarsko dr. za industriju	18.11.41	Zagreb	28708	0292	Took 2 Z signs.
?	Lendler Dr. Dragutin	Zanatlijsko i Pomocnicko Drustvo	04.11.41	Bjelovar	28311	6910	
X	Levi Salamon M.	Sabetaj D. Papo	04.10.41	Sarajevo	28234	5964	ZOZ, 1946 registration
?	Levi Stjepan	tt. "Marberger i Lyon" Kartonaza	28.02.42	Zagreb	28951	2245	
D?	Levinger Maks	Stampilja, Spec. Radiona za stampilja	17.04.42	Zagreb	29200	3421	Free from wearing Z identification, Took 4 Z signs.
?	Libling Herman	Muslimanskog dobrotvornog drustva	26.03.42	Zenica	29007	2478	Zagreb
X	Lichtenberg Milan	Drvo" K.D. za Trvovinu Sumskih Proizvo.	20.09.41	Zagreb	28162	4797	Took 2 Z signs.

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?	Lichtenberg Milan	Izaslanstvo taljianske vojne misije	23.03.42	Zagreb	29823	2904	Excused from all measures taken against non Aryans
X	Livadic Lujo	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Uhasen 1941 poslan u Pag, Tooks 6 Z signs
?	Loew Lusic Alfred	Savez ribarskih zadruga	21.06.41	Zagreb	27390	0596	No info.
X	Lorber M. Antun	Vojno Gradjevinsko Povjerenstvo	28.02.42	Zagreb	28948	2242	1946 Tel. book
X	Lothe Artur	Svilena carapa	07.03.42	Zagreb	28465	7752	Took 4 Z signs. Converted Rkt. 1938
X	Lowinger Josip	Lowinger C. indust. Kartonaze	28.02..42	Osijek	28952	2246	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1941
X	Lowinger Milan	Lowinger C. indust. Kartonaze	28.02..42	Osijek	28952	2246	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Loyi Alexander Sandor	tt. "Zvonimir Unger"	17.10.41	Donja Lo	28237	5985	
?	Lukasevsky Avram	Astra d.d.	26.08.41	Zagreb	27941	--	
D	Lyon Zdenko	tt.Marberger i Lyon, Kartonaza	28.02.42	Zagreb	28951	2245	1942 Jasenovac
?	Madjer Ing. Viktor	tt. Drvorezbarska tvornica d.d.	23.08.41	Vrbsko	27918	2518	
?	Majeros Vladimir	Preger Ljudevit	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	
D	Mandelsamen Adolf	NDH Ministarstvo za Obrt i Veleobrt	29.07.41	Zagreb	27908	2446	1941, Jasenovac
?	Marberger Aurel	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
X	Marberger Djure	tt.Marberger i Lyon, Kartonaza	28.02.42	Zagreb	28951	2245	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Masses Emil	Marko Wachsler i sin, veletrgovina	10.03.42	Vukovar	29430	3991	
D?	Maunter Margita	Julio Kolman	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	1942 died in unknown camp in Germany
D?	Mayer Jakob	tt. Schrieber i Mayer	10.03.42	Zagreb	27610	1177	ZOZ, place and time of death not known.
D	Mayer Vatroslav	DIS	26.06.41	Zagreb	27473	844	Time plce not known
X	Mayerhof Aleksandar	Noris, Veletrgovina Elektrotehnickog	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	ZOZ
X	Maylander Aleksander	Konfekcija Albeka k.d.		Zagreb	28784	0975	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Mehler Samuel	Turbe, pilana	26.07.42	Zagreb	29799	5085	was not approved
D?	Mermelstein Oton	Tekstilna tvornica	28.06.41	Zagreb	27498	0688	AH i ZOZ killed in Jadovno u 1941.
?	Mitak Mirko	Vilim Steiner star. Poduzece za Mlinova	10.07.41	Zagreb	27635	1232	
X	Montag Vilim	Robert i Sandor Furst, Koh-i-noor	19.07.41	Zagreb	27772	1801	Took 4 Z signs,
X	Montiljo Dent. Haim	Mjesni Odbor "Narodne Uzsanice"	18.05.41	Zagreb	28324	7013	ZOZ
D	Montiljo Izdor	tt. Schreiber i Mayer	08.07.41	Zagreb	27610	1177	Imprisoned 1941 transfered from Gospica to Jasenovac. killed 1941.
?	Montiljo Jahipl	Zidovska Opcina Sarajevo	12.06.42	Sarajevo	29545	4317	National Office for -PONOVA, let Montiljo out of CC #28764, ZO0762
?	Morgenstern Pera	Tvornica Danica	19.09.41	Mitrovci	28132	4720	
?	Moses Erich	Nasicka tvornica tanina	07.05.42	Vinkovci	29319	3743	
X	Moster Dr. Alexander	Kemijske Tvornice Bernard Moster	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from the State office of Treasury-PONOVA.took 4 Z signs
D	Moster Bernard	Kemijske Tvornice Bernard Moster	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from Drz. Rav. za Grospodarstvenu Ponovu, took 4 Z signs,41 At
?	Moster Egon	Ravnateljstvo za Javni Red i Sigumost	04.09.42	Zabreb	27887	5365	
D	Moster Ing. Ervin	Kemijske Tvornice Bernard Moster	14.08.41	Zagreb	27763	1766	AH, ZKRZ, killed in Jansenovc 1945 resulting from an attempt to escape
D	Moster Oton	Kemijske Tvornice Bernard Moster	14.08.41	Zagreb	27763	1766	AH, ZKRZ, died in Jansen. 1945 attempt to escape w/ group 2 Z signs.
?	Mozes Erich (Vinkovci)	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Muller Herman	tt. Herman Muller	15.07.41	Zagreb	27706	1412	Request: the new Trustee
D?	Muler Oskar	Franjo Vajs, proizvodnja Sapuna	18.07.41	Zagreb	28439	7490	AH,ZKRZ, 1943 imprisoned and sent to Auschwitz, date?
?	Musafija ?	Tvornica Patrija	10.02.42	Zagreb	28894	1764	Rav. Ustas. Redar. odred Zapovjednika da se Musafija pusi na miru.
X	Nadasi Hinko	tt. Oskar Freundlich	06.01.42	Zagreb	28680	0220	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Neumann Adela	Union, francusko drustvo	24.04.42	Zagreb	29331	3766	
?	Neumann Maurus	Union, francusko drustvo	24.04.42	Zagreb	29331	3766	
X	Neumann Slavko	Intercontinentale & Caro i Jelinek d.d.	30.05.41	Zagreb	27285	0332	Tel. Book 1946-48.
?	Neutra Ing. Josip	Tvornica vagona, strojeva i mostova	04.03.42	Brod n/s	29047	2595	Zupska Redar. request for release from CC, inordinantely needed.
?	Oppenheimer Dr. F.	Drzavna riznica tvornica vagona	21.01.42	Zagreb	28769	0794	Office of the Treasury circular inordinantly needed professional.
?	Pajtas Adolf	Pajtas Adolf I sin	02.09.41	Virovitica	28129	4716	
?	Pajtas Andrija	Pajtas Adolf I sin	02.09.41	Virovitica	28129	4716	
D	Papai Miroslav	Primus	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	AH, ZOZ, killed in Jasenovcu end of 1941.
?	Papo David	Tvornica konca Unitas	23.10.41	Zagreb	28392	7315	Request by the Ministarstvo Hrvatskog Domobranstva
D	Pardo Nisim	Lipa Mill, Tvornica Kuverta in Konf. Papira	5.07.41	Zagreb	27559	1034	AH, ZOZ, imprisoned in 1941, killed in Jasenovc 1944.
?	Parodi Ema	Taljiansko Ravnateljstvo u Hrvatski	11.08.42	Zagreb	29779	5048	Tvrtka "Gizela" vl. Adolf Pajtas and Son Br. 531, presla 28.05.41
X	Peci Stjepan	Jugo Petrol A.D. Berograd, Zagreg	01.07.41	Zagreb	27542	0984	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Perera Izidor	Ignat Gross I sinovi (zelj. Ind.)	28.02.42	Vinkovci	29488	4113	
X	Pfeiffer Hulda	tt. Auer, dionicko drust. za plinsko zarece	30.06.41	Zagreb	29079	2681	Ivo Politeo, Lawyer threaten their life if harmed, Took 2 Z signs
X	Pichler Eduard	tt. Industrija papira i ljepke d.s.o.j.,	01.07.14	Zagreb	27543	0987	Request by the NDH, Min.pf Treasury, took 2 Z
X	Pichler Mirko	Izastanstvo taljianske vojne misije	23.03.42	Zagreb	29823	2904	Excused from all measures taken against non Aryans took 6 Z signs
D?	Pick Hermann	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Pilz Rudolf (Zavidovici)	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
X	Plan Alfred	Braca Plan	03.09.41	Zagreb	28170	4835	Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 19381
D?	Plan Karlo 120	Braca Plan	03.09.41	Zagreb	28170	4835	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1938
?	Pokorny, Ing Igon.	Ravnateljstvo drzavnih suma	17.04.42	Tuzla	29238	3506	
X	Polak Zlatko 100X	Astra, d.d. za petrolejske proizvode	21.07.41	Zagreb	27789	1680	Took 8 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?D	Pollak Aleksander	RIS Tvornica Gumene Robe D.D.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27652	1308	AH, ZOZ, died in CC Fericance 1942--typhus.
?	Pollak Dragutin	Neumann i Gombos, trg. putnik	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from the State office of Treasury-PONOVA.
?	Pollak Ernest	tt. Ernesta Pollacka	03.09.42	Bjelovar	29884	5352.	
?	Pollak Gustav	tt. Ernest Pollak	31.07.41	Bjelovar	28336	7095	
?	Pollak Ivica	NDH, Drzavno Ravnateljstvo	02.08.41	Zagreb	28336	7095	
D	Pollak Leo	Internationale, Drustvo za Osiguranje	28.07.41	Zagreb	27882	2305	imprisoned in 1941 shot the same year see: Dotrscina.
?	Pollak Makso	Ravnateljstvo za javni rad	29.08.42	Geresnic	29860	5272	
X	Pollak Robert	Tekstilna Tvornica, Cvrsnica D.D.	28.07.41	Zagreb	27881	2304	ZOZ
D?	Pollak Samujlo	Konfekcija Albeka k.d.		Zagreb	28784	0975	Took 4 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Pollak Dr. Slavko	Popovac Opcinsko poglavarstvo	29.08.42	Zagreb	29857	5247	
?	Pollak Vladimir	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Took 2 Z signs, May not be the person found?
D?	Preisz Leo	Vladimir Mailer, Proizvodnja zenskih Poj	06.03.42	Zagreb	28982	2379	HA, ZOZ imprisoned 1941, place and time of death unknown.
?	Pserhof Hansi	R. Legazione D' Italia	17.06.41	Zagreb	27353	0504	#504, 17.06.41 permit granted
X	Rajner Ing. Emerst	Kastel, d.d. tvornica Kemijsko Farmaceu.	30.10.41	Zagreb	28615	8286	Tel. Book 1946-48
?	Reich Elvira	Zidovska Opcina Zagreb	31.03.42	Zagreb	27994	3079	Due to colsing ZO Osijek mor work in Zagreb; foremer empl. in Djakovo
?	Reichental Livadic R.	Marija Kreil	13.07.41	Zagreb	27715	1477	
?D	Reichental Livadic/Lujo	Nasicka tvornici tanina i paropila dd	15.07.41	Zagreb	27753	1729	AH, ZOZ, deported in Jasenovac II, Died place and time unknown.
?	Reichnitzer Melanina	vl. trg. Behrman	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Req. of Drz. Rav. za Gospodarstvenu Ponovu
?	Reichnitzer Vladimir	tt. "Alkohol"	05.09.41	Zagreb	28870	1373	Took 4 Z signs,
X	Reichsman Ing. Vlatko	tt. Ing. Reichsman i Cvitas	05.09.41	Zagreb	28065	4300	Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 1941
X	Reisberg Herman	Iso Weiss, Veletrgovina	03.06.41	Zagreb	27242	0269	ZOZ & Tel. Book 1946-48
?	Reiss Ing. Iso	Rav. Ustaskog Redarstva,NDH	27.03.42	Sarajevo	29116	3134	
X	Rendi Edit	Krap. tes. Ind.	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 0 Z signs,
X	Rendi Felix	Krap. tes. Ind.	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 8 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Rendeli Mladen	Iso Weiss, Veletrgovina	02.09.41	Zagreb	28034	4196	
X?	Rendeli Ing. Viktor	Tvor. lakova I boja	24.07.41	Zagreb	27837	2113	Place and time of death unkown. 1946 &48 Tel. Book, took 2 Z signa
?	Riegr Dr. Vilko	Assicurazioni Generali u Trstu, Direkcija	27.06.41	Zagreb	27456	0819	
D	Rosenberg Josip	vl. Tvrtke Otperministvo, J. Rosenberg	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	AH, ZOZ, killed 09.41. Request from Drz. Rav. za Trsur. Ponova.took 4 Z
D?	Rosenblatt Makso	W. Erkeh	23.09.41	Zagreb	28209	5161	AH, ZOZ 1941taken CC where he was killed same year, also was reiead?
?	Rosenfeld Josip	tt. Textor d.d.	08.07.41	Zagreb	28749	0569	Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1941
X	Rosenfeld Sandor	Karo-textil	03.09.41	Zagreb	29536	4282	Request from the State office of Treasury-PONOVA-release from CC
D?X?	Rosskam Robert	Rosskam Robert trgovac boja i lakova	07.07.41	Zagreb	27577	1089	Captured Feb.1944 killed near Vilg.near Otocca,.
D	Rothstein Josip	tt. Lavoslav Rothestein, Povjerenik	08.07.41	Zagreb	27609	1174	AH, ZOZ, 1941 was invite to Office of Law & oder tracks lost?
D	Rozenberg Slavko	Koncentrata	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	
?	Rozner Izidor	Cinovnik iz Banja Luke	19.07.42	Banja Lu	29716	4849	Special recom. from Banjalucki zupnik
X	Salzberger Branko	Continentale & Caro i Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27685	1362	ZOZ

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?	Salzberger Milan	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Samujelo	Konfekcija Albeka	?	Zagreb	28784	0975	
?	Satner Oskar	Narodna Stedionica	27.05.41	Zagreb	27237	0117	
D	Sauberbrunn Ignatz	Drzavna Orotopedska radionica	6.07.42	Zagreb	29795	5077	AH, ZOZ, In 1942 taken to Loborgrad, ended in German CC Killed; tine ?
D?	Scahffer Aleksander	Continentale & Caro i Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27685	1362	Took 6 Z signs, time and place of death unknown
?	Schabenitz/Bencic/ Ale	vl. tt. Matador	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from the State office of Treasury-PONOVA.
?	Schafter Aleksander	Continentale & Caro i Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27683	1358	
?	Scheinberger Vilim	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
X?	Schlesinger Edo	Medjunarodno Tekstilno i Trgovacko D.D.	18.07.41	Zagreb	27755	1746	Took 8 Z signs, destiny unknowned
X	Schlossberger Teodor	Petronafta	29.08.41	Zagreb	28023	4157	Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 1941
X	Schmetterling Srul	tt.. S.M.Schmetterling	10.07.41	Zagreb	28348	7156	ZOZ
D?	Schnee Alfred	Hrvatski Amat. Simfonijski Orkestar	06.03.41	Zagreb	28868	1367	Took 2 Z signs, time and place of the death unknown
X	Schonauer Dragutin	Vilim Steiner	10.07.41	Zagreb	27635	1232	ZOZ
D?	Schotten Emanuel	Staklodvor	01.08.41	Zagreb	27948	2781	Took 4 Z signs, Rkt 1941, probably killed in con. camp
?	Schotten Gjuro	Staklodvor	01.08.41	Zagreb	27948	2781	
X	Schotten Ignac	Assicurazione Generali u Trstu	27.06.41	Zagreb	27456	0879	ZOZ
D	Schreiber Bernard	tt. Schreiber i Mayer	0.07.41	Zagreb	27610	1177	AH, ZOZ taken to Jasenovac, heard fom 12/41.
D?	Schreiber Ljerka	Julio Kolman	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 0 Z Sign, time and place of deth unknown
?	Schreiner Fredo	Zagorka, D.D. za gradjevnu industriju	15.07.41	Zagreb	28725	0316	
?	Schrenger Pavao	Jadran	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	
X	Schulfort Emil	Julio Kolman	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Sec. reqst. Drzv. Rav..za Gospodarstvenu Ponovu, 29185,ZO 3384,17.07.
D?	Schwarz Aleksandr	Tvornica Kefa, EM. Weiss i Drug	24.07.41	Zagreb	28030	1941	Took 6 Z signs Rkt 1941, time and place of deth unknown
D?	Schwarz Artur	Assicurazioni Generali u Trstu	15.07.41	Zagreb	27745	1605	Took 4 Z signs, Kiled in unknown place 1944, probably Jaseovac
?	Schvarc Dragutin	Braco Schwarc	08.09.41	Zagreb	28080	4334	
D?	Schwartz Eugen	Nobilior	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	Took 2 Z signs, time and place od deth unknown
D?	Schwarz Zeljko	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	AH, ZOZ place and time of death unknown.
D?	Schwarz Zoli 140	Drzavni Povjerenik, tt.Zeljezo F.Schwarz	13.09.41	Zagreb	28119	4570	Took 8 Z signs Rkt 1941 killed probably in Jasenovac 1941
D?	Vajda Sebastijan	Sebastijan Vajda	04.08.41	Zagreb	27989	2972	Took 2 Z, aryan wife
?	Sebestyen Ignac	tt. Vunateksstil DD	18.08.41	Varazdin	28804	1033	
?	Sebok August	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Sekler Aleksander	Ignat Gross I sinovi (zelj. ind.)	28.02.42	Vinkovci	29488	4113	
D?	Seligman Maks	tt. Timber	16.06.41	Vinkovci	27337,	0483	Took 6 Z signs, time and place of deth unknown
*	Seligman Ing. Milan	Nema indikacije ko ga je izvadio?	27.12.41	Zagreb	28477	7787	Was released from Jasenovac on 05.12.41
X	Seligman Ziga	Trgovin Krzna "Siscia"	24 .10.41	Zagreb	28520	7971	HA, ZOZ uhapsen 1941odveden u Jasenovac 41. Took 4 Z signs.
?	Siegler Katica	tt. Slavenoteks	05.08.43	Zagreb	29705	4814	
?	Sigeti Eduard	Tekstilna industrija Milan Prpic	18.05.42	Zagreb	29370	3841	
?	Sillinger Jakob	Hrvatski seljaci iz sela vetovo	10.01.42	Kotar Po.	28941	2227.	
?	Sime Axelrad	Bazelsko, osigurava. drustvo -	27.03.42	Zagreb	29456	4058	
D	Singer Albert	Pitomacko Cresnjevacki ugljeni	12.06.42	Zagreb	29322	3749	Freed from C.C. at the request of company. 6Z signs, Rkt 1941. Killed in (
D	Singer Alekasander	tt. Balkantransport, mdu narod. otpremnist	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Request from the State office of Treasury-PONOVA.Took 4 Z, Killed CC.
D?	Singer Nikola	Iso Weiss, Veletrgovina	02.09.41	Zagreb	28034	4196	Took 2 Z signs, time of deth unknown
?	Singer Nikola	Iso Weiss	03.06.41	Zagreb	27242	0269	
D?	Singer Sigmund	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Took 4 Z signs Rkt 1941, time and place of deth unknown
?	Sinkovic Josip	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Smukler Jusuf	Jusufa Smuklera Ljekarnika	15.11.41	Zavidovic	1058	1058	
D	Sohr Pavao	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	HdA, imprisoned in 1941, taken to Gospic and Jasenovac died in 1942.
?	Somdji Aladar	Poduzece Julijo Laus	04.04.42	Zagreb	29145	3195	
?	Somer Emil	Barkovic I Prpic	15.01.42	Zagreb	29038	2568	
X	Sommer Milan	Barakovic i Peric, Mfr. tekstilna roba	15.01.42	Zagreb	29038	2568	ZOZ
?	Somlo Aleksander	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Sovari Hugo	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
X	Sparing Otto	Tekstilna industrija	05.11.41	Varazdin	28304	6830	Ravnateljstvo informed that the subject was set free. 'ZOZ, 1946 registrati
D?	Specht Josip	Zagrbacka Tvornica Cipela d.d.	21.06.41	Zagreb	27403	0636	Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 1941, aryan wife
?	Spicer Branka	Branka Spicer, Selo Velika Kopanica	24.06.41	Velik. Ko	386/107	2250	Ponova, village Velike Kopanice signed a petition on behalf B. Spicer.
X	Spiegel Hinko	Kontakt	22.09.41	Zagreb	28174	4865	ZOZ
D?	Spiller Miroslav	Glazbenici Radio Zagreb	12.10.42	Zagreb	29962	5634	Took 4 Z signs, time and place of deth unknown
D?	Spitzer Albert	J. Bartulic, Tvornica Mineralne Vode	10.09.41	Zagreb	28537	8067	Minstry of Treasury, Ponova, 10 Z signs, time and place of deth unknown
D?	Spitz Alfred	Slaveks, Dionicarsko Drustvo za Sunsku Ir	01.07.41	Zagreb	27512	0927	Took 4 Z signs, time and place of deth unknown
?	Spitzer Dezider	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Spitzer Eduard	NDH, Ministarstvo za obret, velobret	10.08.42	Zagreb	29768	5024	
D?	Spitzer Egon	Zagrebansko Osigoravajuce Drustvo	21.11.41	Zagreb	28857	1325	Took 4 Z signs Rkt 1941, time and place of deth unknown
D	Spitzer Eugen	NDH, Ministarstvo za obret, velobret	10.08.42	Zagreb	29768	5024	Took 4 Z signs killed in Bergen Belseu 1944
X	Spitzer Olga	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
?	Spitzer Ziga	"Noris" veletrg. elektr.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	
D	Spitzer, Ing.Milan	Electroproizvod	16.11.42	Zagreb	30022	5935	AH, ZOZ- had permit, killed in Jasenovc 1944.
D?	Spreiregen Julijan	tt. Preslica	24.03.42	Oroslanij	29842	5208	Decision: Permit to subj. & wife relocate;free from wearing Jewish "Z".
?	Srenger Hinko	Standard, Tvornica za uzradbu pletene rob	27.08.41	27935	28128	4714	
X	Stangl Zoltan	tt. "Union"	08.07.41	Zagreb	27608	1173	ZOZ
X	Steinhardt Izidor	Ministar Zdravstva	16.07.41	Zagreb	27710	1467	Ministry of Health to Barkovic Povjeren, Zidovski Osjek, left for Israel
X	Steiner Ladislav	"Konzum" dd.	04.07.41	Zagreb	28074	3113	ZOZ
D	Steiner Lavoslav	Lavoslav Steiner tt.sold br.616/41,27.95.41	29.06.41	Zagreb	27513	0928	Improsoned and killed 1941 in Jasenovac.
X?D?	Steiner Rudolf	Magnezit,(II letter, dozvola na nastavu rad	08.06.42	Zagreb	29501	4159	HA, ZOZ, Place and time of death? Identity not certain?
D	Steinitz Nada Lea	Trogov. Farber i Hoffmann, sata i nakita	22.04.42	Zagreb	29229	3480	AH, ZOZ, uhapcena 26.08.42 taken to a camp in Germany and killen ther
D?	Stern Aladar	Pokorny, Zagrebacka Dionicka tt. Likera	15.07.41	Zagreb	28160	4793	Took the mangement of the company. A. Stern place and time of death?
D	Stern Dragutin	Opcina Vidovac	17.10.41	Varazdin	28293	6758	Dotrscina, killed probably 1942 in Jasenovac
X	Stern Dr. Rikard	Turopolje-drzavno poduzece	26.06.42	Zagreb	29583	4453	
X	Stern Dr. Rikard	Filip Deutsch I sinovi	03.07.41	Zagreb	29094	3068	
D?	Stern Ignjat 160	Veletrgovina Stern Ignjat	24.11.41	Ilok	28396	7321	HA, ZOZ, Killed Ignac and not Ignat, date and place unkown.
?	Stern Ing. Leopold	Ivan Irasek	26.07.41	Zagreb	27876	2289	
X	Stern Josip	Prikupna postaja Bakic	25.07.42	Zagreb	29709	4830	
X?	Stern Pavao	tt. Kastel	12.07.42	Zagreb	29783	5057	Tel Book 1946-48 Survived Steiner Dr. Pavao
D?	Sternberg Oskar	Zagrebacka Dionicka Tvornica Papira	08.07.41	Zagreb	27598	1137	1944 taken to Jasenovac killed 1945
D?	Stoeger Sigmund	tt. Kozara trg. d.d.	22.06.41	Zagreb	27415	0672	Took 4 Z signs, time and place of deth unknown
D?	Stolezer Ljudevit	Golubovecki Ugljenici, D.D.	27.08.41	Zagreb	28096	4356	1944 Jasenovac, Dotrscina
D	Straus Gjuro	Papieros	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	Took 8 Z signs, killed in Jasenovac probably in 1941
D	Strauss Adolf	Stalna vojna bolnica	22.08.41	Toplice	28814	1087	1941 captured and killed the same year
?	Stricker Rikard	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
X	Stukart Rikart	Vuna dd	26.03.42	Karlovac	29098	3090	ZOZ
D?	Svarc Martin	"Noris" veletrg. elektr.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	Took 2 Z signs, time and place of deth unknown, aryan wife
D?	Szekely Nikola	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Took 4 Z signs, Rkt 1941, time and place od deth unknown
?	Takac Eugen	Varazdinske industrije svile	24.09.42	Varazdin	29720	4857	
?	Taklicic Mirko	Kemijska tvornica Bernard Moses	11.06.41	Zagreb	28730	0442	
?	Tanzer Oto	Narodni magazin sveopce tekstilne	29.08.42	Zagreb	29539	4295	
D?	Taussig Rikard	Lavoslav Steiner Trgovina Papirom	26.07.42	Zagreb	29588	4459	Dotrscina, Place and time unconfirmed
D??	Taussig, Ing. Dr. Ivan	Zagrebacka Tvornica Cipela, D.D.	28.05.41	Zagreb	box 14	box 14	Took 2 Z, Rkt, Aryan wife
X	Temkin Ing. Leopold	Ing. L. Temkin	22.10.41	Zagreb,E	28242	6251	ZOZ 1946 registration, Tel. Book 1946-48
D?	Tkalicic Mirko	Kemijske Tvornice Bernard Moster	13.06.41	Zagreb	28730	0442	1941 captured and Killed, place & time not indicated
D?	Tolnauer Nikola 180	Nasicka	22.07.42	Zagreb	29706	4815	Took 8 Z, killed 44 / ZOZ JS/1941 capt and killed the same year, Dotrscin

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?	Turin Oskar	tt. Madex	14.07.41	Zagreb	27695	1385	
X	Ullman ing. Adolf	"Zenit" Pletena roba	14.07.41	Zagreb	27668	1336	ZOZ
X	Ullman Miroslav	"Zenit" Pletena roba	14.07.41	Zagreb	27668	1336	ZOZ
X	Ullman Vladimir	"Zenit" Pletena roba	14.07.41	Zagreb	27668	1336	Took 2 Z, live in Canada
?	Ungar Ing.	Jadransko osiguravajuce drustvo	20.09.41	Zagreb	28169	4864	Eugen Kvaternik special request to keep him safe
?	Ungar Dusan	Tvor. papira i ljepenka d.s.o.g..	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	1941 captured and killed same year in Jasenovac, Dortscina
?	Vadas Gjuro (Karlovac)	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
D?	Vago Ing. Andrija	"Noris" veletrg. elektr.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	Took 4 Z, Rkt 1941, time and place of deth unknown
?	Vajda Dragutin	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
D?	Vajda Sebastijan	Sebastijan Vajda, proizvodnja i izvoz..	04.08.41	Zagreb	27989	2972	1942 captured and killed the same year, place & time unkown, Dotrscina
?	Vendra Ing. Josip	Drzavna riznica tvornica vagona	21.01.42	Zagreb	28769	0794	
X	Vinski Dr. Ivo, cinovnik	Povlasceno Hrvatsko Industrijsko Trg.D.D	09.07.41	Zagreb	16065	PONV.	Took 2 Z, Rkt 1939, aryan wife
?	Vranic Dr. Vladimir	Jadransko osiguravajuce	11.03.42	Zagreb	29169	3349	Decision: may remain in his position undisturbed
X	Waltuch Adolf	Papieros	31.07.41	Zagreb	27938	2647	
?	Webel Magda	Vilim Steiner	10.07.41	Zagreb	27635	1232	
D	Weil Zlotan	Drustvo za Elektothehniku i Fabrika Kbl	15.07.41	Zagreb	27707	1420	Escaped to Hungary and died during the war in the Ukrane.
D?	Weiller Arpad	Drzavna Riznica sluzbenik	17.06.42	Zagreb	29548	4329	Took 2 Z, Ured za podrzavlj. imetka, protiv zabr. prisilne mj.Deth unknowr
X	Weiller Zlatko	Dragutin i Hinko Weiller	15.12.41	zagreb	28528	8005	
X	Weinrebe Lili	"La mode" konfekcija	07.01.42	Zagreb	28682	0224	
?	Weis Vilma	Tvornica Sedefskih Dugmeta	10.08.42	Zagreb	29775	5036	
?	Weiser Karlo Andrijevic	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	
D?	Weiss Aleksander	Izaslanstvo taljianske vojne misije	23.03.42	Zagreb	29823	2904	Excused from all measures taken against non Aryans, Dotrscina place?
X	Weiss Alfred	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	ZOZ
?	Weiss Alfred	Roessemann i Kuhnemann	28.01.42	Zagreb	29880	5339	
X	Weiss Bruno	Zag. Dion. tv. Papira Karton	02.07.41	Zagreb	28662	0019	ZOZ
?	Weiss David	Pogod	21.06.41	Zagreb	28073	4315	
?	Weiss Denes	Internationale, Drustvo za Osiguranje	28.07.41	Zagreb	27882	2305	
X	Weiss Edit	"Noris" veletrg. elektr.	12.07.41	Zagreb	27651	1307	Took 2 Z, Rkt 1941
D?	Weiss Greta	Zidovska Bog. Op. Osiek,	28.03.42	Zagreb	29558	4376	Captured sent to Djakovo, release, sent to teach ZOZ, 1942 killed,place?
D?	Weiss Julio	Zapovjednistvo logora	25.11.41	Lobor gr	28435	7481	Captured in 1941, released 1942, finally killed in Jasenovac 1943
D?	Weiss Leo	Internationale, Drustvo za Osiguranje	28.07.41	Zagreb	27882	2305	AH, ZOZ, killed somewhere in CC in Germany, time and place unknown.
D?	Weiss Mirko	American Shoe Company	24.06.41	Zagreb	27436	0758	AH, ZOZ, captured towards end of 1941, taken to Jasenovac and killed.
D?	Weiss Otto	Ljekarna Puks	01.07.42	Zenica	29763	4997	ZOZ, place and date unkown.
X	Weiss Dr. Ing. Rudolf	Vojisnica i Industria "Magnezit"	25.07.41	Zagreb	28614	8284	Took 2 Z, Prof. Ing. S. Roveshjak sent Weiss out of Zagreb to Vojisnicu
D?	Weiss Wilim,(sin Julija)	Kemijske Tvornice Bernard Moster	17.07.41	Zagreb	29185	3384	Took 4 Z, Rkt 1941, Request from Drz. Rav. za Grospodarstvenu Ponovu
D?	Weiss Vilko (sin Simona	Hrvatska sveopca kreditna Banka d.d.	03.02.42	Zagreb	29406	3932	Vilko that was killed was traveling agent?
?	Wien Josef	Continentale & Caro i Jelinek	14.07.41	Zagreb	27685	1362	
D	Weinberger Branka	Weinberger	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	HDA, ZOZ, imprisoned in 1941, taken to Jasenovac and killed 1942.
?	Wethelmer Josip	Trogopromet, D.D.	03.07.41	Vukovar	28674	0092	
X?	Wilhelm Cecilija	tt.Ugrovaca rudarskog dionickog drustva	16.07.41	Zagreb	16422/41	PONV.	Took 2 Z, Rkt 1941
D?	Wilhelm Gustav	Tungsram	09.07.41	Zagreb	27620	1212	Took 2 Z, place and time of deth unknown
X	Winkler Oskar	tt. "Cutrilin"alive in 43, box 34 # 207	25.04.42	Zagreb	29237	3505	Took 4Z /ZOZ JS/request for releas. needed at work, 1943 still alive
X?	Winter Filip	Nasicka tvornica tanina	01.07.41	Zagreb	28145	4767	Took 6 Z, odsutan
?	Winter Filip (Zionist)	Nasicka tv. Tanina 28616, ZO 8291	16.07.41	Zagreb	27667	1334	To: Ing Rajko Hvala to inform him that he may keep 29 Jewish employees
*	Wolff Heinrich	tt. Madex	14.07.41	Zagreb	27695	1385	
X	Wolheim Dragan	Union, Tvornice Kadita i cokolade	22.12.41	Zagreb	28590	8219	ZOZ
*	Wolhmuth Elza	Krap. tes. Ind.	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	
*	Wolhmuth Siegfrid	Krap. tes. Ind.	28.08.41	Zagreb	28015	4138	
?	Yung Wirth Otto	Nihang tt. industrija drva	20.04.42	Zagreb	29371	3842	
?	Zabludovski Izrael	Viteks	13.07.42	Vinkovci	29632	4572	Request to leave the subject unmolasted in his place of work
?	Zimmerman Pavel	Proizvodnja kudelje i lana	22.04.42	Zagreb	29114	3131	Decision ZO 3131 Od 22.04.42 released CC. inordinantly needed

Total 521 requests

D (dead) 185 (35.3%), X (alive) 138, (26.6%)? 198 (38% unknown, not registered as dead in ZOZ nor in DOTRSCINA possible reasons: Name ch left the country and living abroad, died without anybody's knowledge.

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Appendix 5.1.1: The employees in the" Filip Ernst Tailoring Company" confirm that their owner was always loyal and honest Croat who within the limits of his abilities was always helpful to various Croat causes. . (HDA, RUR 252, 28561, ZO.8114)

28561
Zo 8114

I z j a v a

Niže potpisani krojački radnici rado potvrđujemo, da smo već niz godina upošleni kod krojačkog obrtnika g. Filipa Ernsta, te da je imenovani naš rad uvijek poštano, točno i pravedno nagrađivao.- Njegov postupak prema nama bio je uvijek korektan i besprikoran, a kad god smo naše molbe ili zahtjeve pred njega iznijeli, naišli smo na potpuno razumijevanje i najveću susretljivost s njegove strane.-

G. Ernsta poznajemo kao strogo ispravna i čestita čovjeka, kojega smo ne samo mi cijenili, već i njegovi dobavljači, a isto tako i njegove mušterije.-

Znademo, da je bio lojalan prema sredini, u kojoj je živio i da je u granicama svojih materijalnih mogućnosti uvijek spremno pomagao sve hrvatske ustanove.-

U Zagrebu, dne 4. rujna 1941.

Kramberger Franjo ml.
Četin Danjel
Pištalnik Rudolf
Petar Zorić
Franjo Jerbić
Jonkurić Rudolf
Adam Bucić

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Appendix 5.1.2: Nasicka Company for the manufacture of hides and leather requests to dismiss measures taken against 35 of their Jewish employees until suitable Aryan replacement could be found. "They are essential to the success of our company." (HDA, RUR 252, 28145, ZO.4767)



NAŠIČKA
TVORNICA TANINA I PAROPILA
DIONIČARSKO DRUŠTVO
ZAGREB

Zagreb, dne 1 srpnja 1941

Br. 28145
Zo 4767
p. 1/3

P.n.

MINISTARSTVO NARODNOG ZDRAVLJA
odsjek za socijalnu politiku

Z a g r e b

Ovime sam slobodan obavijestiti c.Naslov, da je naše poduzeće do današnjega dana predložilo naslovnom Ministarstvu na odpust ukupno 59 činovnika Židova. Na mjesto odpuštenih činovnika manjestane su prema potrebi nove osobe Hrvati arijevskog porijekla.

Radi normalnog odvijanja posla što sam prisiljen za sada zadržati još slijedeće činovnike Židove i to:

1./ Kapoši Eugen
2./ Filip Winter
3./ Angelus Gjuro
4./ Beck Vane
5./ Ebensonger Robert
6./ Feuerstein Kurt
7./ Hirschenstein Olga
8./ Hollo Helena
9./ Horvat ing. Josip
10./ Kaufer Olga
11./ Kohn Aleksander
12./ Livečić Lujo
13./ Pick Hermann
14./ Poljak Vladimir
15./ Schwarz Željko
16./ Singer Sigmund
17./ Szekely Nikola
18./ Sovari Hugo

svi iz Zagreba, a zaposleni su u centrali Našicke. Nadalje su zadržani za sada također kao neophodno potrebni u raznim poslovima ovi činovnici:

1./ Spitzer Dezider, Gjurgjenovac
2./ Blasnatidter Drago
3./ Glaser Alfred
4./ Salzberger Milan
5./ Weiss Alfred
6./ Kohn Samuel, Ljeskovica
9./ Vajda Gregutin
10./ Walser Karlo, Andrijevci
10./ Walser Karlo, Andrijevci
11./ Vajs Gjuro, Karlovac
12./ Pilz Rudolf, Zavidovići
13./ Somlo Aleksander,
14./ Sohr Pavao
15./ Herberger Aurel, Bagovhan
16./ Brod Zdenko
17./ Sinković Josip

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18./ Scheinberger Vilim, Podgradci
19./ Juhn Ivan
20./ Hermann Vladimir, Novoselec-Križ
21./ Ehzes Erich, Vinkovci
22./ Deutsch Aleksander, Tolac
23./ Gretner Julio, Zagreb sada

Gore su spomenute osobe dugogodišnji namještenici poduzeća, specijalizirani za one radove, koji su neophodno potrebni za normalno i redovito odvijanje posla. Za ove namještenike još nisam za sada mogao naći zamjene, pa da bi se posao mogao nesmetano odvijati, bio sam prisiljen, da ih kroz izvjesno vrijeme zadržim u poslu.

Obzirom na to, što poduzeće ima velike narudžbe za Njemačku, a i za tuzemstvo, svakako je potrebno, da se gore spomenuti zadrže u poslu, jer u protivnom slučaju ne bi poduzeće moglo izvršiti preuzete obaveze i pretrpjelo bi veliku štetu, a u nekim bi pogonima morao biti obustavljen rad.

Pošto je od navedenih preostalih činovnika izvjestan broj po rodarstvenim organima odstranjen iz posla i poslan navodno na prisilan radnjeti opasnost, ako se time nastavi ta će doći do obustave rada u većini pogona što ne bi bilo u interesu ni države ni ostalih namještenika i radnika Hrvata arijevskog porijekla, kojih ima zaposlenih oko 10.000 osoba.

Iz svih gore navedenih razloga molim, da se dozvoli nastavak rada gore navedenim osobama, a se svoje ću strane nastojati, čim se pruži mogućnost, da i ove osobe zamjenim sa Hrvatima arijevskog porijekla kao što sam to već do sada učinio na mjesto odpuštenih 89 osoba.

U nadi da će c.Naslov uvidjeti opravdanost moga stanovišta i izdati rješenje, da mogu gore spomenute osobe po potrebi zadržati na radu, bilježim

poštovanjem:

POVJERENIK
KEMIČKE TVORNICE DANINA I PAROMLIN D. D.
U ZAGREBU

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
MINISTARSTVO ZDRAVSTVA
ODJEL ZA SOCIJALNU SKRB
Primljeno, dne 1. VIII. 1941
Broj 10742/41 prilaga — Taksirano sa Dinara — Državne takse — Banovinske takse
Zagreb, dne 1. VIII. 1941

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p.313

PRIEPIS. 28145

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA – MINISTARSTVO UDRUŽBE

Broj: 20420-8-1941 Zagreb, 26. kolovoza 1941.

Predmet: Našička d.d. odobrenje upo-
slenja činovnika nearijevaca.

P.n.

NAŠIČKA TVORNICA ULJANA I PAROPLOVA D.D.

/na ruke g.povjerenika/

Z A G R E B

Na tamošnju molbu od 22.kolovoza ove g. o privremenom zaposlenju činovnika nearijevaca neobhodno potrebnih za redovno poslovanje poduzeća, stječe se naslovu, da može ponovno uposliti sliedeće činovnike:

1.Greiner Julije
2.Winter Filip
3.Lepoši Eugen
4.Kurnek Ing.Josip
5.Poljak Vladimir
6.Angelus Gjuka
7.Kohn Aleksander
8.Feurstein Kurt
9.Beck Hane
10.Bensinger Robert
11.Szekely Nikola
12.Severi Hugo
13.Laufer Olga
14.Spitzer Olga
15.Klausnitzer Drago
16.Glaser Alfred
17.Glaser Teodor
18.Salzberger Milan
19.Sinter Richard
20.Marberger Aurel
21.Sinković Josip
22.Schafnberger Vilim
23.Juhn Ivan
24.Buchbinder Hinko
25.Somlo Aleksandar
26.Deutsch Aleksander
27.Weisser Karlo
28.Kerpan Vladimir
29.Mosca Erich

Prednja stručna lica neka naslov zadržati sve dotle, dok ne nađe zamjenu za ista, odnosno, sve dok se novo zaposlena lica ovoliko ne upute u njihov posao.

Pečat
Minist.udružbe

ZA MINISTRA
ODSJEČNI ODJELA:
Dr.Kulović, v.r.

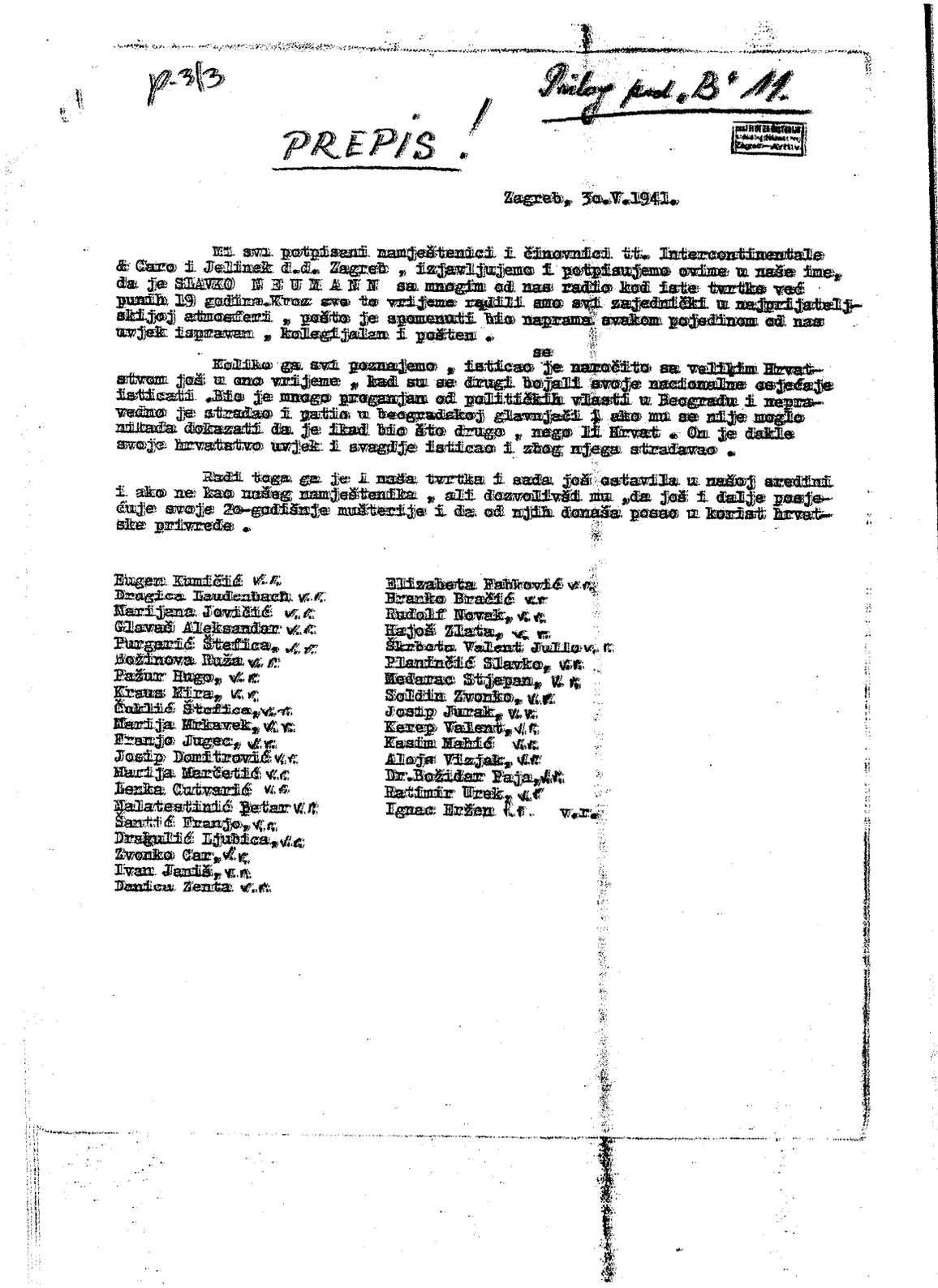
Slažemo se s mišljenjem ministarstva udružbe.

Pečat
Drž.revizor.za
gosp.ponovu.

Po nalogu ravnatelja
nadstojnik odjela:
Ing.Medarić Jurica, v.r.

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Appendix 5.1.3: Workers in the company Intecontinentale & Caro i Jelinek requested to shield their Jewish coworker Slavko Neumann because of his honorable conduct throughout the years. In solidarity and for his firm stand on the side of Croat causes. (35 employees vouched on his behalf. (HDA, RUR 252, 27085, ZO.)



P-3/3

Prilog pod. B' 11.

PREPIS !

Zagreb, 30.V.1941.

Mi svi potpisani namještenici i činovnici tt. Intercontinentale & Caro i Jellinek d.d. Zagreb , izjavljujemo i potpisujemo ovime u naše ime, da je SLAVKO N E U M A N N sa mnogim od nas radio kod iste tvrtke već punih 19 godina.Kroz sve to vrijeme radili smo svi zajednički u najprijateljskijoj atmosferi , pošto je spomenuti bio naprama svakom pojedinom od nas uvjek ispravan , kolegijalan i pošten .

se

Koliko ga svi poznajemo , isticao je naročito sa velikim Hrvatstvom još u ono vrijeme , kad su se drugi bojali svoje nacionalne osjećaje isticati .Bio je mnogo proganjan od političkih vlasti u Beogradu i nepravedno je stradao i patio u beogradskoj glavnjači i ako mu se nije moglo nikada dokazati da je ikad bio što drugo , nego li Hrvat . On je dakle svoje hrvatstvo uvjek i svagdje isticao i zbog njega stradavao .

Radi toga ga je i naša tvrtka i sada još ostavila u našoj sredini i ako ne kao našeg namještenika , ali dozvolivši mu ,da još i dalje posjećuje svoje 20-godišnje mušterije i da od njih donaša posao u korist hrvatske privrede .

Eugen Kumičić v.r.
Dragica Laudenbach v.r.
Marijana Jovičić v.r.
Glavaš Aleksandar v.r.
Purgarić Steffica, v.r.
Božinova Ruža v.r.
Pažur Hugo, v.r.
Kraus Mira, v.r.
Čukljić Steffica, v.r.
Marija Mikavek, v.r.
Franjo Jugec, v.r.
Josip Dimitrović v.r.
Marija Marčetić v.r.
Lenka Cutvarić v.r.
Malatestinić Petar v.r.
Šantić Franjo, v.r.
Dragulić Ljubica, v.r.
Zvonko Car, v.r.
Ivan Jandiš, v.r.
Dandica Zenta v.r.

Elizabeta Fahković v.r.
Branko Bračić v.r
Rudolf Novak, v.r.
Hajoš Zlata, v.r.
Skrbeta Valent Julio v.r.
Planinčić Slavko, v.r.
Medarac Stjepan, v.r.
Soldin Zvonko, v.r.
Josip Jurak, v.r.
Kerep Valent, v.r.
Kasim Mahić v.r.
Aloja Vizjak, v.r.
Dr.Božidar Paja, v.r.
Ratimir Urek, v.r.
Ignac Eržen v.r.

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Appendix 5.1.3a: On December 29 1941 the Ustashe Office for Law and Order requested of the Ministry for Forestry to assess whether all the below non-Aryan employees requested by the Nasicka Company were essential. The Nasicka Co. spared no time and effort to get their employees back. (HDA, RUR 252, 28616, ZO8291)

RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKOG REDARSTVA NEZAVISNE DRŽAVE HRVATSKE

ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK

Broj: 1294 194 1.-

Predmet: Našička uposlenje činovnika-nearijevaca.-

ZAGREB, 29. prosinca 194 1.

1249

Ministarstvu šuma i ruda
Nezavisne Države Hrvatske ,

Z a g r e b.

Predlaže se naslovu popis činovnika nearijevaca zaposlenih kod tt. Našička tvornica tanina i parenila d. d., Zagreb, sa zamolbom, da nam naslov izvoli dostaviti izvještaj, da li su niže navedeni činovnici neobhodno potrebni za redovno poslovanje poduzeća, te da li se prema tome imaju još zadržati u odnosnom poduzeću.-

Sliedeći činovnici :

1/Greiner Julije
2/Winter Filip
3/Kapoši Eugen
4/Horvat ing. Josip
5/Poljak Vladimir
6/Angelus Gjuka
7/John Aleksander
8/Feuerstein Kurt
9/Ebensperger Robert
10/Šoveri Hugo
11/Kaufer Olga
12/Spitzer Dezider
13/Eisenstädter Drago
14/Glaser Alfred
15/Clener Teodor
16/Solzberger Milan
17/Stricker Richard
18/Marberger Aurel
19/Sinković Josip
20/Scheinberger Vilim
21/John Ivan
22/Eschbinger Hinko
23/Soulo Aleksander
24/Deutsch Aleksander
25/Keisser Karlo
26/Herman Vladimir
27/Moses Erich

S molbom za udovoljenje.-

" Za D O M spremni ! "

Predstojnik Ustaškog redarstva :

15/4-42

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Zagreb, 30. prosinca 1941.

Ing. Rajko Hvala
povjerenik

P.n.

DRŽAVNOM RAČUNALJSTVU ZA POMOĆU

ZAGREB

Rješenjem Ministarstva Udružbe od 26.VIII.1941 br. Po.423-8-1941 na molbu tadanjeg povjerenika dozvoljeno je podruženu Našičku d.d. privremeno zaposlenje 29 činovnika nearijevaca.

Citirano rješenje prilažemo u prijepisu.

U međuvremenu nastale su promjene kod slijedećih lica:

pod rednim brojem 9 Beck Hans
" " " 11 Szekely Nikola

nalaze se na prisilnom radu.-

pod rednim brojem 24 Buchbinder Hinko

nastupio je mirovinu.

Budući su odnosne promjene prouzročile novu potrebu i broj odjelnih radnih snaga, to predlažem i molim da niže navedenim licima dozvoli privremeno zaposlenje kod poduzeća Našička d.d. :

1.	Gustner Julio	u središnjici Zagreb
2.	Winter Filip	" "
3.	Kapeš Eugen	" "
4.	Horvat Ing. Josip	" "
5.	Poljak Vladimir	" "
6.	Angelus Ljuba	" "
7.	Reha Aleksander	" "
8.	Feuerstein Kurt	" "
9.	Ehrenpreiser Robert	" "
10.	Zovari Hugo	" "
11.	Kuster Olga	" "
12.	Livadić Ljuba /Reichenthal/	" "
13.	Spitzer Isidor	na pogonu Sušine Čepinjenovac
14.	Eisenstädter Drago	" "
15.	Glaser Alfred	" "
16.	Glaser Teodor	" "
17.	Salzberger Milan	" "
18.	Steiner Richard	" "
19.	Kanberger Aurel	" Đegovnan
20.	Singer-Simković Josip	" "
21.	Schalnberger Vilim	" Gor.Podgradci
22.	Jaka Ivan	" "
23.	Sonlo Aleksander	" Zavidovići
24.	Deutsch Aleksander	" "

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25. Reiser Karlo — na pogonu Andrijevci
26. Herman Vladimir — " Novoselec Križ
27. Hosea Erich — na podružnici Vinkovci
28. König Samuel — na pogonu Ljeskovica
29. Tobiljaš Zoltan — " " "
30. Vajda Dragutin — " " "

Lica koja sam pod brojem 1-30 naveo, neophodno su potrebna za redovno, nesmetano i uspješno odvijanje poslovanja ovog razgranatog poduzeća, te su momentano apsolutno nenadoknadna, s toga molim da u interesu naše narodne privrede naslov odobri privremeno zaposlenje istih, kako bi na osnovu toga [redacted] od nadležnih vlasti ishoditi za pojedince redarstvenu potvrdu , da mogu nesmetano raditi, razumljivo samo za ona lica protiv kojih sa političkog gledišta ništa ne predleži.-

Napominjem da su Ing. Josip Horvat, Poljak Vladimir, Glaser Alfred, Scheinberger Vilim i Deutsch Aleksander medjutim dobili građjanske dopusnice, da mogu nesmetano na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske obavljati poslove.-

Za Dom spremam!

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Appendix 5.1.4: The employees of the Higiea Company requested that the authorities release from concentration camps their technical expert because the future of their company without him would be bleak. RUR 252, 27479, ZO)

Ž.213 27479

Zagreb, dne 25. lipnja 1941.

Predmet: Molba radnika tvornice HIGIEA D.D. Zagreb, radi oslobođenja tehničkog činovnika VILIMA BERGERA.

USTAŠKO REDARSTVENO POVJERENIŠTVO
Židovski otsjek
na ruke savjetnika g. I. Barakovića

Z A G R E B.

U vezi molbe tt. Higiea tvornica čepova d.d., Zagreb od 23. o.mj. potvrdjenoj po Industrijskoj komori u Zagrebu, radi oslobodjenja uhapšenog tehničkog činovnika gornje tvrtke Vilima BERGERA, potpisani radnici tvornice mole naslov, da se VILIM BERGER kao neophodno potreban tehnički stručnjak oslobodi, jer o tome ovisi daljnji rad poduzeća a time u vezi i naš opstanak osamdeset radnika tvornice.

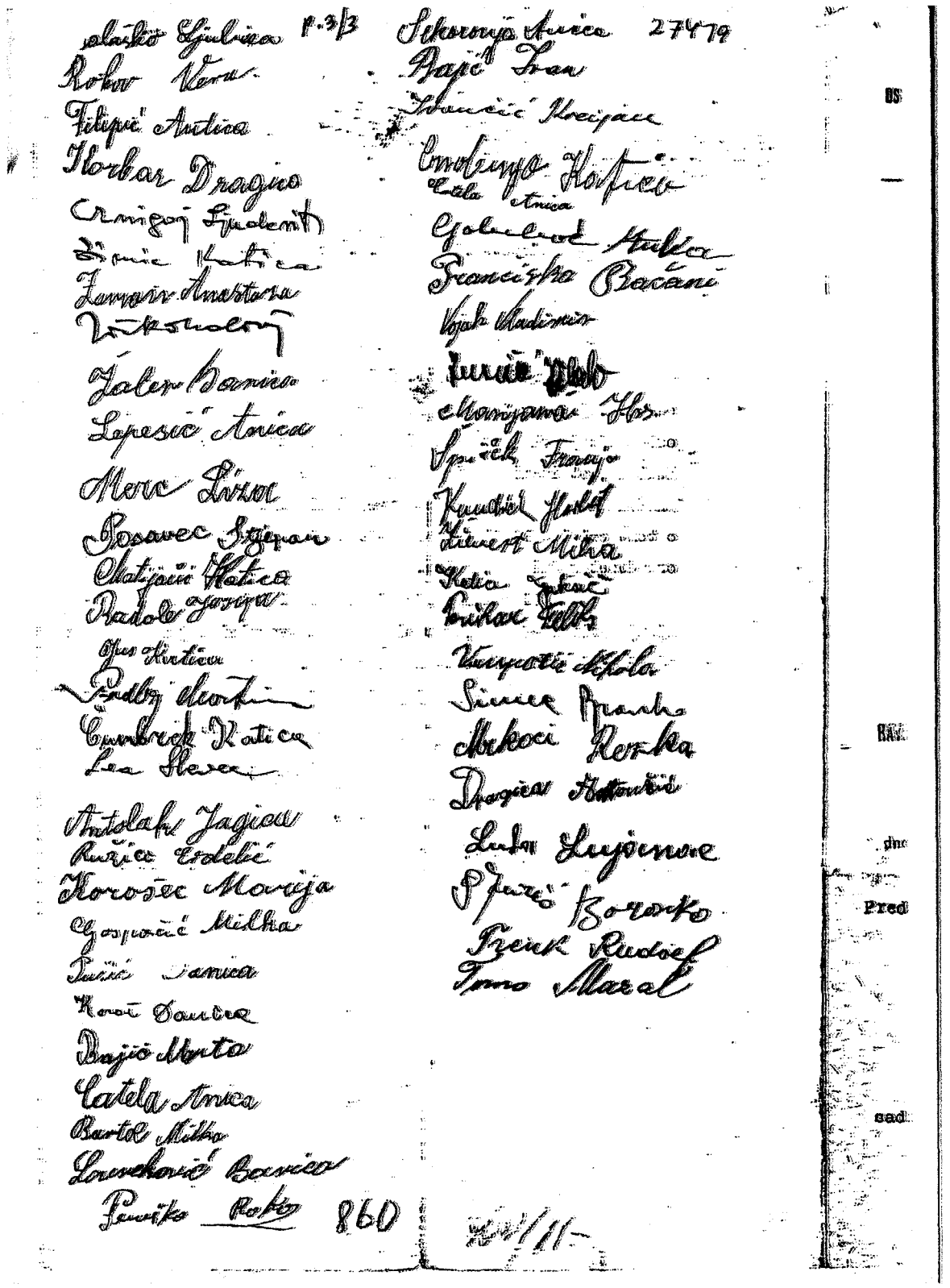
Molimo naslov, da hitno odredi potrebno za oslobodjenje Vilima BERGERA, kako bi se rad u tvornici mogao nesmetano odvijati i time osigurati naš opstanak.

Unapred zahvaljujući ostajemo

za DOM – spremni !

Sačuk Predsjednik
Bokulić Tajnik
Stjepan
Antun
Ivan
Ivan
Rilić Ljubica
Marija
Ivan
Janica
Marija
Blažinšek
Ramon
Gregančić

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Appendix 5.1.5: The Italian Army Mission in Croatia requested that the NDH authorities dismiss all orders for the deportation of Jews engaged in the service of Italian companies. These empoloyees were *essential* and irreplaceable "neophodno potrebni." (HDA, RUR 252, 29823, ZO.5139)

29823
Zo 345, 6139

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
USTAŠKA NADZORNA SLUŽBA
URED I.

Broj: 10259/42.

Zagreb, 23. ožujka 1942.

Predmet: Pichler Mirko i dr.-
ne dirati ih.-

RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKOG REDARSTVA
Židovski odsjek
Zagreb

Na zamolbu Izaslanstva talij. vojne misije u Hrvatskoj, kao po privredu neobhodno potrebni, i radi svojih trgovačko-poslovnih veza sa talijanskim ratnim dobavljačima, i imadu se od mjera koje se provode protivu pripadnika nearijske rase izuzeti niže navedena lica:

Mirko P i c h l e r iz Zagreba
Felix B r i c h t a -"-
Aleksander W e i s s -"-
Milan L i c h t e n b e r g -"-,

svi trgovci drvom

Znanja, očevidnosti i ravnanja radi.-

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

UPRAVITELJ:

RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKOG REDARSTVA
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
Broj: 1909
Dne 14. III. 1942.

Primljeno 26 III 1942

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Appendix 5.1.6: "...Our Company with a Capital of 5,000.000 Din, and about 1,200,000 Din in reserve funds requests the release from concentration camps 8 of our former Jewish employees; "names indicated below. These individuals are essential for our company and for the restoration of the Croatian industry. (HDA, RUR 252, 27685, ZO.1362)

Br. 27685
Zo 1362-14.VII.1941 p.1/2

INTERCONTINENTALE & CARO I JELINEK
JUGOSLAVENSKO TRANSPORTNO D. D.
TELEFON 22-751 serija
TELEGRAM: „INTERCARO"
REF.
Poslovodstvo.

ZAGREB, 3. srpnja 1941.
ULICA BR.
POST. PRET.
POSTFACH

P.n.
Nedarativnom Ravnateljstvu,
Židovski odsjek,
Z a g r e b.

Naša tvrtka posluje od godine 1919.sa središnjicom u Zagrebu, uplaćenom glavnicom od Din 5,000.000.- a rezervnim fondom od cca Din 1,200.000.--

Prema potvrdi Ministarstva Narodnog Gospodarstva, Odio za Obrt,Industriju i Trgovinu u Zagrebu, br.19783 od 16.VI. 1941. naša je tvrtka arijevska.

Imali smo 69 namještenika, od toga 16 Židova. Nepotrebno židovsko namješteništvo otpustili smo, tako da danas imademo slijedeće židovske namještenike, koji su u interesu naše tvrtke kao što i u interesu obnove hrvatske privrede neophodno potrebni i to:

Kosser Jakob,
Altstädter Pavao,
Berger Geza,
Schäffer Aleksander,
Salzberger Branko,
Frölich Fritzi,

te dva akvizitera

Naumann Slavko i
Wien Josef

Gornje naše namještenike Židove nismo otpustili s razloga, što su nam potrebni za školanje arijskog podmlatka.

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Appendix 5.1.7: The trustee Mestrovic Kresimir requests from the Ministry of the Treasury PONOVA (renewal) to confirm to the Office for Law and Order that the non-Aryan employees mentioned below are essential for the proper functioning of his company. (HDA, RUR 252, 27938, ZO.2647)

POVJERENIK:
Meštrović Krešimir

Br. 27938
ŽO 2647 – 31.VII.1941.

Državno Ravnateljstvo za Gospodarsku Ponovu,

Z a g r e b.

Kao povjerenik poduzeća:

Papieros, Jadran, Koncentra, Zora d.d. i Tvornica papira i ljepenke d.s.o.j.

molim da se potvrdi, da su niže imenovane osobe u odnosnim poduzećima neophodno potrebne, kako bi kod Ravnateljstva Ustaškog Redarstva mogao ishoditi dozvolu za nesmetani rad.

Kod "ZORA" tvorn. kuverata i papirnate robe d.d. Zagreb, Jurišićeva ul. 25:

HOCHBERGER ISAK 1
FISCHER Franjo,

kod "KONCENTRA" veletrg. pis.pribora i konfeko. papirnate robe,:

ROSENBERGER SLAVKO

kod "PAPIEROS" veletrg. papira i pis. prib. te konfek.pap.robe

WALTUCH ADOLF
BECK MIŠKO
STRAUSS GJURO,

kod "JADRAN" veletrg. papa i pis.pribora te konfek.pap.robe

SCHRENGER PAVAO
FRIED ERNEST,

kod tvornice papira i ljepenke d.s.o.j.Zagreb,

PICHLER EUGEN
UNGAR DUŠAN

U Zagrebu dne 28.srpnja, 1941.

Za dom spremni:
POVJERENIK:
Meštrović Krešimir

Potvrdjuje se i odobrava.

Zagreb, 28.VII.-41.

Državni ravnatelj:

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Appendix 5.1.8: Ris Manufacturers of Rubber Products requests to employ the Jew Aleksander Pollak. Pollak is an expert in the manufacture of rubber, his expertise was essential for the configuration of a new formula that would incorporate a lower content of rubber in the manufacture without compromising the quality of the product. (HDA, RUR 252, 27652, ZO.1308)

Br. 27652
20.1308 - 12, VII.41

TVORNICA GUMENE ROBE D. D.
SEAMLESS RUBBER MFG. Co. LTD.
MANUFACTURE DE CAOUTCHOUC S. A.
ZAGREB I., POŠT. PRET. (POSTBOX) 417 TELEFON BR. 70-91

Poštanski čekovni račun 46886.
Banka: MERKURBANK, Zagreb.
Cable: RIS ZAGREB 7091
Code: ABC 6 th Edit.

ZAGREB 8. srpnja 1941.
JUGOSLAVIJA

Naša oznaka: .....
Vaša oznaka: .....

Tit.

Šumarstvenom Ravnateljstvu
Židovski otsjek

Z a g r e b.

Uslijed pomanjkanja sirove gume, morali smo preurediti našu tvornicu u industriju sapuna. Ta izmjena sasvim naravno traži stručno osoblje, kako mi takovog osoblja nemamo, to cijelokupnu instalaciju i početnu proizvodnju morali smo predati stručnoj osobi koja će kroz neko vrijeme nadgledavati i podučavati naše radno osoblje.

Medjutim ta stručna osoba je židov imenom Aleksander Pollak, iz Zagreba, Heinzelova 12., a budući se naša tvornica nalazi na teritoriju Općine Stenjevec, to navedeni mora prelaziti preko gradske medje na Iličkoj mitnici, te mu je za taj prelaz potrebna dozvola naslova.

Ujudno molimo naslov, da navedenoj osobi kao našem jedinom stručnom licu, za proizvodnju sapuna, izda dozvolu prelaza preko gradske medje do naše tvornice za vrijeme od 2o - 3o kako bi u tom vremenu mogao bar djelomično podučiti, kod postupka proizvodnje sapuna, naše radno osoblje.

Zahvaljujuć Vam se na iskazanoj susretljivosti prema našoj mladoj industriji bilježimo se i ostajemo

Za Dom Spremni:
TVORNICA GUMENE ROBE
I KEM. PROIZVODA D. D.

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Appendix 5.1.9: Addressed to the office for Law and Order: Engineer Zvonko Gostel is the only expert for mass transportation in Dugoselo; it seems senseless that somebody with his qualifications should be sent to hard labor when he was needed here. We hope that something could be done for his immediate return to duty. (HDA, RUR 252, 27806, ZO.1973)

Br. 27806
ZO 1973 - 22.VII.1941

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
DRŽAVNO TAJNIŠTVO ZA JAVNE RADOVE
ZAGREB

Z.O. 461

Zagreb, 11.srpnja 1941.

Titl.
USTAŠKO REDARSTVENO RAVNATELJSTVO,
/na ruke gosp. B.Cerovskoga/
Z a g r e b.

Ing.Zvonko Gostl u Terenskoj sekciji u Dugomselu je jedini projektant za velike auto-ceste i potreban u poslu, pa mislim, da je šteta da taj čovjek leži u logoru.

Isti nije stalni državni činovnik, već inženjer-nadničar, pa mislim, da bi se dalo nekako urediti da se vrati na dužnost.

Moli se naslov, da se ova stvar hitno rješi.

pustiti obk
te naredjenje
Izvestiti deb odgovar.
ulici. Hrvatski

Za Dom spremam!
DRŽAVNI TAJNIK ZA JAVNE RADOVE:

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA • DRŽAVNO TAJNIŠTVO ZA JAVNE RADOVE

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Appendix 5.1.10: Thirty Five workers of the Filip Baum Co. and their families, 65 in total, requested the release from concentration camp of their former owner Filip Baum. The current trustee Joakim Tomic is not a professional and has no technical knowledge. We the employees need our jobs therefore please on behalf of all of us and our Croatian families let Mr. Baum free and return him to our midst.
(HDA, RUR 252, 28829, ZO.)

P.2/2 28829

PRIEPIS!

Ujednom naslovu

[redacted]

ZAGREB

Ni niže potpisani radnici i namještenici tit. Filip Baum predzvornje željeznog namještaja i djčjih kolica sada pri Vl. Ured Joakim Tomić, molimo upledni naslov za slijedeće.

Kako je spomenuta tvrtka bila židovska, a sadanji vlasnik Joakim Tomić nije stručnjak to je on za vodjenje poduzeća zadržavan Uredu Kuća i kod obrtne Komore. Kako pak nije za istoga nagao naći do sada zamjenu što Vam može i Javni ured rada da potvrdi to se mi niže potpisani radnici nalazimo u vrlo teškom položaju jer su Baum Filipa vlasti dne 10.o.mj. odvele u logor.

Stoga molimo da se u interesu nas 35 radnika i namještenika koji sa svojim članovima činimo 65 osoba, a također i u interesu hrvatske privrede, pošto je naša radiona jedina te vrste u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj nabavili i vratili Baum Filipa na svoje mjesto za ono vrieme dok se ne nadje osoba koja bi mogla samostalno posao voditi.

Stoga ponovno molimo uplednl naslov da u interesu nas 65 Hrvata izd. nalog da se Baum Filipa pusti iz logora, kako bi mi mogli nastaviti rad.

ZA SVE SURADNIKE!

Gott Olga , v.r.
Ježek Ilavko, v.r.
Jagluchin Kosavka, v.r.
Delonga Jure,v.r.
Milost ntun,v.r.
Jurković Stanka,v.r.
Horvat,Ilija, v.r.
Ludek Adam,v.r.
Sulvić Ludo,v.r.
Gelin ndrija,v.r.
Kurtt Josip,v.r.
Jelovari Josip,v.r.
Brčić Ivan,v.r.
Vojnović Ivan,v.r.
Šimunčan Simon,v.r.
Lozina Martin,v.r.
Batalić Marijan,v.r.
Krijan Iv n,v.r.
Andđurac Slav ,v.r.
Ilirbec Stanko,v.r.
Tvan Filipa,v.r.
Spoljarić Vjekoslav,v.r.

Pothradki Vinko,v.r.
Šeparović nka,v.r.
Radman Ivan,v.r.
Dikonić Ivan,v.r.
Vlašovac Ilijo,v.r.
Ferenčak Petar,v.r.
Butina Vlado,v.r.
Miklec Josip,v.r.
Jelekovič Josip,v.r.
Radžić J n, I,v.r.
Radžić Juraj II.,v.r.
Dvojković Josip,v.r.

[redacted]
ZONSKI ODSJEK
Broj 7206
12. X. 1944.

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Appendix 5.1.11: The German Ortskommandantur transferred the business of Rafael Levi Bijeljina to Karl Hummel. In the hearing conducted by the NDH authorities, Hummel's son testified that the inventory was liquidated and the proceeds deposited in Hitlerhaus Germany National Entity. This also happened to the property of Baruh A. Baro.

Povjerenstvo

DRŽAVNA KOMISIJA ZA UTVRĐIVANJE ZLOČINA OKUPATORA I NJIHOVIH POMAGAČA

Broj: 56234/42.
DT./TM.

Zagreb, dne 27. kolovoza 1942.

HITLERHAUS-NJEMAČKE NARODNE SKUPINE

B I J E L J I N A

Odlukom Ortskomandanture u Bijeljini bio je postavljen za povjerenika u židovskoj tvrdci Rafael Levi u Bijeljini Karl Hummel, sin Johanov, krojač iz Bijeljine.

U svom saslušanju kod kotarske oblasti u Bijeljini 25.VII. t.g.postavljen povjerenik izjavio je, da je kao povjerenik rasprodao i likvidirao navedenu tvrdku i da je dobiven novac likvidacijom navedene tvrdke u iznos od Kn. 137.612.- položio kod naslova.

Pozivom na navedeno kao i na zakonske propise po kojima sva imovina židova i židovskih poduzeća ima pripasti N.D.H. izvolite sav novac, koji je dobiven rasprodajom i likvidacijom spomenute trgovine, a kojega je gore spomenuti povjerenik položio kod naslova, dostaviti ovom uredu.

Po ovlašćenju državnog rizničara
NADSTOJNIK UREDA:

Povjerenstvo

DRŽAVNA KOMISIJA ZA UTVRĐIVANJE ZLOČINA OKUPATORA I NJIHOVIH POMAGAČA

Broj: 56233/42.
DT./TM.

Zagreb, dne 27. kolovoza 1942.

HITLERHAUS-NJEMAČKE NARODNE SKUPINE

B I J E L J I N A

Odlukom Ortskomandanture u Bijeljini bio je postavljen za povjerenika u židovskoj tvrdci Baruh A. Baro u Bijeljini Johan Hummel, trgovac iz Schonborna.

U svom saslušanju kod kotarske oblasti u Bijeljini 27.VII. 1942. postavljeni povjerenik izjavio je, da je sav novac, koji je dobio rasprodajom i likvidacijom spomenute trgovine položio kod naslova.

Pozivom na navedeno kao i na zakonske propise po kojima sva imovina židova i židovskih poduzeća ima pripasti N.D.H. izvolite sav novac, koji je dobiven rasprodajom i likvidacijom spomenute trgovine, a kojega je gore spomenuti povjerenik položio kod naslova, dostaviti ovom uredu.

Po ovlašćenju [illegible]

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Appendix 5.1.12: The Jewish businesses of Levi Avram and Klarica Alkalaj, in Bijeljina were liquidated and the proceeds deposited in Hitlerhaus Germany-National Entity.(The destiny of most Jewish businesses was similar.) (HDA, PONOVA 386/1076, 56230/42)

Ponova

...A RIZNICA
...ZA DRŽAVNU IMOVINU, KAVEZA I ...
UREĐ ZA PODRŽAVLJENU ...
ZAGREB

Broj: 56230/42. Zagreb, dne 27. kolovoza 1942.
DT./TM.

HITLERHAUS-NJEMAČKE NARODNE SKUPINE

B I J E L J I N A

Odlukom Ortskomandanture bio je postavljen za povjerenika u židovskoj tvrdci Levi Abraham u Bijeljini Antun Schauwecker, kolar iz Schonborna.

U svom saslušanju kod kotarske oblasti u Bijeljini 27.VII. t.g. postavljen povjerenik je izjavio, da je sav ubran novac rasprodajom i likvidacijom spomenute tvrdke u iznos od Kn. 29o.lol.- položio kod naslova.

Pozivom na navedeno kao i na zakonske propise po kojima sva imovina židova i židovskih poduzeća ima pripasti N.D.H. izvolite sav novac, koji je dobiven rasprodajom i likvidacijom spomenute trgovine, a kojega je gore spomenuti povjerenik položio kod Naslova, dostaviti ovom uredu.

Po ovlaščenju državnog riznićar.
NADSTOJNIK UREDA:

Ponova

...A
...
UR...

Broj: 56231/42. Zagreb, dne 27. kolovoza 1942.
DT./TM.

HITLERHAUS-NJEMAČKE NARODNE SKUPINE

B I J E L J I N A

Odlukom Ortskomandanture bio je postavljen za povjerenika u židovskoj tvrdci Klarica Alkalay u Bijeljini Adam Metzger.

U svom saslušanju kod kotarske oblasti u Bijeljini 27.VII. t.g. postavljeni povjerenik izjavio je, da je nakon rasprodaje robe navedene tvrtke i njezinog likvidiranja sav novac dobiven navedenom rasprodajom položio kod naslova.

Pozivom na navedeno kao i na zakonska propise po kojima sva imovina židova i židovskih poduzeća ima pripasti N.D.H. izvolite sav novac, koji je dobiven rasprodajom i likvidacijom spomenute trgo-
[illegible]

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Appendix 5.1.13: The District Authorities in Bijeljina were informed that the business of Leopold Kaff with its registered inventory of 271,950 Dinar was handed over to three Volksdeutsche. In wagons the inv 1076 65/42.

Bijeljina, dne 1. srpnja 1942 god.

Broj: 65/42

KOTARSKOJ OBLASTI

Bijeljina

Predmet: Leopold Kaff na Vaš broj 5957/42.

U nadopuni izvješća od 30.VI.1942 br.3k/42 javljamo, da osim Johanna Leinwebera iz Schönborna, koji je preuzeo dućan dolaze u obzir još sliedeće osobe iz Schönborna:

Eichert (lajar) uzeo 1/2 vagona sirove kože,

Kraus Fritz uzeo 1/2 vagona sirove kože,

" Johann Bussman, neki zorn njegov komšija Vogel (tišler), ova trojica su uzeli pol vagona kože, cirade, 200 kg. masti, 10 metara pšenice, 5 metara kukuruza, brašna i druge stvari.-

Za Dom - starešina:
Dr. M. MATKOVIĆ (Dr. M. MATKOVIĆ)
glavnostranski Ured za ustanovljenje imetka Židova i dr.

Popova

Prilopis

Inventar

stanja trgovine Leopolda Kaffa, trgovca iz Bieljine, koja je predata po Leinwebera Johannu iz Schönborna Ustaškom Logoru u Bijeljini.

U Bijeljini, 26. lipnja 1941

1100	komada	Eng. okvirja a	120 din.	ukupno 132.600 din.
12	kg.	Blag vrat	130 "	1.560
48	"	Brust oltte	150	7.200
76	"	Blanka	150	11.400
6	"	Blank okvira	120	720
383	"	" gipse	150	57.450
18	"	III.djan, okvirja	50	900
60	"	Spalt brannel	40	2.000
24	"	Eng. vratova	130	3.120
		sitnarije		5.000
		u gotovom položio ovome Logoru za prodatu robu		50.000
			Ukupno	271.950 Din.

i slovima /dvjestotine sedamdeset i jedna hiljada i devetstopedeset/

Da je Johann Leinweber konačno likvidirao i inventar predao Ustaškom Logoru u Bijeljini.

Inventar sastavili stručnjaci
Martin Graus v.r. Karlo Leitenberger v.r.

Pečat
Ustaški Logor Bijeljina
Logornik
Muratbeg Q. Pašić v.r.

Prisustvovali kao svjedoci prilikom predaje radnje povjereniku Martin Graus i Karlo Leitenberger

Kao stručnjak
primio Mehmedalija Selimović v.r.

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pendix 5.1.14: Based on the decision of Ortskommandantur, the business of Baro Baruh was transferred to Johan Hummel, merchant, Volksdeutsche from Schonborn. The inventory was liquidated and the proceeds deposited in Hitlerhaus. (HDA, PONOVA 99/1076, 563233/42)

Ponova

Broj: 56233/42.
DT./DM.

Zagreb, dne 27. kolovoza 1942.

HITLERHAUS-KJENIČKE NARODNE SKUPTINE

B I J E L J E N A

Odlukom Ortskomandanture u Bjeljini bio je postavljen za povjerenika u židovskoj tvrdci Baruh A. Baro u Bjeljini Johan Hummel, trgovac iz Schonborna.

U svom saslušanju kod zotarske oblasti u Bjeljini 27.VIII. 1942. postavljeni povjerenik izjavio je, da je sav novac, koji je dobio rasprodajom i likvidacijom spomenute trgovine položio kod naslova.

Pozivom na navedeno kao i na zakonske propise po kojima sva imovina židova i židovskih poduzeća ima pripasti N.D.H. izvolite sav novac, koji je dobiven rasprodajom i likvidacijom spomenute trgovine, a kojega je gore spomenuti povjerenik položio kod naslova, dostaviti ovom uredu.

Po ovlašćenju državnog riznićara
NADSTOJNIK UREDA:

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Appendix 5.1.15: On the discovery that Jewish businesses had disappeared, the owners and trustees of the said businesses gave depositions. In this case, Baro Baruh testified that he had given the keys to the local authorities. According to Baruh the value of the inventory was 200,000 to 300,000 kunas. Humel testified that he deposited the proceeds of the inventory in the Kulturbund-Hitlerhaus and that the inventory was assessed at 35,000 kunas. (HDA, PONOVA 99/1076, 5623/42)

Ponova

Z A P I S N I K

sastavljen u Bieljini kod Kotarske oblasti dana 25.srpnja 1942.

Pristupa pozvan Baruh Baro umrl.Avrama biv.trg.iz Bieljine,te na postavljeno pitanje,izjavi ovo :

Ja sam ključeve moje bivše trgovine predao po nalogu Gradskom poglavarstvu u Bieljini.

Sutradan sam vidio u trgovini Adama Humel iz Schönborna i isti me je pozvao,da dogjem i da mu pokažem cijene.Ja sam bio taj dan u trgovini i više nisam dolazio.Po mom mišljenju trgovina je tada mogla vrijediti od 200.000 do 300.000 kn.Novca nisam nikakvog primio.

Drugo nemam što reći.Zapisnik mi je pročitan i ja ga u znak odobravanja vlastoručno podpisujem.

Dovršeno ! Baro Baruh.

Nastavljeno dana 27.srpnja 1942.kod Kotarske oblasti u Bieljini.

Pristupa Johan Hummel sin Adamov,trgovac iz Schönborna,te na postavljeno pitanje daje ovaj izkaz :

Ja sam bio pismenim nalogom Ortskomandature u Bieljini odredjen za povjerenika u trg.Baro Baruha.Kad sam ja primio trgovinu ona je već bila raznešena i opljačkana,tako da smo načinili inventar i bilo je robe unutre za 35.000 kn.Biv.vlastnik nam je cijenio jedan govorio a drugi dan više nije došao.

Kad sam razprodao robu,ja sam novac položio Kulturbundu u Hitelerhaus u Bieljini.

Drugo nemam što reći.Zapisnik mi je pročitan i ja ga u znak odobravanja vlastoručno podpisujem.

Dovršeno ! Johan Hummel

Saslušao :

Kotarska oblast u Bieljini
Br.5946/42

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Appendix 5.2.0: Physicians Sent to Bosnia in 1941 and 1942 to Curb Endemic Syphilis.

Lists of medical teams that were formed by the NDH Minister of Health Dr. Petreich to be sent on an expedition to curb endemic syphilis among the Muslim population in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the following there are three groups that were sent. Two groups of physicians from Zagreb and third group from the entire territory of NDH. On groups was of physicians was released from various concentration camps and the fifth group are the physicians that served in the "Domobranstvo" (home defense). This list includes also correspondence between the physicians and the Office for Law and Order.

Status:X=alive, D=dead, ?=destiny unknown
Information obtained in the Croatian State Archives HDA Fond RUR 252.

First Group sent to Bosnia to curb endemic syphilis(group I).

Status	Name	Specialization	Date	Place	File No.	ZO No.	Remarks
D	Adler Antun	neurologist	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1945 Captured in Budapest hotel. Murdered on the banks of Danub
X	Barmaper Herman	neurologist	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1943 NOV Served in Hungarian Hospital
X	Betheim Stjepan	neurologist	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Bluhweiss Bruno	internal medicin	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1941 murdered in Jasenovac, secnd. version murdered in Jadovno
D	Deutsch Dajc Miroslav	ginekolog	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1945 Captured in Budapest hotel. Murdered on the banks of Danub
D	Deutsch Edo	internal medicin	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Frolich Albert	ortopedic	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1944 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Gruner Teodor	pedijater	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1944 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Hafner Ziga	int, klinike	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Hahn Arpad	inter. rentgenolog	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171,27986	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Kohn Bela	kirurg	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943, POW to the end
D	Low Ivan (Ivo)	internal medicin	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV.1943, NOB physician II division, fell in battle 1944 near Tmave.
D	Neumann Ljuba	spec. za laborat	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1942, 1943 contructed spotted typhus and died.
D	Nisk Alfred	opca praksa	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943, died in battle 1944
X	Podvinec Srecko	internal medicin	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Rausnitz Jelena	internal medicin	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	ZOZ, Svob no info where, when, how?
X	Reich Emil	GP	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Schlesinger Brandler Marija	GP	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV. 1942 fell in battle during an offensive in 1943. J.R, p.486
D	Schlesinger Miroslav	GP	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV. 1942 fell in battle 1943, HDA,, ZOZ
X	Schwartz Aleksander	okulist	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Svecenski Branko	opca praksa	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1944 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Tempel S. Ignac	neurologist	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1944 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Weiss Aleksander	neurolog release from CC	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1945 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Winter Miroslav	neurologist	05.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1942, 1943 killed, Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 941- 1945

Total 24, 12 alive, 12 dead (2 in Hungary during an attempt to escape, 8 in NOV, 2 in Jasenovac, there were 23 male physicians and 1 woman physician)

Second Group sent to Bosnia to curb endmic syphilis(group II)

Status	Name	Specialization	Date	Place	File No.	ZO No.	Remarks
X	Baum H. Vilko	surgent	28.08.41	Vukovar	28017	4143	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Bauer Marko	okulist	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1942 died in Jasenovc from Typhus, Check if same?
X	Brajer Karlo	gynecologist	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171,28017	3358,4143	NOV 1945 from Zavidovic, ZOZ Svob
X	Cegledi Heimer Margita	pediatrician	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	ZOZ, Svob
?	Citrin Henrich	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171,28017	3358,4143	No info.
X	Deszo Juraj	Psychetrist	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Desider Julius	neurologist	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171,28017	3358,4143	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, ZAVNOH, 21.10.43, # 1448/43 J
D	Deutsch Miroslav	internal medicin	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1943, contructed stomach typhus, on way to hospit. died 1944.
X	Deutsch Samuel	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171,28017	3358,4143	NOV 1944 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Dezso Juraj	neurologist	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Eisenstadter Vlatko	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171,28017	3358,4143	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Fiscer Feliks	pediatrician	28.08.41	Banja Luka	28017	4143	ZOZ, Svob
D	Fischer Zlatko	GP	28.08.41	Sisak	28017	4143	NOV 1942,, 1943 POW, killed by the Nazis.
X	Fles M. Josip	urolog	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017, 28409	4143, 7390	NOV 1944 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Frank Oto	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	Croatian Tel. 1951
D	Froilich Iso	internal medicin	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	1943, ZOZ, Svob
X	Goldner Milan	phyziotherapist	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Goldschmidt Zora	GP	28.08.41	Novigrad	28017	4143	NOV 19432Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
?	Gostel Branko	neurologist	28.08.41	Vrapce	28017	4143	No info
D	Gosti Hinko (J. Romano)	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171,28017	3358,4143	NOV 1942, Killed in 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugos.1941- 1945
X	Gosti Josip	neurolog	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOP 1943
X	Grunfld Julije	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1944Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Gutman Dorde	GP		Zagreb			1943 captured & killedJasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D?	Herskovic Isak	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1942 in CC,
X	Herzog Pavao	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171,28017	3358,4143	NOV 1945 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
?	Jurkovic Nada	GP	28.08.41	Osiek	28017	4143	No info, could have changed her surname
X	Kaufer Leopold	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	ZOZ, Svob
X	Kallay Laszlo	internal medicin	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Karanfilovic Hirschl Elza	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Kolman Slavko	otolarin.	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	No accurate info. died on escape route to Italy
D	Konforti Jakob	GP	09.07.41	Mostar	28928	2143	1942 sent to Banja Luka, released from CC died naturally at work
D	Kraus Gustav	GP	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1942, killed in 1943
D	Kraus Lederer Julija	plastic surgent	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1942, 1943 killedJasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D?	Leimdorfer Gustav	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1942 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Levental B. Zdenko	hirurg	27.07.41	Zagreb	28017	2397	NOV 1945 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Neufeld Alfred	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	Eta Spizer Najfeld, wife of Dr. Alfred Neufeld,medical student.
X	Neufeld Spicer Eta	Med. student	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1944Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Pollak Stejpan	internal medicin	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1942 same year died of typhus
X	Prochnik Ignac	venerolog	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Rechnitzer Mirko	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	ZOZ, Svob
X	Remenji, Schwartz Suzana	internal medicin	26.07.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 19443Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Rosner Rudolf	neurolog	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1941 Pag, ZOZ, Svob
X	Rosenzweig Erih	gyncologist	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1944 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X?	Rotman Pavao	otolarin.	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	Ind. that he was in army, wife American citizen
X	Stein Andrija	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1945 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Stein Mavro	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1941 Tuzla, ZOZ, Svob
X	Steiner M. Stjepan	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171,28017	3358,4143	NOV 1942 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Szekler Robert	internal medicin	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevr. Jugos. 1941- 1945, Croat Tel.1951
D	Vinski Marija	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	Taken to Gospic and Jasenovac, killed no date found
D	Viola Nikola	otolog	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	1944 Auschwitz, ZOZ
D	Weinberger Draga	Venerolog	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	AH, AJ, ZOZ, J. Romano, captured in Zenica 43 or 44,killed in 45
X	Weiss Arabela	GP	28.08.41	Sisak	28017	4143	NOV 1944 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Weiss Milan	otolarin.	09.07.41	Zagreb	29171	3358	NOV 1943 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945

Group II total 53, 31 saved, 14 died, 8 destiny unkown, 5 died in Partisans, 2 in concentration camps)

Total number of physicians sent from Zagreb in grups I and II is 81.

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Physicians sent from all parts of NDH to Bosnia to curb endemic syphilis

Status	Name	Specialization	Date	Place	File No.	ZO No./Locat.	Remarks
X	Altarac Jakob	internal medicin		Vakuf	J. Romano	Tuzla	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Atias Sisher Lola	GP		Sarajevo	J. Romano	Banja Luka	Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Atias Izdor Albert*	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Jajce	1942 NOV, killed in action 1944
X	Atias Moric-Branko	GP from Bugojno	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Bugojno	1943 joined NOV, (Partisans)
X	Bader Artur	Podajetrist	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Tuzla	1943 joined NOV, (Partisans)
X	Baum Viko	surgent	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Tuzla	1943 joined NOV, (Partisans)
X	Bergstein Naftali	GP		Zagreb	J. Romano	Pazaric, Most	Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Bernhaut J. Izidor	internal medicin		Karlovac	J. Romano	Banja Luka	1944 NOV
X	Deutsch Edo	GP	23.05.42	Zagreb	29485	4110	ZOZ, Svob
X	Deutsch Andrije	GP	10.11.41	Zagreb	29485	4110	ZOZ, Svob
?	Frank Oto	GP	26.01.42	Zagreb	28658	0008	Employment Cotract #53823.-0-1941 signed: Minister Dr. Petric
X	Fischbach Lav Jonas	internal medicin was in CC	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Maglai	NOV 1944Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Fischer Duro	GP	1941	Zagreb	J. Romano	Bosna	NOV 1944Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1946
X	Fischer -Lederer S. Klara	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Odzake	1943 joined NOV
X	Fischer Otton	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Odzake	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Frajnd David	GP		SremskaMitro	J.Romano	Modrica	1943 Auschwitz, Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Ginsberger Ervin	surgent	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Gradacac	1943 joined NOV
X	Grin Ernest	Dermatolgist		Sarajevo	J. Romano	Banja Luka	NOV 1942Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Gross Mavro	GP	27.10.41	Zagreb	28154,4786	Bosna	1945 ZOZ Svob, died in Kiseljak
D	Gruner (Griner) Simon*	Bacteorolgist	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Tuzla	1943 joined NOV
X	Grunfeld Juljo		17.01.43	Zagreb	302/10221	Jajce	1944 joined NOV
X	Grun(Grin) Ernest*	Dermatolgist	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Banja Luka	1944 joined NOV
D	Herlinger Dragutin (Drago)	hirurg	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Bihac	1943 joined NOV
X	Herlinger Ivo	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Bihac	1942 joined NOV
D	Hirschl Milan	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Gracanica	1942 joined NOV
X	Hirschler Slavko	Stomat	1941	Koprivnica	J. Romano	Tesanj	1942 joined NOV
X	Jungwirth Gustav	internal medicin		Zagreb	29195	3396	28.11.43, ZAVNOH #1856/43 head of children's ambulatory div.
X	Kaufer S. Leopold*	hirurg	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Pazaric	1944 joined NOV
D	Kisicki Zigo	Dentist	12.08.42	Zagreb	29790		In NOB 1943, manager of a hospital, 1944 imprisond and killed
D	Kraus S. Gustav	Dentist	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Varos	1942 joined NOV, imprisoned by the Germans, killed 1943+famil.
X	Kraus G. Zdenko	GP	27.07.41	Zagreb	28017/4143	Bosnia	NOV 1942, killed J.Romano indicates 1941,must be a mistake
X	Lederer Ladislav	GP		Belsce	J. Romano	Modrica	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Low Ivan (Ivo)	GP	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017,4143	4143	Contract # 2397-1941, 1945, ZOZ Svob
D	Lev L. Ivo	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Doboj	NOV 1943, 1944 died,Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Levental Zdenko	GP	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017,4143	Bosnia	NOV 1945Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Levi T. Haim (Bukus)		09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Banja Luka	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Levi Izdor	GP		Cazin	J. Romano	Cazin	NOV 1942Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Maric Hinko	ginecol.		Varazdin	J. Romano	Gracanica	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Neuman Ljuba	internal medicin		Zagreb	J. Romano	G. Vakuf	NOV 1942.1943 died, Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Neumann Vladimir	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	Dotrscina	Tuzla	1943 ustupio u NOV, 1944 pjegovi tifus, u Brcko streljan cetnicici
X	Nik I. Alfred	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Visoko	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Orenshtein M. Karlo	rentgebelog	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Banja Luka	NOV 1944Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Papo Mordehai	GP		Sarajevo	J. Romano	Sarajevo	1942 Killed N. Gradis.Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Pinto B. David	internal medicin	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Tuzla	1944 ustupio u NOV,
X	Rausnic Jolana	internal medicin	02.08.41	Zagreb	27969,2882	Sarajevo	NOV 1945J asa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Reich Emil	honoramom	09.01.42	Zagreb	28745,0550	Bosanska K	Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Romano J. Mario		09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Visoko	1943 ustupio u NOV
X	Rozencvajg M. Erih	gynekologist	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Banja Luka	NOV 1944Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Salom D. Mento	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Tuzla	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Samakovlija Isak	GP		Sarajevo	J.Romano	Alipasin Most	Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Schlezinger Albert	GP	28.08.41	Zagreb	28017	4143	NOV 1945 Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Schmulder M. Vilim	GP	09.07.41	Zagreb	J. Romano	Gracanic	1943 joined NOV
D	Spicer Milan	Ginekolog.		Osijek	J. Romano	Dervnta Gradac	1942 died, Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Templ Salamon Ignac	Dermatolgist		Zagreb	J. Romano	Kakanj,Travnik	NOV 1944
X	Vajsler-Najfeld Stela	GP		N. Gradiska	J. Romano	B.Gradi, Mostar	Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Zupic Klara	GP		Zagreb	J. Romano	Busovaca	Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945

Total 57; 42 survived the war, 14 killed, 1 destiny unkown.

Physicians Released from concentration camps(CC) and sent to Bosnia in 1942 to curb endemic syphilis

Status	Name	Specialization	Date	Place	File No.	ZO No.	Remarks
X	Fuchs Milan	Pharmacist, Banja Luka	20.02.42	Mostar	29386	3877	NOV 1945Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Hass Zarko, Domobranstvo	GP	15.10.42	Varazdin	29969	5654	Military Hospital
X	Hochstadter Bela	GP	29.07.42	Zagreb	302/10154	5050	Bosnia, saved by his wife Ervina Dragman,actres
D	Konforti Jakob	GP	24.02.42	Zagreb	28928	2143	1942 died after release, Jasa Romano,Banja Luka, sifilis
X	Maric Hinko	GP, Banja Luka	24.02.42	Varazdin	28929	2145	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
?	Milhofer Bela	GP	28.01.42	Bjelovar	28330,29117	7066,3135	Greta Polak Min. Unt. Pos. advised that her husb. was in con. camp
?	Polak Stanko	GP	27.10.41	Karlovac	29117	3135	His wife requested his release from Concent. Camp
?	Salom Jesua	Pharmacist, Banja Luka	15.05.42	Zagreb	29323	3754	Release from CC 04.04.42 #18716-II-I, sent to Bosnia, syphilis
?	Rosenbaum Elizabeta	GP	15.10.42	Varazdin	29969	5654	Military Hospital
X	Schwarz Milan	GP	07.11.41	Logorgrad	28309	6902	Released from CC, before that managed to take 6 Z tablets.
?	Tergeslav Ada	GP	16.03.42	Sarajevo	29057	2639	Wife of Dr. Tergeslav Marin, Sarajevo
X	Weiss Aleksander	GP in Banja Luka,	02.03.42	Zagreb	28969	2270	NOV 1945Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945

Total 12; 6 alive, 1 killed, 5 destiny unkown

Physicians in the service of the NDH in domobranstvo (homedefense units)

Status	Name	Specialization	Date	Place	File No.	ZO No.	Remarks
X	Bader Artur	Psycaetrist .	24.08.42	Zagreb	29850	5252	Physician People's Home for Health, Travnik
X	Binenfeld Rudolf	Dentist	41	Vukovar	J. Romano	Sanski Most	1943 NOV
D	Bischitz Franjo	neuropsycetrist in Vrapce	15.07.42	Vrapce	29821	5126	NOV 1942, 1944 died.Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
X	Deutsch Samuel	GP	15.07.42	Zagreb	29874	3740	Notification of protection to physician and his family.
?	Frank Oto	GP	26.01.42	Zagreb	28810	1071	
?	Freiberger Nikola	GP	12.06.42	Zagreb	29531	4250	Serveed in Croatian Domobranstvo
X	Heim Oskar	GP	26.01.42	Zagreb	28810	1071	
?	Horvat Artur	GP	13.11.42	Zagreb	302/Inv.30014	5867	Info about the service of Dr. came from wife's request to provide permit
?	Izrael Izak, (died while on duty)	GP	21.11.41	Travnik	302/30020	5925	Wifes requesteds his release from CC, freedom granted
X	Kajon Ezra	GP	41	Travnik	J. Romano		1944 NOV
?	Kett Dragutin	GP	04.08.42	Zagreb	29755	4960	Lobor Grad
D	Klein Bruno	pricuvani Ljekar	13.05.42	Zagreb	29344	3790	Banja Luka, Roza Klein released 1943, after her husband's death .
X	Kohn Artur	GP	26.01.42	Zagreb	28810	1071	NOV 1945Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
?	Kohn Benko	GP	26.01.42	Zagreb	28810	1071	Lipik

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?	Kurschner Milan	GP	26.01.42	Zagreb	28810	1071	Zlatar
?	Nahmias, ?	GP	16.07.42	Travnik	29683	4743	His sister Sarina Altarac was released from CC, sent to her brother
?	Neufeld Filip	GP	14.01.42	Zagreb	28738	0515	permit to transfer his personal belonging to Bosan. Gradisku.
X	Njemirovski Herman	GP	26.01.42	Zagreb	28810	1071	Zagreb
X	Pollak Slavko	Ljekar, Popovac 1943, Dakovo	29.08.42	Zagreb	29857	5247	NOV 1943Jasa Romano, Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941- 1945
D	Reichl Raic Artur	GP	31.01.42	Zagreb	29810	5105	Banja Luka, domobranstvo, 1942 Banja Luka, ZOZ 1942
X	Rechnitzer Mirko	GP	18.02.42	Zagreb	29036	2560	Ministry of Intern. Affairs granted him NDH citizenship with all rights
X?	Sebastian General Mantel	GP retired from duty	06.01.42	Zagreb	29259	3533	Instructions from the Ministry of Interior to leave him in freedom
X	Singer Sinjski Gustav	GP	11.04.42	Zagreb	29165	3344	Took 2 Z, Domobransvo
?	Spitzer Ivan	GP	26.06.42	Zagreb	29570	4410	Info. obtained from a request to release his in laws.
?	Stajner Samuel	GP	26.01.42	Zagreb	28810	1071	Pozega
?	Sternberg	GP	07.02.42	Sarajevo	29655	4654	Domobranstvo, request to free his family
?	Zohr Milan	GP		Zagreb	29708	4829	Request to free his parents. Serving in Hrvatska Dubica.

Total 27, 11 survived, 3 killed, 13 destiny unkown

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Appendix 5.2.1: Subject: Dr. Ada Tergeslav "DECISION" (ODLUKA) the wife of Dr. Marin Tergeslav was released from hard labor in the concentration camp in Stara Gradishka-Djakovo. (HAD, RUR 252, 29057 ZO.2639)

Bn 29057
Zb 2639

2060

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
USTAŠKA NADZORNA SLUŽBA
URED I.

Broj: 5528/42-T.

Zagreb, dne 16. ožujka 1942.

Predmet: Tergeslav dra. Ada supruga Marina -odpust iz logora.-

O D L U K A

Odlukom ovog Ureda od 27.I.42. broj 1940/42-62 upućena je Tergeslav dr. Ada supruga Tergeslav dra. Marina, na prisilni boravak u sabirni logor u St.Gradišku na vrijeme od 21.I.1942. do 21.I.1943.

Ustaški nadzorni zapovjednik odlučio je u smislu § 2/2 zakonske odredbe o upućivanju nepoćudnih i pogibeljnih osoba na prisilni boravak u sabirne i radne logore od 25. XI.1941.broj CXXXIX-21ol-z-41,da se navedena Tergeslav dr. Ada odmah odpusti iz sabirnog logora u Staroj Gradišci odnosno u Djakovu,jer joj je vrijeme prisilnog boravka smanjeno do dana odpusta.

Uslijed toga ima se navedena Tergeslav dr.Ada sada odmah odpustiti iz navedenog logora,pa se izvršenje toga povjerava Ustaškom redarstvu za grad Zagreb i Veliku Župu Prigorje u Zagrebu s tim, da je zapovjedničtvu sabirnog logora u Djakovu izdan u tu svrhu poseban nalog.

Ustaško redarstvo ima odmah izvjestiti ovaj Ured o odpustu navedene osobe iz logora.

O tom obavijest:

1./Ustaško redarstvo za grad Zagreb i Veliku Župu Prigorje u Zagrebu.
2./Tergeslav dr.Ada uz priklop odpusnice putem Ustaškog redarstva.
3./Ured II
4./Ovouredska očevidnost
5./U.N.S. -povjereničtvo u Sarajevu
6./Židovski odsjek-ravnateljstvo ustaškog redarstva
7./Župskoj redarstvenoj oblasti Sarajevo

Upravitelj

ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
2639
18. III. 194<

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Appendix 5.2.2: Based on the regulations that set special rights to family members of physicians in the service of the NDH government, 12 of their family members were released from the concentration camps . The physicians were immediately informed about the release. On 12.8.1941, 12 of the family members were released. .(HAD, RUR 252, 29790 ZO.5071)

Br 29790
Zo 5071

RAVNATELJSTVO ZA JAVNI RED I SIGURNOST
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK

Broj : 5071/42
Predmet: Otpust iz sabirališta.-

Zagreb, 12. kolovoza 1942.-

Gospodinu

Fabijanu F a b r i o

nadstojniku obće-političkog odsjeka Zaštitnog redarstva za grad Zagreb i Vel. Županu Prigorje ,

Z a g r e b

Na temelju okružnice Ustaške nadzorne službe - ureda I. od 20. ožujka 1942 broj 5721/42., kao i ustmenog dogovora sa Ustaškim nadzornim zapovjednikom imaju se odmah pustiti na slobodu, kao i povratiti ključevi dotičnih stanova slijedeći članovi obitelji liečnika, koji se nalaze u službi Ministarstva zdravstva i Ministarstva Hrvatskog Domobranstva i to:

1/Laura ud. Deutsch / majka Dra. Samuela Deutsch
2/Ana Kohn /supruga Dra. Bele Kohn /
3/Eva Kohn / sin " " "
4/Bernard Grüner /otac Dra. Teodora Grüner /
5/Johana Grüner / majka " " "
6/Adela ud. Horvat / majka Dra. Arturo Horvat /
7/Felice Kišički / supruga Dra. Žige Kišički /
8/Cvi Kišički / sin " " "
9/Bella Kišički / majka Dra. " " "
10/Eugen Hahn / otac Dra. Arpada Hahn /
11/Tvana Hahn / majka " " "
12/Cecilija Hochstädter / majka Dra. Bele Hochstädter /

Nadalje ima se odmah provjeriti slučaj Židovke " Schik ", kojoj je kćerka aktivna državna službenica-liečnica u Koprivnici, a muž liečnik u bosanskoj akciji, te u koliko predajni navodi odgovaraju istini, dotična Židovka ima se isto otpustiti iz sabirališta.-

Nadalje Židovka Adela Bower otava 12 god., kojoj su roditelji ostavljeni kod kuće ima se predati ovdašnjoj Židovskoj bogoštovnoj općini s tim, da istu uputa kući.-

Konačno primjećuje se, da u koliko postoji još koji od gornjih slučajeva t. j. gdje se nalaze najbliže obitelji Židova-liečnika koji se nalaze u službi Ministarstva Domobranstva ili u službi Ministarstva zdravstva t. j. u bosanskoj akciji suzbijanja endemijskog sifilisa u sabirališta imaju se nakon provjere odmah pustiti na slobodu.- U najbliže obitelji, koja se pušta na slobodu ubrajaju se i to: Roditelji dotičnog liečnika /otac i majka/, nadalje supruga liečnika i djeca istoga.- Daljnja obitelj t. j. braća i sestre, kao i obitelj supruge liečnika ne dolaze u obzir, pa se prema tome isti nemogu otpustiti.- Ujedno ispitati slučaj Dra. Herrmanna.-

Na žurni postupak.-

" Za D O M spremni ! "

NADSTOJNIK ŽIDOVSKOG ODSJEKA
RAVNATELJSTVA ZA JAVNI RED I SIGURNOST:

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Appendix 5.2.3: Dr. Teodor Gruner's *Employment Contract* signed with the Minister of Health Dr. Petric in which the terms of employment were stated. (HDA, ZKRZ-GUZ, 2235/45 box 10)

U G O V O R O S L U Ž B I

sklopljen između Nezavisne Države Hrvatske zastupane po Ministru zdravstva Dr. Ivi Petriću kao službodavcu s jedne strane i Dr. Teodora Grünera liečnika dosadašnjeg ugovornog službenika Zavoda za suzbijanje endemijskog sifilisa, Državljanina Nezavisne Države Hrvatske rođenog 4.III.1913. u Nytra zavičajnog u Zagrebu, s druge strane.

§.1.

Ministarstvo zdravstva Nezavisne Države Hrvatske preuzima Dr. Teodora Grünera liečnika danom 1.siečnja 1942 u službu države kao ugovornog službenika za obavljanje službe na suzbijanju endemijskog sifilisa i ostalih poslova predviđenih Zakonskom odredbom o osnivanju Zavoda za suzbijanje endemijskog sifilisa 26. lipnja 1941. broj CV-461-Z.p. 1941. i Poslovnikom istog Zavoda broj 171-Z-1942. od 9. siečnja 1942. g. kod Zavoda za suzbijanje endemijskog sifilisa u Banja Luci, a na području koje mu Zavod odredi, a Dr. Teodor Grüner liečnik

prihvaća tu službu uz mjesečnu nagradu od Kuna 4.900.- slovima: četiritisućedevetstotina Kuna, koja će se isplaćivati svakog mjeseca unaprieđ uz odbitak zakonima propisanih poreza i pristojbi koje proizlaze iz ovog službenog odnosa kao i odnosnu biljegovinu na ovaj ugovor.
U ime doplatka na ženu pripada službeniku Kuna 300.-mjesečno a u ime doplatka na djecu Kuna 200.-mjesečno za svako dieta uz ograničenje propisa §§. 13. i 14. zakonske odredbe od 27 studenog 1941. broj ZDKZ-VII-2115-Z. i §§. 7. i 8. zakonske odredbe od 24 siečnja 1942.

§.2.

Ovaj ugovor se sklapa na neodredjeno vrieme, a može ga svaka odgovarajuća stranka otkazati svakog zadnjeg u mjesecu uz otkazni rok od mjesec dana.

§.3.

Službeprimac nema prava na sukromnu praksu niti na solidarne troškove. Takodjer nema pravo na dnevnicu ali ima pravo na naknadu stvarnih prevoznih troškova kada radi izvan sjedišta i to samo onda kad nisu prometna sredstva stavljena besplatno na razpoloženje bilo a koje strane.

§.4.

Ovaj ugovor se sklapa na temelju odredaba glave X, zakona o činovnicima od 31. ožujka 1931 g. i §-a. 9. zakonske odredbe broj XLIX-2-Z-1942 o preinakama i nadopunama zakonske odredbe o svrstavanju, berivima i Mirovinama državnih službenika broj: CDKZ-VII-2115-Z-1941. od 27. studenog 1941. g.
Te odredbe vriede za obje ugovorne stranke.

U Zagrebu, dne 22.IX.1942.

Službeprimac:
Dr.Teodor Grüner,v.r.

Ministar zdravstva:
Dr.Petrić,v.r.

Državni riznićar:
Dr.Košak,v.r.

Vidio pročelnik općeg odjela:
Milinković,v.r.

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Appendix 5.2.4: On 27.3.41, document #4281-v-1/1942 the Office of Law and Order informed all the police entities to refrain from applying measures against the non-Aryans on the families of the Jewish physicians that are in the service of the NDH government. (HAD, RUR 252, 29184 ZO.3379)

Br. 29184
ŽO 3379

RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKIH REDARSTVA
NEZAVISNE DRŽAVE HRVATSKE
ŽIDOVSKI - ODSJEK

Broj : 3379 —
Predmet: Zaštita članova obitelji Židova liječnika.—

Zagreb, 17. travnja 1942.—

U R E D U

P R E D S J E D N I Č T V A V L A D E ,

Z a g r e b

Pozivom na dopis naslova od 27. ožujka 1942 broj 4281-V-1/1942 po predmetu zaštite članova obitelji Židova liječnika, koji se nalaze u državnoj ili samoupravnoj službi izdao je Ustaški nadzorni zapovjednik putem Ustaške nadzorne službe ured I. okružnicu svim Županijskim redarstvenim oblastima, kao i Povjereništvu U. N. S. temeljem koje se imaju obitelji takovih liječnika izuzeti od upućivanja u radne i sabirne logore, kao i dozvoliti im nesmetano stanovanje u njihovim stanovima sve dok se odnosni liječnici nalaze u državnoj ili samoupravnoj službi.—

U prilogu dostavlja se naslovu prepis odnosne okr Žnice znanja radi.—

" Za D O M spremni ! "

Predstojnik odsjeka :

1 prilog

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Appendix 5.2.5: Dr. Teodor Gruner was advised by the Institute of Health to leave his current post without delay since it was no longer safe to remain in that area. Instructions were: collect your belonging and hire a car all expense would be paid by the Institute. (From Dr Gruner's private collection)

Nezavisna Država Hrvatska
ZAVOD
ZA SUZBIJANJE ENDEMIJSKOG SIFILISA
BANJA LUKA

Broj: 3806-1943

Prilepis!

Banja Luka, 12.VIII.1943.

Gospodin

Dr. TEODOR GRÜNER

VARCAR VAKUF

Savezno sa okružnicom Ministarstva unutarnih p-oslova Glavno Ravnateljstvo za zdravstvo Taj 99/43 od 11.VIII.1943 pozivate se da odmah odputujete u Banja Luku jer je daljni obstanak tamo ugrožen. Nastojte da sve tvorivo uzmete sobom i odobrava se da možete na račun ovoga Zavoda unajmiti kola.

Nakon izvršenog putovanja podnesite izvješće i putni troškovnik. Putni troškovi padaju na teret stupca 1594 podstupca 1 proračuna Zavoda za 1943.godinu.

ZA TOČNOST SPREMNIK

Upravitelj,

Upravitelj,

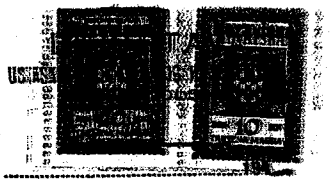
Dr. Stanko Sielski, v.r.

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Appendix 5.2.6: Dr. Bela Hochstader's wife requested his immediate release from concentration camp; arguing that he was deported before he received the invitation to join the syphilis expedition in B-H. Dr. Hochstader's wife was a famous actress. (MUP 302/Inv.10154/1942 ZO. 5050)

302/Inv 10154/1942
Ža 5050 – VIII. 29
P. 1/2

Ugl.



GLAVNI USTAŠKI STAN
Židovski odsjek.

93

Zagreb

Podpisana uljudno moli ugl. naslov, da odpusti njezina supruga, Dr. BELU HOCHSTÄDTERA, liječnika, koji se sada nalazi u židovskom logoru.

Koj je suprug kao liječnik bio odredjen, da ide vršiti svoj poziv u Bosnu. Njegov odlazak u logor je za me i moju obitelj prava nesreća budući da je moj suprug podpomagao moju majku i mog starog otca, koji je svojevremeno bio odpušten iz službe zbog svog isprazvnog hrvatskog nacionalnog stanovišta s ciglih 1.000.– dinara penzije.

Napominjem, da je moj suprug rojen u Hrvatskoj i da nikada nije sudjelovao u radu bilo kakovih protunarodnih društava, već je uvijek samo pravno vršio svoj poziv. Kao čista arijka, Hrvatica i Zagrebčanka molim uglednl naslov, da gaoslobodi od dužnosti u logoru i vrati ga mojoj obitelji, koja bi time opet stekla svog hranitelja, te omogući mu vršiti poziv u Bosni gdje je bio i odredjen.

Za dom – spremna!

U Zagrebu dne 15. srpnja 1941.

Emmy Dragutin
Hochstädter
članica Hrv. drž. kazališta

Dragutin Gorin
22/VII 41.

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Appendix 5.2.7: The Ministry of Health issued a list of all the physicians that were invited to serve in B-H to curb endemic syphilis. The suggestion of the Office of Law and Order stated that they would be sent neither to labor camps nor to hard labor; their families would be granted full protection. (HAD, RUR 252, 28017 ZO.4143)

Br. 28017
Zo. 4143 — 28. VIII. 41
p. 113

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA MINISTARSTVU ZDRAVSTVA

Z. Broj: Pov. 2397-1941. Zagreb, dne 26. kolovoza 1941.

Predmet: Židovi liječnici iz Zagreba
uput u Bosnu na suzbijanje
end. sifilisa-prijedlog Redar.
ravnateljstvu da ih se ne šalje
u koncentracione logore ili pri-
silni rad.-

USTAŠKOM REDARSTVU

1T

Z A G R E B
Zvonimirova ul. 2.-

U prilogu dostavljamo popis liječnika židova „koji će biti do 15. rujna 1941. upućeni u Bosnu radi suzbijanja end. sifilisa.

Molli se to redarstvo da navedene židove liječnike ne šalje u koncetracione logore i prisilni rad, izim u slučajevima ako nešto protiv istih predstoji.-

Za svakoga koji bi se uputio u prisilni rad molimo da nas se o tome izvoli obavjestiti.-

Po nalogu
MINISTRA ZDRAVSTVA
Pročelnik odjela za zdravstvo:
v.r.

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKOG REDARSTVA
Primljeno dne 27 VIII 1941
Broj 15241
PRILOZI:

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Appendix 5.2.8: The Ministry of Health issued a request to all the "Law and Order" agents to stop sending protected family members of NDH employees to the concentration camps. Four additional physicians were on their way to Bosnia. (HAD, RUR 252, 28017 ZO.)

252
28017
950

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA – MINISTARSTVO ZDRAVSTVA

Broj: Pov. 2387-1941. Zagreb, dne 27. kolovoza 1941.

Predmet: Židovi liječnici, iz Zagreba uput u Bosnu na suzbijanje end. sifilisa– prijedlog Ustaškom redarstvu da ih se ne šalje u koncentracioni logor ili prisilni rad.

U S T A Š K O M R E D A R S T V U

Z a g r e b
Zvonimirova ul. 2.–

U vezi ovdašnjeg dopisa od 26/VIII.t.g. broj gornji dostavljamo u prilogu popis liječnika židova koji će biti ista upućeni u Bosnu radi suzbijanja end. sifilisa, početkom mjeseca rujna.–

Liječnici židovi jesu slijedeći:

1/. Dr. Ivo L ö w, Gaulikova ul. 2.–
2/. " Zdenka L e v e n t a l „Držićeva ul 37.
3/. " Zdenka K r a u s „ Martićeva ul. 11. i
4/. " Albret S c h l e z i n g e r „Račkoga ul. 10.–

Molli se naslov, da navedene židove liječnike ne šalje u koncentracione logore i prisilni rad, osim u slučajevima ako nešto protiv istima postoji.

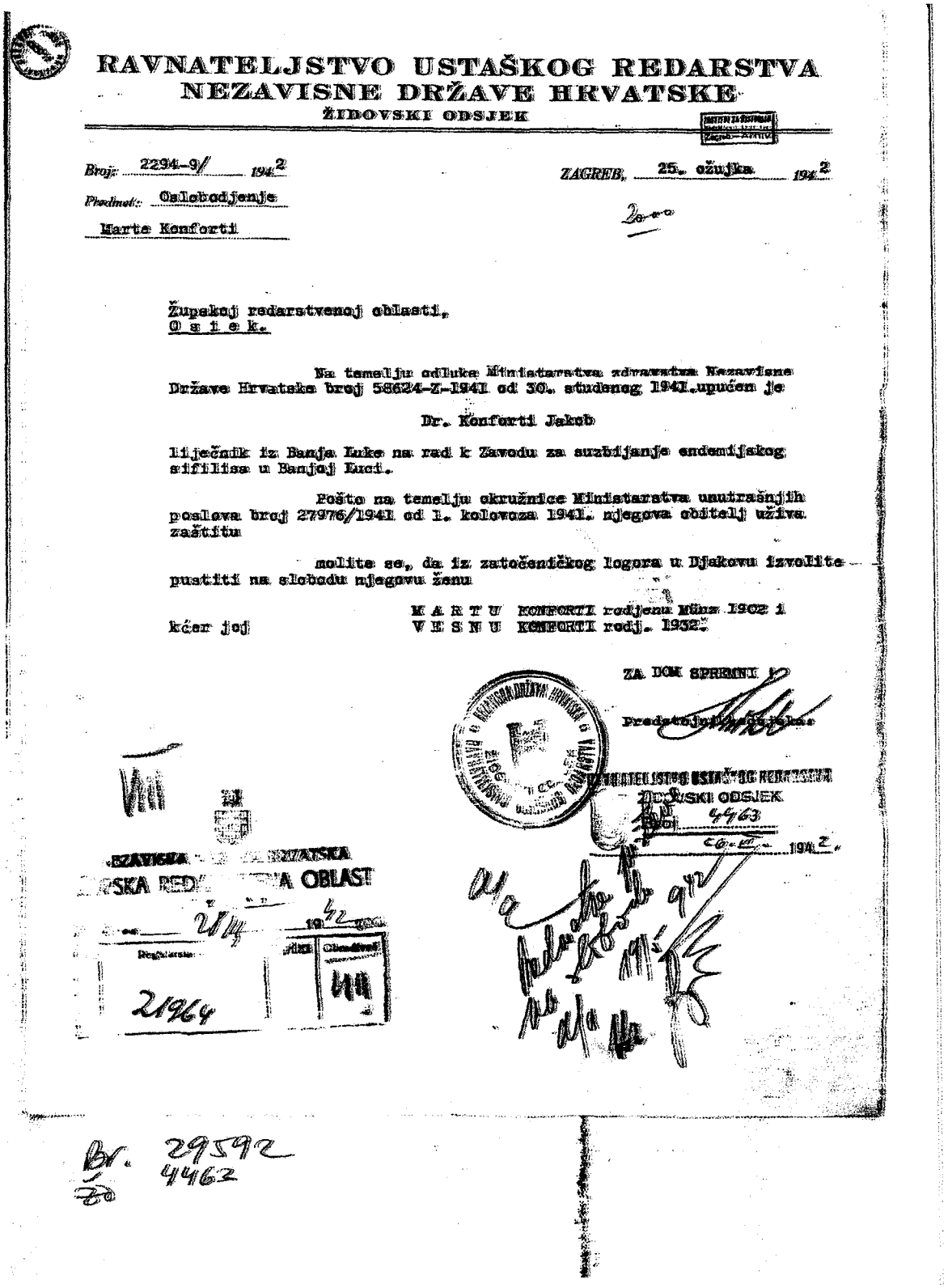
Za svakoga koji bi se uputio na prisilni rad molimo da nas se o tome izvoli obavijestiti.–

Po nalogu
MINISTRA ZDRAVSTVA
Pročelnik odjela za zdravstvo:
v.r.



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Appendix 5.2.9: The Office for Law and Order decided to release from concentration camp Marta and Vesna Konforti, the wife and daughter of Dr. Jacob Konforti who currently serves as a physician in Bosnia.(HDA, RUR 252, 29592 ZO.4463)



RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKOG REDARSTVA
NEZAVISNE DRŽAVE HRVATSKE
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK

Broj: 2294-9/ 1942
Predmet: Oslobodjenje Marte Konforti

ZAGREB, 25. ožujka 1942

Županij redarstvenoj oblasti,
O s i j e k.

Na temelju odluke Ministarstva zdravstva Nezavisne Države Hrvatske broj 58624-Z-1941 od 30. studenog 1941. upućen je

Dr. Konforti Jakob

liječnik iz Banja Luke na rad k Zavodu za suzbijanje endemijskog sifilisa u Banjoj Luci.

Pošto na temelju okružnice Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova broj 27976/1941 od 1. kolovoza 1941. njegova obitelj uživa zaštitu

molite se, da iz zatočeničkog logora u Djakovu izvolite pustiti na slobodu njegovu ženu

M A R T U KONFORTI rodjenu Münz 1902 i
kćer joj V E S N U KONFORTI rodj. 1932.

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

Predstojnik Ž. odsjeka.

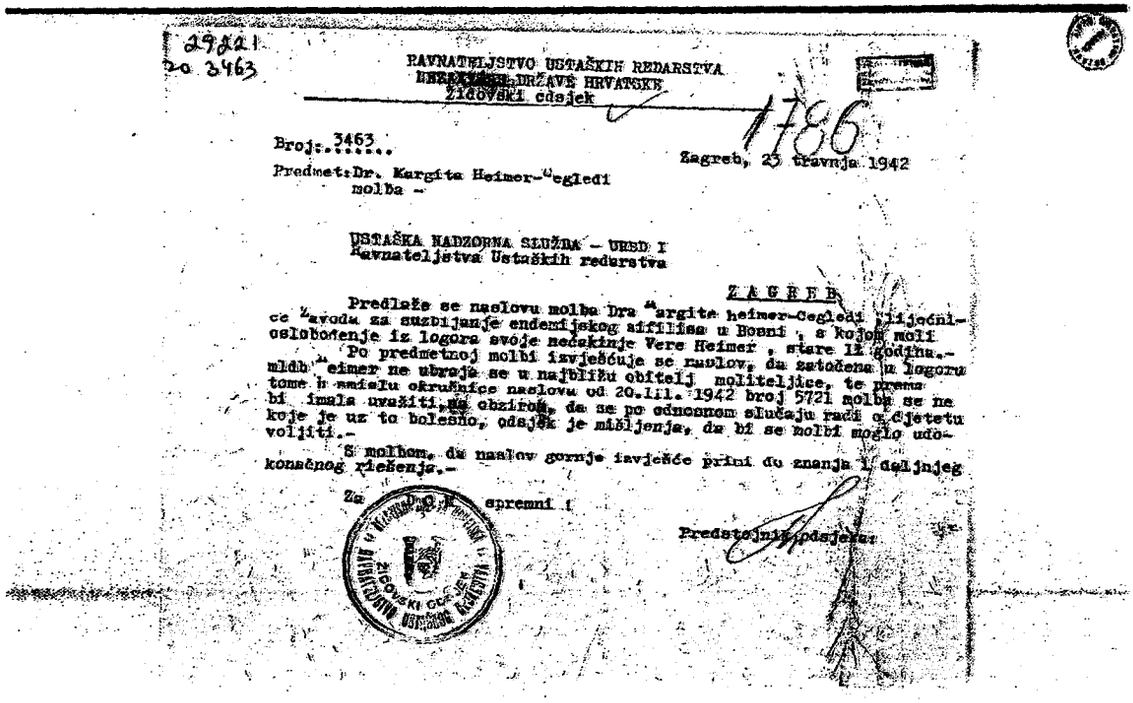
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
Broj 4463
1942

DRŽAVNA ... HRVATSKA
...SKA REDARSTVENA OBLAST
Broj 2964

Br. 29592
4462

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Appendix 5.2.10: Dr. Margite Heimer-Cegledi, physician in the service of the NDH government in Bosnia, requested to release from concentration camp her orphaned 11-year-old niece, Vera Heimer, as a special consideration. (The request was granted see Appendix of correspond). (HDA, RUR 252, 29221 ZO.3463)



29221
ZO 3463

RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKIH REDARSTVA
DRŽAVE HRVATSKE
Zigovski odsjek

1786

Broj:.3463.

Zagreb, 25 travnja 1942

Predmet:Dr. Margita Heimer-Cegledi
molba -

USTAŠKA NADZORNA SLUŽBA - URSD I
Ravnateljstva Ustaških redarstva

Z A G R E B

Predlaže se naslovu molba Dra Margite Heimer-Cegledi liječnice Zavoda za suzbijanje endemijskog sifilisa u Bosni , s kojom moli oslobođenje iz logora svoje nećakinje Vere Heimer , stare 11 godina.-

Po predmetnoj molbi izvješćuje se naslov, da zatočena u logoru maldb Heimer ne ubraja se u najbližu obitelj moliteljice, te prema tome i smislu okružnice naslovu od 20.III. 1942 broj 5721 molba se ne bi imala uvažiti, uz obzirom, da se po odnosnom slučaju radi o djetetu koje je uz to bolesno, odsjek je mišljenja, da bi se molbi moglo udovoljiti.-

S molbom, da naslov gornje izvješće primi do znanja i daljnje konačno rješenja.-

Za [illegible] spremni :

Predstojnik odsjeka:

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Appendix 5.2.11: On 9.3.1943, the Institute for Endemic Syphilis informed Dr. Gruner that the rumors regarding the deportation of all non-Aryans physicians to concentration camps were untrue and that he should not be concerned. (Private collection of Dr. Teodor Gruner)

Nezavisna Država Hrvatska
ZAVOD
ZA SUZBIJANJE ENDEMIJSKOG SIFILISA
BANJA LUKA

Broj: Taj.27/43.

Banja Luka, 9. ožujka 1943.

Gospodinu

Dr. Teodor Grüner

liečnik

u Prnjavoru.

Povodom oglasa Župskih redarstvenih oglasa u nekim mjestima, da se moraju prijaviti sve osobe nearijskog podrietla, nastala je zabrinutost i neizvjestnost medju liečnicima Zavoda.

Time u vezi stupio sam u vezu sa mjerodavnim vlastima i stavljeno mi je do znanja, da se protiv naših liečnika i njihovih obitelji neće poduzimati nikakve mjere i da radi toga nema razloga za bilo kakvu zabrinutost. Naprotiv naglašeno mi je, da će u najkraćem vremenu Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova-Glavno ravnateljstvo za zdravstvo uputiti ponovno okružnicu mjerodavnim vlastima u pogledu zaštita Zavodskih liečnika.

Stoga izvolite ostati mirno na svome mjestu i nastaviti rad kao i do sada.

U slučaju, da bi imali ipak bilo kakvih neugodnosti u gornjem pogledu, izvolite odmah brzojavno obaviestiti mene i Glavno ravnateljstvo za zadravstvo u Zagrebu.

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

Uparvitelj:

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Appendix 5.2.12: The Ministry of Health responded favorably to the request of Berta Izrael, the widow of Dr. Izak Izrael, who had fallen in battle, to give her and her family continued protection. The request was granted. (HDA, MUP 302/Inv.30020ZO.)

302/Inv. 30020

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
USTAŠKA NADZORNA SLUŽBA
URED I.

Broj 25445-IIa/42

Predmet: Berta ud. Izrael-molba.-

Zagreb, dne 13.XI.1942.

2227

ŽUPSKA REDARSTVENA OBLAST

T R A V N I K

Berta Izrael iz Pojatna udova pok. Izaka Izraela, kataraktog liječnika, izuzima se od nabrojenih protužidovskih mjera skupa sa svojom užom obitelji, radi zasluga pok. muža koji je kao kataraktki liječ nik poginuo vršeći povjerenu mu liječničku dužnost.

Molitelji će općiti rješenje.

O učinjenom obavjestiti ovaj ured.

ZA DOM SPREMNI !

UPRAVITELJ :
Paver, v.r.

.....

Broj, predmet i nadnevak: Kao gore

GLAVNOM AVANTELJSTVU ZA JAVNI RED I SIGURNOST
Židovski odsjek

Z A G R E B

Dostavlja se s molbom na znanje.-

ZA DOM SPREMNI !

UPRAVITELJ :

Paver

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
STARJEŠINA
AVANTELJSTVO ZA JAVNI RED I SIGURNOST
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
Broj 5925
20. XI. 1942.

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Appendix 5.2.13: Cantor Bernard Gruner sent a letter to the Ministry of Health, requesting information about the whereabouts of his son since he had no recent news of him. The Institute replied, letting him know that his son was fine and that they would soon hear from him. .(HDA, RUR 252, 28762 ZO749)

28762
20 749

43

Predmet:Grüner Dr.Teodor,liečnik,na službi u Varešu,
odveden u napoznatom pravcu.

M I N I S T A R S T V U Z D R A V S T V A
NEZ.VISNE DRŽAVE HRVATSKE,
u/
Z a g r e b u.

Podpisani Bernhard Grüner,otac Dra Teodora Grünera,liečnika,koji je rješenjem naslova Z br.22603.od 17.srpnja 1941.upućen na rad k Zavodu za suzbijanje endemijskog sifilisa u Banja Luku,izvještavam naslov,da je prema jednoj anonimnoj obaviesti datiranoj s 8./I.1942.,a koju sam primio dne 14.ov.mjes.,moj sin, Dr.Teodor Grüner,odveden sa zakonitom suprugom Tildom - iz Vareša u napoznatom pravcu, a vjerojatno po ustaškim ili redarstvenim vlastima,pa molim naslov,kao nadležnu vlast,da stvar ispita i obaviesti nadležne ustaške odnosno upravne vlasti,da je moj sin Dr.Teodor Grüner državni službenik,koji je imenovan po naslovu te da ga vrate u njegovo službeno mjesto,odnosno u mjesto prema odredbi naslova.

Moj sin Dr.Teodor Grüner nastupio je dužnost dne 7./VIII.1941. u Sarajevu,odakle je bio upućen na rad u Vareš,gdje je radio marljivo i savjestno bez prekida od dana nastupa zalazeći i uz opasnost po vlastiti život u obližnja -pa i dalja- sela.Nije se bavio protudržavnim akcijama,nije komunista,već je naprotiv uvijek još i kao đak simpatizirao s hrvatskim narodnim pokretom za oslobođenje,prema čemu se svakako radi o zabuni, tim više,kad ga je ugledni naslov bio odredio,da nastupi službu u svojstvu državnog namještenika.

Budući da je gosp.odjelnom prolelniku moj sin osobno poznat,to se nadam,da će ugledni naslov stvar odmah izvidjeti i donieti žurno i povoljno rješenje, te uz ostalo i zbog toga,što mi,njegovi roditelji,koji smo već u 6.deceniju života,živimo sada u velikoj neizvjestnosti.

Unapried se zahvaljujem uz osobito poštovanje

U Z a g r e b u ,dne 15.siečnja 1942.

Bernhard Grüner,Zagreb,
Ludbreška ul.32./Trešnjevka/.

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
MINISTARSTVO ZDRAVSTVA
ZAGREB
Primljeno 15. I. 1942

Redni broj	Broj uručenog zaključka	Broj priloga	Biljeg	Izvršiti
	2774	-	10	

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Appendix 5.2.14: Contract of employment signed between the NDH Ministry of Health and Dr. Alfred Neufeld. The monthly salary offered to Dr. Neufled was 4,000 Kunas per month. (HAD, RUR 252, 28601 ZO.8245)

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA MINISTARSTVO ZDRAVSTVA

Z. Broj : 36.249/1941

Gospodin

Dr. N E U F E L D A L F R E D

liečnik

u/

Z A G R E B U

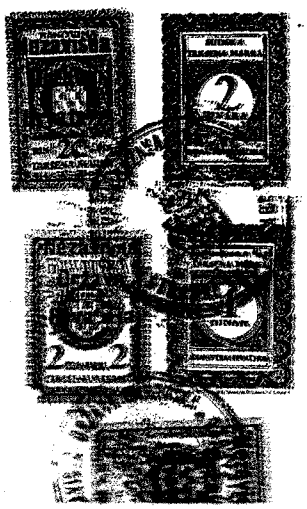
Odredbom ministra zdravstva od 4. rujna 1941 . Z. broj : 36.249/1941. upućeni ste na rad k zavodu za suzbijenje endemijskog sifilisa u Banjoj - Luci uz mjesečni honorar od 4.000.- slovima: četri tisuće kuna, s napomenom da se u zakonskom roku imadete javiti na službu upravitelju zavoda, koji će vas uputiti na rad i odrediti mjesto djelokruga prema potrebi službe.-

Isplata beriva staviti će vam se u tečaj počam od dana nastupa službe.-

Zagreb, dne 4. rujna 1941

Po nalogu
Ministra Zdravstva :
Pročelnik općeg odsjeka:
potpis nečitljiv v.r.

/ M.P./



Potvrđuje se, da je ovaj po samoj stranci napravljeni prepis suglasan _____ biljegovan sa _____ koji je pisan _____ a sastoji se od _____ arka te koji se nalazi po izjavi stranke kod _____ u Zagrebu _____ ulica broj _____

Kotarski sud I.

U Zagrebu, dne 10 rujna 1941

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Appendix 5.2.15: Dr. Gustav Singer, serving in NDH Domobranstvo, requested the release of his wife Sedonija from the concentration camp in Djakovo. The release was approved. (HDA, RUR 252, 29165 ZO.334)

29165
20 3344

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
USTAŠKA NADZORNA SLUŽBA
URED I.
RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKIH REDARSTAVA

958

Broj 12110/42. dr. T. Zagreb, 7. travnja 1942.

Predmet: Singer Sidonija – odpust iz logora.–

Na broj: 4225/42. od 16.III. 1942.

USTAŠKOM REDARSTVU ZA GRAD ZAGREB
I VELIKU ŽUPU PRIGORJE

Z A G R E B

Singer dr. Gustav odnosno njegova supruga Singer Katja rođena Kržan iz Zagreba, Ogrizovićeva ul.19/I. zakolio je, da se njegova žena Singer Sidoniju odpusti iz logora u Đakovu.

Ovu molbu preporučio je Židovski odsjek Ravnateljstva ustaškog redarstva u Zagrebu svojim dopisom od 22.I.42.br. 923/42. budući se radi o članu obitelji osobe, koja se nalazi u službi Ministarstva Hrvatskog Domobranstva.

Molitelj je dokazao, da se nalazi u službi hrvatskog domobranstva sa udjelom u domobranskoj bolnici u Sarajevu.

Prema izvješću naslova od 4.III.42.broja:2819/42. uhićena je Sidonija Singer jedino kao židovka, dok ju inače ništa drugo ne tereti.

Uslied toga a u smislu okružnice ovog Ureda od 20. III.42. broj: 5721/42. ima se Singer Sidonija odpustiti iz sabirnog logora , u Đakovu, pa je uslied toga naloženo upravi sabirnog logora u Đakovu, da navedenu prepusti naslovu a tim, da naslov navedenu odmah po prepuštenju pusti na slobodu.

O učinjenom valja odmah izvjestiti ovaj Ured kao i molitelja odnosno njegovu suprugu.–

Prilog: odpustnica na Singer Sidonija.

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

UPRAVITELJ:
Dr. Vukosav v.r.

Broj: 12110/42. dr. T. Zagreb, 7. travnja 1942.

Predmet: Kao gore.

Na br.923/42.od 22.II.42.

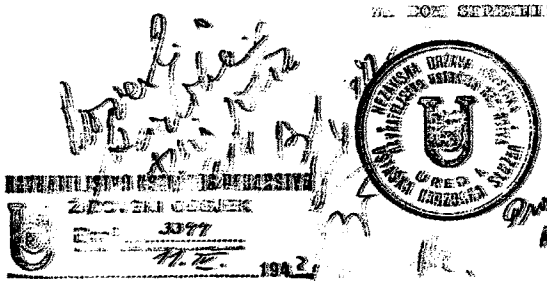
RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKOG REDARSTVA
Židovski odsjek

Z A G R E B

Na znanje.–

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

UPRAVITELJ:



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Appendix 5.3.0: Special Recommendations

Special Recommendations out of 4320 special requests for grantin of Aryan rights and release from concentration camps box 300 Inv. Br. 30072. Dotrscina, compilation of information about individual's death: where, when, how, and personal information. The books are organized in alphabetical chronological order. Arhiv Hrvatske: ZKRZ GUZ, JT NRH- popis zatocenika u Jasenovac II, Zidovska Opcina Zagreb, (ZOZ)

Statu	Name	Company name	Place	File No.	ZO No.	Remarks
?	Ableles Dr. Valerija, ljekarnik	Ustaski Logornik Gavranovic	Retfala	# 322		
?	Adolf Dr. Leon	Jozefa Adolf, w. Kvaternik Slavko,vojsk.vg	Sarajevo	29024	2514	20.03.42, special protection and immediate release from camp
D?	Almasi Karlo	Kvaternik Ljubomir, Veliki Zupan	Zagreb	29158	3257	29.09.41 decision to release the subject from CC Jasenovac, took 6 Z signs.
D	Altarac Dr. Silvjo	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 697		Killed in Jasenovc 1942, Took 2 Z signs
?	Altarac Ing. Salamon	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 697		
?	Anhalcer Albert	Ustaski povjerenik	Jesenje	# 355		
?	Anhalzer, k.Janko Jagic za supru.	Dr. Ljubica ud. Soldin i drugi	Zagreb	# 672		
?	Atias Hilda	tt. Tipografija & Ustash in Camp	Zagreb	29152	3214	06.04.42 subj. convrt C.C. & has right to wed V.Sakusek.
D	Auschpits Olga	Hrvatske Zene	Zagreb	# 640		19.10.42 taken to Stara Gradishka where she died.
?	Auslander David (son)	NDH, Ministarstvo Unutarnjih Poslova	Zagreb	302/MUP	3576/42	Prmit granted has permanent value, and can be negated by order of Mini.
?	Auslander Elizabeta	NDH, Ministarstvo Unutarnjih Poslova	Zagreb	302/MUP	3576/42	Prmit granted has permanent value, and can be negated by order of Mini.
?	Auslander Dr. Jaksi	NDH, Ministarstvo Unutarnjih Poslova	Zagreb	302/MUP	3576/42	Prmit granted has permanent value, and can be negated by order of Mini.
?	Auslander r. Mandel Margaret (wife)	NDH, Ministarstvo Unutarnjih Poslova	Zagreb	302/MUP	3576/42	Prmit granted has permanent value, and can be negated by order of Mini.
X	Axelrad David, burzov. senzal	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 532		ZOZ
?	Bauer Ervin, trgovac	Ustaskog Stana.	Daruvar	# 103		
X	Bayer Pavao, privat. namjestenik	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 1205		Recv. 4 Z Jewish signs destiny? RKt 1941, wife Marta Schogl Aryan.
?	Beck Vilko, trgovac	Ustaskog Stana. Faget	Karlovac	# 159		
X	Behermann Manko	Upravitelj Hrvatske Enciklopedije	Zagreb	27163	?	23.06.41 Request for not wearing Jewish sign granted
?	Bendic/Buchbinder/Hinko	Several Recommendations	Zavidovici	# 35		
D	Berger Imbro	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 652		Imprisoned in 1941 taken to CC Slano in Pagu ,died in Jasenovc
D?	Berger Miroslav	Rukavina Ing.Branko, Hojka Josip & other	Pakarac	29808	5101	Recv. 6 Z Jewish signs destiny? RKt 1941, killed in CC time & place unkown
D?	Berger Misko	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 652		Died in Jasenovc 1941, need to check? Took 4 Z signs.
?	Berger ud. Ausdrubala	Drz. tajnik i Ravnatelj tajnik Cubelic	Zagreb	27497	5305	21.06.41 request to return all her posessions and money taken
D?	Bier Ing. Eduard, privat. namjestenik	Ustaski Svéuc, Stozer Lj. Ivekovic	Zagreb	# 695		Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs destiny? RKt 1938
?	Birman Rudolf, trgovac	Ustaskog Logornika	Hrv. Kostajr	# 183		
X	Blau Dr. Antun, ljecnik	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 667		Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs. Destiny? Wife and 2 sons Aryan,
X	Blau Izidor, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 684		ZOZ, took 6 Z signs, RKt 1941
X	Blau Jakov	Poglavnik, Minister of Inti.B. Lorkovic i drugi	Zagreb	# 1274		ZOZ, took 4 Z sins
X?	Blau Zora	Gradski fizik iz Varazdina	Zagreb	28423	7431	26.11.41 was freed from C.C. Lobor Grad.
?	Blumschein Vladimir	Several Recommendations	Varazdin	# 119		No info
?	Bramer Ernest, mr.ph.	Stozernik Dr. Gutic	Banja Luka	# 354		No info
?	Breier Jakob	M. Hamilovic	Zagreb	# 584		No Info
?	Breyer Manja	Breter J. otac, Hrmilovic, Mayer, Peklic.	Zagreb	29164	3343	11.04.42 Ustashe Law and Order-release for Breyer Manja CC Dakovo
D?	Burgner Bela	General Oxilia	Zagreb	28898	1815	09.02.42, release from CC Jasenovc, Rkt. 1941, took 4 Z signs.
D?,43	Burgner Elza	General Oxilia	Zagreb	28898	1815	09.02.42, release from CC Jasenovc, Rkt. 1941, took 4 Z signs.
?	Conforti Samuel	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 706		No info
?	Darai Dezider, trgovac	Ustaskog Stana.	Valpovo	# 278		
?	Deci Dr. Sofia ud., ljekarnika	Ustaski Logornik	Novska	# 258		
?	Deze Dr. Ljudevit	M.V. Kvaternik	Banja Luka	# 91		
X	Dobrin Miroslav, priv. cinovnik	I. Javor poh/pobocnika	Zagreb	# 472		Recv. 2 Z Jewish signs. Lives in Venezuela
?	Dobrovic/Guttmann Pavel, Odvjetnik	Stozernik Dr. Gutic	Banja Luka	# 25		
?	Donat Aleksander, trgovac	Stancer	Karlovac	# 194		
?	Doranic/ Waserlauf/ Vladimir	M.H.D. Vinjevic	Zagreb	# 1289		
?	Dramaric Roza r. Bloch	Vojskovodja S. Kvaternik	Valpovo	# 298		
X?	Drucker/Kaufer Julija (wife of Zeljko)	E. Kvaternik	Zagreb	RUR?	1393	30.01.42 Excluded from measures taken against Jews
X?	Drucker/Hoffman Milka	E. Kvaternik	Zagreb	RUR?	1393	30.01.42 Excluded from measures taken against Jews
X?	Drucker Zeljko	Leo Dr. Drzic, prot. Poglavnik NDH Pavelic	Zagreb	29666	4703	08.07.42 reqst. supp. D. Kvaternik, I. Javor, Dr. A. Hondel and others, 4 Z si
?	Drzic Dr. Leo, gradski cinovnik	Poglavnik NDH, E. Kvaternik, Dr.Stepinac	Zagreb	29666	4703	Molioc trazi arijska prava za njegov obitelj
?	Eckstein/ Egic/ Slavomir	Poglavnik's Trustee	Sarajevo	# 359		
?	Ehrlich Ing. Simon	Reqst U.N.S.(Usths.Nadzor. Sluzba)	Sarajevo	29116	3134	High Consultent to formr.Bank Hdqrtr and his family
D	Eisenstadter Erna	Rajic, Nadporucnik i Velika Zupa Prigorje	Zagreb	29690	4764	22.07.42, most likely died in Jasenovac 24.12.44
D	Eisenstadter Bozena	Rajic, Nadporucnik i Velika Zupa Prigorje	Zagreb	29690	4764	22.07.42, most likely died in Jasenovac 24.12.44
D?	Eisenstadter Ljerka	Rajic, Nadporucnik i Velika Zupa Prigorje	Zagreb	29690	4764	22.07.42 place and date unkown?
D	Eisenstadter Zorka	Rajic, Nadporucnik i Velika Zupa Prigorje	Zagreb	29690	4764	22.07.42, most likely died in Jasenovac 24.12.44
?	Ekstein Hinko, posjednik	Tabor Roznik	Vrbovsko	# 182		
?	Erman Dr. Dinko, grad. kot.b ljecnik	Hrv. Ustaski tabor	Osijek	# 365		
D	Farkas Dr. Milan	Dr. M. Kosutic i drugi	Zagreb	# 525		Taken to Pag 26.06.41 transf. to Jasenovac where he died.
X	Farkas Dr. Robert	Dr. M. Kosutic i drugi	Zagreb	# 525		ZOZ, Registration of 1946 in all the surviving Jewish commu.
D?	Feigelbaum Emil, trg. zastupnik	Several Recommendations	Bosanska D	# 653		Only ZOZ, taken to Germany; date and place unkown?
?	Feldman Eleonora	Glavni tajnik pred. vlade Seitz	Zagreb	# 1239		
?	Ferber Julijo	Tabornik J.Musar , Stozer Kralj	Cacinci	# 69		Name also found in Hans Helms listing #112 order for impronment
X	Finzi Leon, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 572		ZOZ
?	Fischer Mirko	Logornik Majnaric	Vukovar	# 226		No info. Rkt. 1941
X?	Fischer Vlada	Ustaska Nadzorna Sluzba - Ured I	Zagreb	28908	1871	13.02.42, released from CC Stara Gradiska, took 2 signs
X	Frank Lola	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 666		ZOZ
?	Frankl Viktor, gostionicar	Ustaski povjerenik	Zlatar	# 248		
X	Frei Dr. Zlatko	I. Javor poh/pobocnika	Zagreb	# 477		Took 0 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Freid Adolf, obertnik	Ustaskog Stana.	Sisak	# 45		
X?,D?	Freidman/ Mirkovic/ Leo, clan Kazalis	Hrv. Skladitelj Gotovad	Zagreb	# 481		Took 2 Z signs, no info
D	Frey Armin, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 1061		Killed in Auschwitz 1943
?	Friedlander Leo	Ustaskog Logornika	Sisak	# 43		
?	Friedmann Emil, Grad. cinovnik	Hrv. Ustaskog Logora	Tuzla	# 21		
?	Fuks Feliks	Biskup Aksamovic	Djakovo	# 321		
?	Fuks Makso	Vojskovodja Kvaternik	Bjelovar	# 134		
D	Furst Dragutin	Prepo.ustskog tabora M, Recnika	Vrbovec	# 17		1944 taken to unkown place, killed Dotrscina
?	Gjankovic Grli, wife of H. Gjankovic R	Ante Jedvaj, edit. "Hrvtsk. Gruda"	Zagreb	27174		24.05.41as a wife of scientist and physician free from wearin "Z"
D	Gewold Fanika	Vise preporuka,	Zagreb	# 656		
X	Gluck Pavao, brother in law	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292	31.07.42, works in close conn. w/ S. Kvaternik and J. Rukavina Rkt 1941
X	Goldschmidt Arnold	Ustasa Soldin	Zagreb	# 1300		Took 2 Z signs, Rkt. 1923
D	Goldschmidt Dr. Slavko	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 687		Two versions, killed with a group of 20 in Jasenovc, or1943 or 1944 Gradini
D?X?	Goldschmidt Ing. Mirko	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 638		Took 2 Z signs, Rkt. 1941, no info
D?	Goldstein Ing. Armin	General A. Maric	Zagreb	# 1228		Took 6 Z signs, likely died in Jasenovac III 1941
?	Goranic, Graf, Djuro	Ustaskog Stana.	Srjem Mitrov	# 99		
X	Greguric r. Drucker Zorka	Leo Dr. Drzic, prof,. Poglavnik NDH Pavelic	Zagreb	29666	4703	08.07.42 reqst. supp. D. Kvaternik, I. Javor, Dr. A. Hondel , Rkt. 1934
?	Grinbaum Andrija and family	Ustaski Stan	Gaj	300/72	9341	
?	Grunberg Dr. Josip, ljecnik	Ustaskog Stana.	Derventa	# 115		
X?	Grunwald / Gorijan/ Ivan	Nadbiskup Dr. Stepinac	Zagreb	# 536		Took 4 Z signs, Rkt. 1941, no info
X?	Grunwald Miroslav	Vilim and Dido Kvaternik	Zagreb	28147	4771	18.08.41, Vilim sent letter Dido K, asked him for release, Rkt. 1941,2Zsign
X	Hahn r. Lowy Kamila	Dr. Vukosav & husband Dr. Ing. V. Hahn	Zagreb	28879	1408	Took 2 Z signs

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?	Hecht Moric i Josip	Dr. V. Prebeg	Bebrina	#	393		
X	Hercog Dr. Ivan, biv. pred. zivcan bol	Stozer V. Begica, Culumovica i drugi	Zagreb	#	1283		ZOZ
?	Herman Erlich, Pok. obitelj	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	668		
?	Hirhager Vera	Dr. V. Prebeg i drugi	Zagreb	#	585		
D	Hirschl Ljudevit, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	515		sent to Jasenovac 1941, transfered to German Camp?
?	Hochsteter Branko, trg. putnik	Ustaski odred, Kustosija	Kustosija	#	138		
?	Hoffman r. Drucker Milka, mother	Leo Dr. Drzic, prot. Poglavnik NDH Pavelic	Zagreb	29666	4703		08.07.42 reqst. supp. D. Kvaternik, I. Javor, Dr. A. Hondel and others
?	Hoffman Ing. Teodor, step father	Leo Dr. Drzic, prot. Poglavnik NDH Pavelic	Zagreb	29666	4703		08.07.42 reqst. supp. D. Kvaternik, I. Javor, Dr. A. Hondel and others
?	Hofman Dr. Andrija, ljecnik okr. suda	Ustaski stozer Hams	Osijek	#	358		
?	Hofmann Arnold, veterinar	Stozernik Dr. Gutic	Banja Luka	#	158		
X	Horetzky Dr. Oto	Several Recommendations, Dr. Gutic	Zagreb	#	10		Took 0 signs, RKt 1928
D	Izrael Dr. Izak, vojni ljecnik umr u ratu	Several Recommendations	Sarjevo	#	76		Died in battle
?	Jadna Ervin, privt. cin.	Ustaski stozer	Osijek	#	307		
D	Jakob Ernest, privat, namjest.	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	1043		Took 2 Z signs, likely died in Jasenovac 41
?	Jankovic Pavao, za obitelj	Several Recommendations	Karlovac	#	377		
D?	Juhn Gvido	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	671		Took 6 Z signs, died in Jasenovac 1941.
X	Juhn Kolman	Josip Kvaternik	Zagreb	27321	0414		Approv. by Ust. Offic no need to wear Z sign, Rkt 1939
X	Justitz Hinko	wife Ida Juranic renown Croatian Artist	Zagreb	28415	7419		26.11.41,reqst. freedom to travel for husband, granted, Rkt 1941
?	Kardos Ing. Ladislav	Puk. S. Grlic	Osijek	#	198		
X?	Kastel Ing. Gjure	Ing, Matizovic, Dr, Pernar, Ing. Kller i drugi	Zagreb	28004	Rl 4110		Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 1923 wife & Daugh.Rkt.
?	Karvanski ud. Augusta	Spaho Fehim Reis Ul Ulema	Zagreb	#	557		
?	Keselmann Mozes, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Budakovci	#	372		
?	Klein Ivan, dryar posrednik	Dr. Hrvoja	Zagreb	#	686		
?	Klein Josip, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Dolici	#	131		
?	Koch Josip, privatcin	Ustski povjerenik za Bosnu i Herc.	Zagreb	#	1033		Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Kohn Marko	Ferdolamber & Mixed Marriage	Zagreb	28858			16.12.41,Mini. of Intirior granted the family unmolasted residency# 52025/41
?	Kolar Makso	Dr. V. Prebeg	Brod n/S	#	108		
X	Kolmar Mavro	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	660		ZOZ
D?	Kornfein Franjo	Dr. Dom Sv. Josipa u Laskovcu	Zagreb	#	685		ZOZ, the place and time of his death not confirmed
?	Korsky (Kestenbaum) Dr. Adolf	Majora Lukac	Osiek	#	47		
D	Korsky (Kestenbaum) Dr. Ivo	Majora Lukac	Osiek	#	47		HA. Streljan u Dotrscini 1941, Communist activist
?	Korte Etel i djeca	Evang. biskup Dr. Popp	Zagreb	#	617		
?	Kosta Domenik i Irma ud. Deutsch	Several Recommendations	Vinkovci	#	436		
?	Kostel Dr. Dragan, obvjetnik	Zapovjed. Kopnene vojske Lulic	Zagreb	#	1066		
?	Kovac Ing. Vilim	Reqst U.N.S.(Usths.Nadzor. Sluzba)	Sarajevo	29116	3134		High Consultent to formr.Bank Hdqrtr and his family
?	Kovacic Emanuel, Grad. Fizik um.	Vladimir Pregbeg	Broad n/S	#	246		
D	Kraljevic Andrija	Zupni Ured Sv. Josipa u Zagrebu	Zagreb	28675	0093		1941 killed 1941 Dotrscina
?	Kraus Ervin, Zelj. cinovnik	Ustaski stozer	Osiek	#	34		
?	Kraus Ing. Srecko	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	538		
?	Kraus Kornelija	Several Recommendations	Osijek	#	367		
?	Kraus Mavro, priv. cinovnik	Ustaski tabornik	Belisce	#	329		
?	Kraus Mirko, prifvat. cinovnik	Several Recommendations	Osijek	#	368		
?	Kraus Robert	Vodja ustasa Rudolf Sann	Belisce	#	295		
?	Kraus Rudolf	Logornik Mestrovic	Peozov	#	289		
?	Krec Branko, Kot. Sudac	Ustaski povjerenik Racan	Garesnica	#	114		
?	Krec Stanko	Drs. Stanic, Horvat, Ing Vrkjan, Persic	Kutina	27686	1364		17.09.41 because of his father's great. testify on his behalf import. Croatians
D	Kremzir Ljubomir	Kuhenel Nadstojnik Zidovskog Odsjeka	Zagreb	29866	5297		31.07.42 given to him by the highest NDH hierarchy
X	Kremzir Teodor, majka	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
X	Kremzir Vladimir, brat djelatni domo.s	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
X	Kremzir Ivan, brat/drzavni povjerenik	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
X	Kremzir Mirko, brat/ drzavni povjerenil	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
X	Kremzir Bozo, brat/ trgovacki putnik	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
X	Kremzir Srecko, brat/ povratnik	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42, Ustasa, main office of the Ustashe
X	Kremzir Slavko, grat/ kovinotokar,	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42, sworn Ustasha
X	Kremzir Dusan, brat/ drogerista	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42, employed by Isis, d.d.
X	Kremzir u. Gluck Zlata, sister	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
X	Kremzir u. Mayer Vera, sister	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
X	Kremzir Nada, priv. cinovnica	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
X	Kremzir u. Adamek Maja	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42, husband pure Ariyan
X	Krezmir Desanka, priv. cinovnica	Kremzir, Lj. Zastavnik Poglavinkove Tjele.	Zagreb	29865	5292		31.07.42,
?	Ladic Dr. Vladimir	Stozernik Dr. Gutic	Banja Luka	#	30		
?	Landau Josip	Pogl. povjer. Bralo	Sarajevo	#	350		
?	Langer Alexander	Badovinac Dr. Milan, Velik Zupan	Virovitice	29354	3814		15.05.42 high recom. knowing the subject from Virovitice as hero Croat
?	Law Fritz	Ustaski tabornik	Osijek	#	452		
?	Lebl Ida ud. i djeca	Several Recommendations	Djakovo	#	77		
D?	Lehner Ing. Vilko	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	1053		ZOZ place and year of death unknown?
D?	Leich Elza	Ustasa Korenjak Franja	Zagreb	#	1260		Took 4 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Leikauff Bela, trgovkinja	Ustaski Stan. Pozega	St. Pozega	#	428		
?	Leitner Vladimir, fotograf	Ustaski stozer Hams	Osijek	#	338		
?	Lemberger Dr. Julijo,ljecnik	Tabornik Zavrska	Sv. Kriz	#	177		
D?	Levy David, trgovac	Ustaski povjerenik	Koprivnica	#	149		ZOZ place and year of death unknown?
?	Mandel Helena i djeca	Ustaski povjerenik M. Lukac	N. Gradiska	#	443		
D	Mann Adolf	Ustasko Red. Povjerenistvo	Zagreb	27258	289		04.06.41His request for retaining Croatian Citizenship was granted
?	Masansker Stjepan, priv. cinovnik	G1 Ustaskog Stana.	Koprivnica	#	192		Took 8 Z signs, Auschwitz 1944
?	Matijevfic Stefica,parfumerija	Ustaski stozer Hams i drugi	Osijek	#	351		
?	Mehely Marta ,sinove Gideon,Bozidar	Vise preporuka,	Bjelovar	#	375		
?	Merkadic Adela	Cavcic Denis i drugi gradanji	Brod n/s	28947	2241		30.01.42 released from Jasenovc
?	Merkadic Dr. Ante, prislusnik Sudb,	Stozernik Dr. Gutic	Banja Luka	#	306		
?	Merkadic Zdenko	Cavcic Denis i drugi gradanji	Brod n/s	28947	2241		30.01.42 released from Jasenovc
?	Mesic Zvonimir, Dr. Prof.	Several Recommendations	Senj.	#	55		
?	Miller Leopold	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	1281		
?	Mitrovic Nada	Spaho Fehim Reis Ul Ulema	Sarajevo	#	173		
X	Modjoros Rikard	Ivan Jirasek & O. Modjoros, wire	Zagreb	27844	24.07.4		Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Montiljo Sida	Generalni Konsulata Kr. Italije	Sarajevo	28964	2261		26.02.42 released from C.C. Stara Gradishka, accompanied to the border
?	Mrezanov Melkon	Stozernik Vel. Zupe Zagorje	Varazdin	#	404		
D?	Muller Dragutin, vlasnik auto-radnje	Several Recommendations	Brod n/S	#	370		ZOZ place and year of death unknown?
?	Neuburg Sabin ud. Biermann i braca	Ustaski Logornik	Sisak	#	395		
?	Neufeld Karolina	Njemacko poslanstvo, Dopffel	Zagreb	29776	5044		Took 0 Z signs,
?	Neuman Marvo, obertnik	Ustaskog Logornika Vlahovic	Samobor	#	116		
D?	Neuman Robert	Ing. I. Kovacevic i drugi	Zagreb	#	513		AH, ZOZ deported to Jasenovac 1941 murderd
D?	Neuman Slavko	Ing. I. Kovacevic i drugi	Zagreb	#	513		AH, ZOZ killed 1941, place and time unknown?
X	Njemcic Olga	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	1048		Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Novosel Dr. Dragan	Prepo.ustskog tabora M, Recnika	Garsnica	#	27		
?	Papo Haim, trgovac	Logornik Bralic	Travnik	#	262		
?	Pavlovic Gizela	Logornik Mitas	Zivnice	#	228		
?	Pavusek Mira? tajnik Jadransko osig.	Eugena Kvaternik	Zagreb	28169	Rl 4864		22.09.41 Let go from CC Zavrtnici, took 2 Z signs
X	Preradovic/Freedman Draga, wife	Sign.100+ signit. citi.of Laduc near Brdovca	Zagreb	27171	0019		23.04.41, in their place of birth the entire village respect. the Freedmans
D	Pfeiffer Artur i Elza rg.Rechnitzer	Ustaskog Stana.	Pakarac	#	274		Killed time and place unknown
D?	Pick/Polanovic/ Boris, trg. putnik	Zapovjed. 10 sat	Zagreb	#	517		Took 2 Z signs, Rkt 1941
?	Polak Dr. Alfons, ljecnik	Dr. Starcevic Mile	Brod n/S	#	196		

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D?	Polak Josip, priv. cinovnik	Bralo Poglavnikov povjerenik	Sarajevo	# 417			HA, 1944 taken to Auschwitz there killed tamo ubijen
D?	Polak Zlatko, trg putnik	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 1039			Took 8 Z signs, Rkt 1941place and date not known
?	Pollak Ing. Oskar	Povjera ustaski povjer. za Gorski Kotar	Delnice	# 14			
?	Poper Ivanka, supruga trgovaca	Nadbiskup Dr. Saric i drugi	Sarajevo	# 444			
?	Reichert Ziga	Ustaski povjerenik M. Lukac	N. Gradiska	# 343			
X	Rechnitzer Dr. Mirko	orders of the President	Zagreb	28870	1373		05.03.42, reqst of wife Milka born Galac of her husband was granted
X	Reves Lavoslav, cin. ind. komore	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 593			ZOZ
D?	Rosenberg Mavro	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 651			Took 4 Z signs, Rkt 1941
D?	Rosenberg Sigmund	Drustva Hrv. boraca	Zagreb	# 495			AH, ZOZ(not enough info.,) uhapsen 1941 u Jasenovac, ubijen 1945
?	Rosenblat Maria-Rena	Dr. Ivsic Milan sveuc. Prof.	Zagreb	# 525			
?	Sachs Dr. Eduard, Lawyer	Dubrovak Levanic, Ustasho Redarstvo	Zagreb	27182	0167		24.05.41 approved
?	Sajdner Albert	Stozernik Dr. Gutic	Bos. Dubica	# 348			
?	Savin/Svarc Bruno	Szabo Prof. Gjuro,& praunsperger Milan	Zagreb	27618	1209		09.07.41 High aclaim to entire family
?	Schaffer Franjo	Zebic Mirko Ustaski povjerenik	Zagreb	# 603			
?	Schilinger Etelka	Ustaski povjerenik	Pozega	# 218			
?	Schilinger Jakob	Ustaski povjerenik	Pozega	# 218			
?	Schilinger Milan	Ustaski stozer	Osijek	# 62			
X?D?	Schlesinger Hinko, zelj. Zvanicnik	J. Car, Ustasa i drugi	Zagreb	# 525			M.Svob ZOZ, AH ubijen u 02/1945 u Sesvetama
D	Schlesinger Jakov, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 675			AH, ZOZ uhapsen 1941 poslan u Jasenovac i ubijen pre oslob. 1945.
?	Schonauer Vilim	Tabornik Krajac	Sestina	# 1253			
?	Schonstein Renata, Prof.	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 1238			
?	Schonwald Robert	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 641			
?	Sebastian General Dr. Mantel	Minis. Croatian Army, wife R.C. Convert R.C	Zagreb	29259	3533		24.04.42 subj. reqsts to remain free on grounds mentioned
?	Seidl Gertrud	Mons. Dr. J. Loncaric, Zupnik	Zagreb	# 1064			
?	Schulteis Josip	Dr. Janda Krunoslav, odvjetnik	Karlovac	29691	4765		Sent to Dr. A. Artukovic, Min. Unutamjih Posl. his posit. @ tt. Mautner
?	Selan Edmund	Topnickog pukovnika Grlica St.	Zagreb	# 511			
?	Seligman Ziga, trg. pom.	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 676			
?	Smolic r. Klein Adela, supg, trgovaca	Ustaskog Logora	Virkovci	# 141			
?	Smulder Jusuf, ljekarnik	Moli otac i drugi Muslimani za Seada	Zavidovic	28835	1230		Letter sent to Dr. Daferbeg Kulanovic Vice President of govern.
?	Spiler/Georgijevic, Albert, ljecnik	Jedvaj	Ivanec	# 203			
X	Spitzer Dr. Ivan. lijecnik	C. Cudina, I.Javor, M.zebic, I. Vrnesic& oth.	Zagreb	29014	1092		07.06.41,Medical Dr. of the local football team and heroic fam.in WWI.
X	Spitzer Herbert	Mons. Dr. J. Loncaric, Zupnik	Zagreb	# 1046			ZOZ
D?	Spitzer Karl	Mons. Dr. J. Loncaric, Zupnik	Zagreb	# 1046			ZOZ?
?	Stadler Dr. Albert	NDH, Mini. of Intirior	Zagreb	28736	0499		19.12.41reqst. subm. by daugher- release from C.C.Jasenovac was granted
D?	Stein Jakob	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 665			AH, ZOZ is he the one mentioned? uhicen i ubijen u Jasenovcu 1941
?	Steiner Franjo	Logornik Marcius	Zagreb	# 1258.31			
?	Steiner Hinko	Minister Joza Dumandzic & Josip Milkovic	Zagreb	28943	2232		27.02.42, wife and childR.C. subjct.converted R.C. reason for impris. burea.
?	Steiner Josip	Logornik Marcius	Zagreb	# 1258.31			
?	Steiner Dr. Rikard	Several Recommendations	Koprivnica	# 127			
?	Stern Emanuel	Ustaski povjerenik	Karlovac	# 242			
X	Stern Ladislav, bank. cinovnik	M. Sepak, tajnik kod min. nastave	Zagreb	# 1184			ZOZ
?	Stern Milan	Request for relocation to Kustosiju	Zagreb	29893	5388		18.09.42 permit from Mini. of Intirior and mixed marriage
?	Stots r. Pick Emica	Vise preporuka,	Zagreb	# 681			
?	Strasser Rugen & Margita	Gradski Nacelnik	Zagreb	28559	8110		17.12.41 There is a need to protect the protected Jews from apart. looters
D	Szucs/ Sic/ Makso, privt. cinovnik	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 1223			AH, ZOZ uhapsen i ubijen u Jasenovcu 1941.
*D?	Tonauer Dr. Nikola (D Tohauer Nikol	ZOZ	Zagreb	29706	4815		AH, ZOZ, Jasenovac 1945. Empl. of ZOZ and NDH , Div. of Social Welfare
?	Ungar Ing. ?	Eugena Kvaternik	Zagreb	28169 R	4864		22.09.41 released from CC u Zavrtivici
?	Venger Zlatko, mljekar	Hrvatski Ustaski tabor	Vodjinci	# 64			
?	Verdern Herman, tvor. radnik	Ustaskog Logornika	Belisce	# 193			
?	Vojkovic Franjo	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 657			
?	Vojkovic Sandor	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 657			
?	Vojnovic Stjepan	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 1224			
?	Vojnovic Vladimir	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 1224			
?	Vondracek Dr. Edita	Ustaski Logornik	Daruvar	# 276			
?	Weiss Aleksander	Car Josip, nastojnik direkcija drz. zeljeznic	Donji Miholjc	29497	4095		No measures should be taken agains the subject without permission
?	Weiss Dr. Alexander	Dr. V. Prebeg	Zagreb	# 553			
?	Weiss Dr. Filip, opci Ljecnik	Ustaski povjerenik Kestic	Bosiljevo	# 109			
?	Weiss Emanuel	Dr. V. Prebeg	Zagreb	# 553			
?	Weiss Greta	ZOZ	Zagreb	29558	4376		Release from conc.camp Dakovo to work as teacher in Osiek
?	Weiss Herman, Dom. nadpor, um.	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 642			
?	Weiss Dr. Miroslav	Kuhnel, Nadstojnik Odsjek	Zagreb	302/3002	6346M(		Product of mixed marriage wife and child also R.C.
?	Weiss Olga	C. Cudine	Zagreb	# 542			
?	Wisz Aleksander, Kipar	Komorski tajnik i vise preporuka	Zagreb	3974/194	3288		09.06.41 Strucna sekcija stolara trazi da se moze kretati slobdn.po gradu

Sub Total 252 listed in one folder, 41X alive, 10X? not sure identity, 154? destiny unknown, 27 D? most likely but not certain no explisit, 20 D confirmed dead,

Special Recommendations: Second List for Zagreb and other locations in NDH ....box 300 Inv. # 30072

Status	Name	Company name	Place	File No.	ZO No.	Remarks
?	Abinun I. David	Stozer u Travniku	Travnik	# 480		
?	Adler Ing. Milan, ing agronomije	Several Recommendations	Sv. Ivan Zat	# 612		
?	Aleksander Feliks, mesar	Harvoj, S.	Zagreb	# 372		22.07.42 RUR 29704, ZO 4813, to catch and deport provd. no Aryan Rights
?	Aleksander Milan, privatnik	J. Toric	Zagreb	# 18		
X	Altarac Samuel, Veterinar	Ustaski Logornik u Kotor Varos	Kotorisce	# 692		ZOZ, 1946
?	Alter Baris	Ustaski Tabor Zavidovici	Zavodpvoc	# 614		
X	Altestater Pavao, priv. namjest.	Majcen, T i Zebic, M.	Zagreb	# 394		
X	Baruch Dr. Silvjo, Odvjetnik	Several Recommendations	Sarajevo	# 618		ZOZ, 1946
?	Bas Ziga	Troyer Josip, Velika Zupa i drugi	Sarajevo	# 551		
?	Bauer Stjepan, knjigoveza	Soldin S., i Kremzir, B.	Zagreb	# 383		
X	Behrman Manko	B. Lorkovic	Zagreb	# 251		
?	Bendek Rudolf, trg, zastupnik	Niksic, M. Ustaski povjerenik	Zagreb	# 387		
?	Berger Arnold	Several Recommendations	Prijedor	# 549		
?	Betlecheim/ Belin/ Slavko	Kumcic Marija i ustask. stana. u Kutini	Zagreb	# 124		
*	Biller Ada	Opcina Zlatar, zastita njihovih Zidova	Zlatar	29166	3345	Vlka Zupa Zagorje recom. 13.10.41 Ust. Stozer Protiv, Ust. Red. daje zasti.
*	Biller Ljuba	Opcina Zlatar, zastita njihovih Zidova	Zlatar	29166	3345	Vlka Zupa Zagorje recom. 13.10.41 Ust. Stozer Protiv, Ust. Red. daje zasti.
*	Biller Paula	Opcina Zlatar, zastita njihovih Zidova	Zlatar	29166	3345	Vlka Zupa Zagorje recom. 13.10.41 Ust. Stozer Protiv, Ust. Red. daje zasti.
X	Borenstein Alfred, veletrgovac	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 61		
?	Boskowitz Marko, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Osijek	# 716		
?	Braun Julijo	Dr. Gutic	Banja Luka	# 516		
?	Buchler Leo, priv. namjestenik	Serbic S. p.puk. i drugi	Zagreb	# 216		Buchler Leon, Josipa, Auschwitz 1943?
?	Centner Dr. Oto,, Vijecnik sudb. stola	Podzupan V. Zupna Vrhbona	Tuzla	# 553		
?	Dean rodj. Biler Mila i sin	Dr. Dean Ante Sudac i muz	Zagreb	# 172		
?	Deutsc Dr. Milan, odvjetnik	Ustski stozer v. Zupe Zagorje	Varazdin	# 510		
?	Deutsch Aleksander	Knezevic, logornik	Puticevo	# 560		
D	Deutsch Slavko, bank ravnatelj	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 47		AH, ZOZ, Place and time not confirmed most likely Auschwitz 1943
?	Donner Gustav, blasnik ciglane i pilan	Okrosa, N., Ustaski Tabornik	Dubrava	# 603		

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?	Drucker Dr. Leo	Poglavnik, Ministar Dr. Lorkovic,& Crovski	Zagreb	27840	2121	24.07.41 confirm subject obtained spec. Aryan Rights(pocasna arijs.prava
?	Duic/ Deutsch/ Dr. Ernest	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 2		
?	Eisenstatter Milan, sofer	K. Babic, Prof. i drugi	Zagreb	# 80		
?	Ekstajn Aleksander	H.U. Sabor, V. Grdjevac	V. Grdjevac	# 567		
?	Engel Lawoslav	Ustaski logornik u Vitrovitici	Virovitica	# 592		
?	Erich Dr. Aleksander, ravnatelj s. tech	Ademaga Misic	Zagreb	# 7		
?	Erlich Ing. Juraj, grd,visi inzinir	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 8		
?	Felgebaum Emil	T. Stefcic, Nacelnik Opc. Bos. Dubic	Bos. Dubica	27437	0764	Podpisano jos sedmero glavnih ljuci u Bos. Dubici
?	Feldman Dr. Miroslav, ljecnik drz. bolr	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 51		
?	Feuer Robert	Stejepan Blazicko i drugi	Zagreb	# 170		
?	Filip Ernest	A. Matesic, Kap. fregate i 8 drugih	Zagreb	28561 RI	8114	
X	Fischer Ignjat, arhitekt	Cudina Ciril	Zagreb	# 333		
?	Fischer Samuel	Baranja, V.Z. Ustaski stozer	Harkanovci	# 649		
?	Fisher Ivan, Krojac. obrtnik	Tabornik Pozega	Pozega	# 635		
?	Fidbauer/ Ratic/ Josip, mesarski ober	Ustski Stan. Osiek	Zagreb	# 132		
?	Frank Family	Ante Pavelic, Poglavnik	Zagreb	Hans Hel	Box 34	# 130 Nazi agent Ing. Kutscha Bruno in Croatia the top echelon involved w/Je
?	Frank Dr. Josip	Salon Vidic Matija, "dvorski frizer"	Zagreb	Hans Hel	Box 34	#131 states that he shaved NDH Ministers includ. Mile Budek
?	Frankovic rodj. Mathe Jelena	Kvaternik, D. Vojskovodja	Zagreb	# 297		
?	Fried Josip, priv. cin	I. Javor i A. Jdvaja i drugi	Zagreb	# 84		
?	Friedman Stjepan	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 64		
?	Froilich Oskar, vlasnik tvornice	Zanic, M.	Zagreb	# 294		
?	Fursrt Rikard, trgovac	Kumcic Marija	Zagreb	# 315		
?	Glassner Bernard, barbar, obrtnik	Ustaski Logornik	D. Miholjac	# 648		
X	Goldstein Josip	Several Recommendations	Osiek	# 474		
D?	Gorjan Ing. Rikard	Ustaska Zadruga	Zagreb	# 439		Nepoznato mjesto i datum, Samo ZOZ
?	Goruga Dr. Viktor, hotelijer	Ustaski Tavor	Osiek	# 587		
?	Gostel Dr. Josip	Ustaski Tabor i U. stozer	Ogulin	# 590		
?	Grabaric Marko, vis. Kontrolor	Rukavina Juco i drugi	Zagreb	# 14		
?	Greiner rd. slezlner Josipa,	Dr. J. Loncaric	Zagreb	# 240		
D?	Gross Josip, privt. cinovni,	Stepinac Dr. A. Nadbiskup i drugi	Zagreb	# 3		ZOZ only, no date, time or place?
?	Grossman Dr. Makso, ljecnik	M. Budak, ljecnik	Zagreb	# 412		
?	Grunbaum Vlim	Ustaski Tabornik u Lipiku	Lipik	# 640		
?	Grunwald Dr. Bozidar, zamj. drz. tuzite	Ustakski Logornik Sambor	Zagreb	# 17		
?	Grunwald Miroslav, vrtjar	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 75		
?	Grunwald/ Gutschy/ Milka	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 232		
?	Gvozdanovic Artur	Dr. Zdenko Smrekar	Zagreb	# 10		
D	Hafner Radivoj, posjednik	Stancar, general Matasic i Werner grad.	Zagreb	# 136		Ubijen u Jasenovcu 1941.
?	Harsek r. Klein Regina, sup. grad. cin	Lukinic i T. Grgic	Zagreb	# 27		
?	Heller Ladislav	Ustaski Stan u Mikleusu	Sl. Drenovci	# 492		
?	Herman Irena	Dr. Stepinac, nadbiskup	Zagreb	# 85		
?	Hercer Josip	Eugena Kvaternik	Zagreb	28169 RI	4864	22.09.41 Pusten na slobodu is sabirnog logora u Zavrtnici
?	Herzberger Paula, clanc. Kazalista	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 252		
?	Hikec Helena, ud. Prof. i Hrv. knjizev.	Prof. Filip Lukas i Major Cudina	Zagreb	# 202		
D?	Hirschler Albert	H.U.S. logornik	Dugo Selo	# 562		Place and time not known, Dotrscina
?	Hirsl Lea	Ministarstvo Hrvatskog Domobranstva	Sarajevo	29643	4608	pustiti na slobodu obitelj Hrv. Domobranca
?	Hirsl Rut	Ministarstvo Hrvatskog Domobranstva	Sarajevo	29643	4608	pustiti na slobodu obitelj Hrv. Domobranca
?	Hitrec Dr. Primarius, ljecnik	Dr Moric Levi, recom. to live by seaside	Zagreb	29668	4705	also for his wife Rifka Levi r. Baruh to accompany her sick husband
?	Hochsteter Vojko	Dr. A. Stepinac, Nadbiskup	Zagreb	# 429		
?	Hockstatter Mila	Dr. A. Stepinac, Nadbiskup	Zagreb	# 416		
?	Ivanicek rodj Herzberger Helena	Dr. Ivanicek, Ustasa porucnik i muz	Zagreb	# 264		
?	Jankelovic Matija	Hrvatski Rudnici i Talinice	Zagreb	28818	1182	09.11.41
?	Janovic Franjo	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 15		
?	Jelinek Ladislav, mehanicar	Vt. Cecelj zupnik Kustocija	Zagreb	# 33		
?	Jungvirt Filip, obrtnik	Ustasa M. Pavelic	Zagreb	# 155		
X	Justiz Hinko, rezbar	Drs. Josip Lach pom. biskup i Hrvoj	Zagreb	# 23		
X	Kaiser Ing. Aleksandar	D.Diener, admiral mjr, Begic, general	Zagreb	302/2995	5559	01.10.42 Prmit to live in peace until further notice
X	Kajon Ezra, ljecnik	Dr. Josip Barkovic, narodni zastupnik	Split	28265 RI	6406	
?	Kalman Josip	Company's Employees of Josip Kalman	Zagreb	28797	1005	24.06.41 His emplyees pleaded to grant their employer Aryan rights
?	Kamenic / Steiner/ Adolf	Several Recommendations	Varazdin	# 493		
?	Kaminski Greta	Dr. Vranisic, Vj.	Zagreb	# 411		
D	Kaufmann Ervin, privt. cin.	Dr. F. Grundler, prebendara	Zagreb	# 1082		Place and time unknown, Dotrscina
?	Kersner Danijel	Ustaski Tabor u Retkovcima	Rektovci	# 714		
?	Kersner Mavro	Ustaski Tabor u Retkovcima	Rektovci	# 714		
?	Kirschner Dr. Milan	Opcina Zlatar, zastita njihovih Zidova	Zlatar	29166	3345	Vlka Zupa Zagorje recom. 13.10.41 Ust. Stozer Protiv, Ust. Red. daje zasti.
?	Kohn/Koretic, Robert	Stj. Pertanovic Kanonski Zupnik	Zagreb	27992	2987	Addressed to some authority Vojmir who was a childhood friend
?	Kohn/ Kolar/ Dr. Rudolf	Dr. V. Prebeg	Brod n/S	# 665		
?	Koloman Dr. Sarvas,ljecnik	Hrv. Ustaski Tabor u Vocinu	Sl. Drevova	# 548		
?	Koneig Vilko, trgovac	Several Recommendations	Brod n/S	# 720		
?	Konig Gjuro	Dr. Budak	Zagreb	# 259		
?	Konrit Artur, graficar	Dr, A. Stepinac, Nadbiskup	Zagreb	# 330		
?	Korvin Milan	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 129		
?	Kosser Jakob, priv, cin	Soldin ud. Katarina i drugi	Zagreb	# 1		
?	Krajcer Franjo	Visoko Ministarstvo	Zagreb	29619	4537	22.06.42 Dozvolu sklapanja braka sa Zidovkom Edita Schwabenitz
X	Kraus Josip, trgovac	Several recom. Bosanskog Broda	Basanski Br	28783	0974	More than 8 different recom.
?	Kraus Lazar	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 1142		
?	Krauth Prof. Ernest	Kumcic Marija, Drs Mintas i Hrvoj i drug.	Zagreb	# 92		
D?	Kuh Dragutin, konobar	Major Cudina i drugi	Zagreb	# 199		ZOZ, mjesto i datum ne znani
X	Lang Antun, trg, zastupnik	A. Cvitanovic, zapovjed.KCH. Z. i drugi	Zagreb	# 49		
?	Lang Ruza	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	28629	8350	30.12.41 21 signitures on her behalf for the help she extended to all
?	Lehner Ing. Vilko	Poglavnik, Ministar Dr. Lorkovic,& Crovski	Zagreb	27840	2121	24.07.41 conf. that the subject was a candidate for spec. Aryan Rights
?	Lemberger Lili, cinovnica	Lukac, pjesad, sat.	Zagreb	# 344		
?	Mandel Dr. Andrija, ljecnik	Sarinic, Logorni pomocnik	Ilok	# 465		
?	Mandl Josip	Ustaski stozer u Dubrovniku	Dubrovnik	# 472		
?	Marosevic Helena, supr.inzinira	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 289		
?	Mautner Dragutin	Ciril Chudina	Zagreb	27735	1562	16.07.41 Letter sent to Chief Reda. Ravn. I. Barkovic, Candidat for spc.title
?	Mautner Ing. Vlado	Singer, V.	Zagreb	# 1159		
?	Maylander Julijo	Fucek Ivana, Tabornik	Ferdinandov	# 478		
?	Mazic Dr. Sime	Knezevic, Ustaski Vojnik	Dubrovnik	# 516		
?	Merkandc Rafael	Dr. Veljko Prebeg, odvetnik i drugi	Zagreb	# 158		
?	Mesic Vladimir, obrtnik	Braca Hrv. Zemlje	Zagreb	# 30		
?	Milic Miroslav	Ustski stozer v. Zupe Zagorje	Varazdin	# 502		
?	Mitin Greta	Roditelja Poglavnika	Zagreb	# 1852		
?	Moskovic Vilim	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	# 6		
?	Mugar Bela	Golubic, Ustaski Tabornik	Slupnik	# 630		
?	Muller Dr. Josip, ravnatelj	Dr. Gutic	Jajice	# 521		
?	Munz Leopold	Lucic, Tabornik i drugi	Gudinci	# 475		
?	Najman Edo, mesar	Hrvatski Ustaski logor	Djakovo	# 467		
D?	Novic/ Neuman/ August, grad. veter	Cudin Ciril, Ustaski major	Zagreb	# 111		Took 0 Z signs, Rkt 1939
D	Oppenheim Ing. Miroslav	Dr. M. Jerec i drugi	Sisak	# 571		Dotrscina place and time unknown
?	Oppenheimer Dr. Ing. Fridrich	Ustaska Nadzorna Sluzba, u ime tvornice	Brod n/s	29140	3189	Tvornica Vagona u Brodu

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?	Paltas Sandor	Logornik u Pozegi	Ludberg	#	471		
?	Pavlovic Dr. Vuk sveuc. docen	Dr. A. Stepinac, nadbiskup	Zagreb	#	138		Took 0 Z signs, Rkt 1900
?	Perera r. Alkalaj Rikica	Ministarstvo Hrvatskog Domobranstva	Sarajevo	29643	4608		pustiti na slobodu obitelj Hrv. Domobranca
?	Petracic Anica, suprg. satnika	Dr. Salis, biskup i drugi	Zagreb	#	362		
D?	Plan Karlo, trgovac	Dr. A. Stepinac, Nadbiskup	Zagreb	#	281		Took 6 Z signs, Rkt 1938
?	Podvinec Artur	Babic, Glav. Stoz. vojnika	Zagreb	#	249		
?	Pollak Dr. Slavko, Ljecnik	Opcinskog Poglavarstva Popovac	Popovac	29857	5247		29.06.42
?	Poljak Pavao Vladimir, prv, namjest.	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	128		
?	Popadic Dr. Teo	General de Basi	Karlovac	28899	1816		11.02.42 buduce eventu. protiv zidova akcije imade izuzeti Popadica.
?	Preberg rdj. Hersahl Marija	Dr. Veljko Prebeg, odvetnik i muz	Zagreb	#	144		
D?	Pressburger Denes Kamila	Kvaternik Eugen i Feldkommandantura	Zagreb	28931	2147		24.02.42 odpustan iz logora Stara Gradiska, AH indic.died 42 no plc.&time
D?	Rado Julijo	Dr. V. Preber	Zagreb	#	1107		Took 6 Z signs, not known in which camp
?	Ramucak Nikla, ucitelj	Stozernik za V.Z. Zagorje	Krizovljan	#	651		
?	Rechnitzer Josip, mesar obrt.	H.U.S. Pozega	Pozega	#	636		
?	Rijevac ud. Terezija	B. Cerovski ustski povjerenik	Zagreb	#	13		
?	Rochlits Imro/Mirko	Kvaternik Eugen i Feldkommandantura	Zagreb	28931	2147		24.02.42 otpusten iz Jasevovca
?	Rosenber Sandor, trgovac	Herman, Ustaski povjerenik	Kopervnica	#	619		
?	Rosenberg David, trgovac	Herman, Ustaski povjerenik	Kopervnica	#	619		
D?	Rosenberg Marko	Pejakic, Kanonic Djakovackog	Zagreb	#	1074		Took 2 Z signs
?	Rosenthal Leo	Logornik u D. Miholjcu	D. Miholjac	#	588		
?	Roth ud. Beti	Ing. Berovic, Osiek	Zagreb	#	1115		Took 4 Z signs, not known
?	Rupcic Ruza, Prof. i gen. gimnazije	Rupcic Nikola,polit. robijas, Ministar Prv	Zagreb	#	189		
?	Ruzinski Oto	Nechak Dr. Josipa Franka, pokrsten 40g	Zagreb	27323	110		
X	Sachs Milan, dirigent Hr. Drz. opere	E. Kvaternik	Zagreb	28834	1226		Mora se izuzeto od primjena mjera proti Zidova
?	Sachs/Petrovic Dr. Vladimir	Povjerenik Glavnog Ustaskog Stana	Zagreb	27187	?		24.05.41 Odobreno da nemora nosit znak zidovstva.
?	Safner Ing. Ante	Ustski Tabornik Osiek	Osiek	#	473		
?	Salom r. Moris Lea	Ministarstvo Hrvatskog Domobranstva	Sarajevo	29643	4608		pustiti na slobodu obitelj Hrv. Domobranca
D?	Sauerbrunn Ignatz, oropedski strucnja	Zapovjednik Logora	Gornja Rijek	29795	5077		03.07.42, Ignac who died captured mid Apr. while this still in freedom in Jul
D	Schlesiner Franjo	Lulic, V. i Stancer	Zagreb	#	1139		Dotrscina
?	Schlesinger Levin	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	1116		
?	Schlesinter Dragutin, major u miru	Grgic, T. Ustasa i V. Singer	Zagreb	#	287		
?	Schlossberger Dezider	Kuhnel, Predsjednik Odsjeka	Zagreb	29759	4978		05.07.42 protiv ovoga ima se izuzeti od prisilnih mjera koje su pro.nearlijs.
X	Schon Vilko, privrednik	Tomislav Sertic, Ustaski pukovnik	Zagreb	#	62		Rtk 1938
X	Schonbaum Dr. Julijo	Dr. Ante Pavelic, Head of State	Zagreb	28035	RI	4197	Took 2 Z, aryan wife. Granted also to his immedi. family and his mother.
?	Schonbaum Roza	Dr. Ante Pavelic, Head of State, via/son	Zagreb	28035	RI	4197	Granted also to his immedi. family and his mother.
?	Schotten Ignac, cin Assicurazioni Ger	Dr. Vilko Rieger	Zagreb	#	93		
D?	Schulchof Dragutin, ured. Hrv. Encikl	Ciril Cudina ust. major i Dr. Stepinac, nad	Zagreb	#	42		1942 died, place unknown
X	Schwabenitz Edita (daughter)	Visoko Ministarstvo, B. Rukavina,Krajcer.F	Zagreb	29619	4537		22.06.42 oslo. log. AH, ZOZ uhap. 43 odv. Auscw .44
X	Schwabenits Ilonka (mother)	Visoko Ministarstvo, B. Rukavina	Zagreb	29619	4537		Took 6 Z, Rkt 1941 22.06.42 oslo. Log. AH, ZOZ uhap. 43
?	Schwartz Milan	H.U.S. Nustar	Sokolovac	#	566		
?	Seger Aleksander	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	239		
?	Senald Ignac, radnik	Ustaski povjerenik	M. Marof	#	589		
X	Sever Dr. Miroslav, publicist	Major Ciril Cudina	Zagreb	#	235		Rkt 1938, pobjegao s zenom u Italiju
?	Sigeti Eduard	Ravnateljstvo za Javni Red	Zagreb	29370	3841		Released from concentration camp 15.05.42
D?	Singer Sidonia/ mother	Dr. Vukosav,U.N.S Singer Dr. Gustav	Zagreb	29165	3344		The subject has to be release immediately from C.C. Dakovo
X	Sinreich Mozes, priv. cin.	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	68		Took 8Z, Sva familija Rkt 1941
?	Smesni r. Hass Hermina	Dr, Jarec Mirko, Veliki Zupan	Zagreb	#	24		
?	Solic, rdj. Kraus Ruza	Dr. Mintas	Zagreb	#	341		
?	Sors Julius	Tabornik J.Musar , Stozer Kralj	Cacinci	H. Helms Box 34			Name also found in Hans Helms listing #112 order for impronment
?	Sovary Roman, priv. cinov.	Stencer Slavko, general pjevac	Zagreb	#	130		
?	Spicer Branka	The entire village Kotar(district) Slav. Brod	Velika Kopa	368/1076	Porv.41		05.06.41 the entire village petined against orders to take B.Spicer's store
D?	Spiller Dr. Karlo	Dr. S. Ritting	Zagreb	#	94		taken to CC Birkhonen, Sweeden did not return
X	Spiller Miroslav	Ing.s Nugivuk, Pekota, Prpica & 25 signitu.	Zagreb	302/2996	5632		Took 4 Z, aryan wife. Permit the subject may live and work freely in NDH
X	Spitze Ing. Milan	Suflaj, Z.	Zagreb	#	295		Took 6 Z,Rkt
X	Sram r. Sterk Slava, wife	Sram Roman, Domobranski Casnik,Bosn.	Zagreb	29151	3212		Took 2 Z Rkt 24, 31.03.42, pemiss 12175/T/42 gran. Stoz. podpuk. Kerecin
D?	Sterk Milan, tast, mjerenik	Sram Roman, Domobranski Casnik,Bosn.	Zagreb	29151	3212		Took 4 Z, 31.03.42, pemiss. 12175/T/42 granted, Stoz. podpuk. Kerecin
D?	Sterk Irena, punica	Sram Roman, Domobranski Casnik,Bosn.	Zagreb	29151	3212		31.03.42, pemission 12175/T/42 granted, Stozerni podpukov. Kerecin
X	Sterk Danica, Mr ph.	Sram Roman, Domobranski Casnik,Bosn.	Zagreb	29151	3212		Took 2 Z31.03.42, pemiss. 12175/T/42 grant, Stoz. podpuk. Kerecin Rkt 41
?	Steiner Samuel, ljecnik	Ustaski Logornik u Pozegi	Pozega	#	669		
?	Stern Josip	Starcevic, A. Ustaski Logor	Pozega	#	469		
X	Stern Oskar	Kvaternik Eugen i Feldkommandantura	Zagreb	28931	2147		24.02.42 Odpusten iz Jasenovca
D	Stolzer Ljudevit	Rajic, Nadporucnik i Velika Zupa Prigorje	Zagreb	29690	4764		22.07.42 kroz veze od Eisenstadter Eme, 1944 Jasenovac Dortsine
D	Stolzer Cvijeta	Rajic, Nadporucnik i Velika Zupa Prigorje	Zagreb	29690	4764		22.07.42 kroz veze od Eisenstadter Eme, 1944 Jasenovac Dortsine
D	Stolzer Vivjena	Rajic, Nadporucnik i Velika Zupa Prigorje	Zagreb	29690	4764		22.07.42 kroz veze od Eisenstadter Eme, 1944 Jasenovac Dortsine
?	Suchman Salamon	Logornik u Virovitici	Virovitica	#	652		
?	Susicki rodj. Reichenfeld Ruza	Dr. A. Stepinac, Nadbiskup	Zagreb	#	292		
?	Tausing Gustav, cin. fin. ravnatelj	Bralo, Pogl. Doglav. i drugi	Sarajevo	#	715		
D?	Taussig r. Rajman Dr. Ing. Ivan	Rav za Javni Rad, Nadstojnik Kuhnel	Zagreb	302/2995	5224		Took 2 Z Rkt. 10.10.42 permit 5269 no deport. and no other measure
X	Tric Dr. Norbert, bank cin.	V. Lax,a Zapovjed. kop. vojske	Zagreb	#	76		
D?	Ulcnik r. Cimer Marija, supr. grad. ing	Soldin K, i drugi	Zagreb	#	71		ZOZ mjesto i datum nepoznati
D?X?	Valc Malvina, gostionicarka	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	294		ZOZ mjesto i datum nepoznati
?	Vinski Aleksandra/ grandma	Dr. Lorkovic, Ministar vajnskih poslova	Zagreb	28370	RI	7220	20.12.41 Resolution: Dr.Z. Vinski and family have all rights given to Aryans
X	Vinski Dr. Ivo/brother	Dr. Lorkovic, Ministar vajnskih poslova	Zagreb	28370	RI	7220	Took 2 Z, 20.12.41, Dr.Z. Vinski and family have all rights given to Aryans
D?	Vinski Franjo/ father	Dr. Lorkovic, Ministar vajnskih poslova	Zagreb	28370	RI	7220	20.12.41 Res. family have all rights given to Aryans, 1942 Auschw. Dotrscin
X	Vinski Stefa/ mother	Dr. Lorkovic, Ministar vajnskih poslova	Zagreb	28370	RI	7220	20.12.41 Resolution: Dr.Z. Vinski and family have all rights given to Aryans
X	Vinski Dr. Zdenko	Dr. Lorkovic, Ministar vajnskih poslova	Zagreb	28370	RI	7220	Took 2 Z, 20.12.41 Resolution: Dr.Z. Vinski family have rights - Aryans
?	Weller Hinko	Dr. Ante Pavelic to E. Kvaternik	Zagreb	28528		8005	13.11.41 D. Weller w connect. to Pog.requst. a release from C.C.of Zlatko
X	Weinberger Hinko	Dr. D. Karlovic, Werner, gradnacelnik,i dr.	Vinkovic	28917	1941		17.02.42 editor "Morgenblatt" worte about German Croat cultural exch.
D?X?	Weiner Ernest	Dr. A. Stepinac, Nadbiskup	Zagreb	#	1104		ZOZ, ubijen li nestao u ratu u nepozatom mjestu
X	Weiss Milan	Opcina Zlatar, zastita njihovih Zidova	Zlatar	29166	3345		Vlka Zupa Zagorje recom. 13.10.41 Ust. Stozer Protiv, Ust. Red. daje zasti.
?	Weiss Leopold, krcmar	Several Recommendations	Karlovac	#	656		
D	Werner Josip, priv. namjestenik	Several Recommendations	Zagreb	#	98		1941 improsend, killed 1942 Jasenovac
D	Zeisler Dragutin, knjigoveski obrtnik	Suflaj Zlata	Zagreb	#	333		AH, ZOZ, uhapsen 42, odveden u Auschwitz i ubijen po dolazku

Sub Total 210, 30 X alive, 150? destiny unknown, 9 D dead, 20 D? possibly dead insuficient information

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Appendix 5.3.1: Due to the request of Breyer Jakob, father, and the intervention of Peklic Ivo and Anka, Manja Breyer was released from the Djakovo concentration camp. (HDA, RUR 252, 29164, ZO.3343)

Br. 29164
Ž.O. 3343

1806

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
USTAŠKA NADZORNA SLUŽBA
URED I.
RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKIH REDARSTVA

Broj: 11729/42. dr.I. Zagreb, 8. travnja 1942.

Predmet: Breyer Manja ~~Sara~~
odpust iz logora.-

USTAŠKO REDARSTVO ZA GR.D ZAGREB
I ZEMALJSKU UPU PRIGORJE

Z A G R E B

Breyer Jakob iz Zagreba, Podkovićeva 38/III. zamolio je, da se njegova kćerka Breyer Manja odpusti iz sabirnog logora u Đakovu.

Iz razloga u molbi navedenih, te obzirom na izjave Drašković Manje, Mayer Milutina, te Peklić Ive i Anke, kojima potvrđuju, da molitelja poznaju kao vrlednog i poštenog građanina, odlučio je Ustaški nadzorni zapovjednik, da se spomenuti Breyer Manja odpusti iz sabirnog logora u Đakovu.

Vodiet toga poziva se naslov spomenuta Breyer Manja odmah pustiti na slobodu čim bude naslovu prepraćena po upravi sabirnog logora u Đakovu.

O učinjenom valja obavieštiti molitelja kao i izvieštiti ovaj Stan.

Prilog: odpusnica za Breyer Manju.

ZA DOBRO SRBSTVO!

Dr. Vukosav v.r.

Broj: 11729/42.dr.I. Zagreb, 8. travnja 1942.

Predmet: Kao gore.

RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKOG REDARSTVA
Židovski odsjek
Z A G R E B

Na znanje.-

ZA DOM SPREMNI!

RAVNATELJ:

USTAŠKO REDARSTVO
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
Broj 3343
11. IV. 1942.

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Appendix 5.3.2: Commander of the 2nd Armata (Italian 2nd Army) requested of the Italian Legation in Zagreb to request the release of an Italian citizen Roberto Cohen from Jasenovac a Croatian concentration camp. (Croatian History Museum, 1238/42)

V.M.b.

P.M. 10, li 31 gennaio 1942-Anno XX°

COMANDO DELLA 2ª ARMATA

-Ufficio affari civili-

N. di Prot. 1238/AC Segr.

Risposta al

Carte annesse: una.-

OGGETTO: Roberto KOHN Koretic.-

ALLA R.LEGAZIONE D'ITALIA

ZAGABRIA

Nel settembre 1941 la moglie di certo Roberto KOHN Koretic, ebreo, internato al campo di concentramento di Jasenovac indirizzava a questo Comando una supplica per chiedere la liberazione del marito.-

Fu interessato in proposito il Commissariato generale amministrativo croato che informò - con foglio del 5 ottobre 1941 - di aver raccomandata la cosa alle competenti Autorità Croate.-

Successivamente la famiglia dell'interessato, otteneva dal Ministero degli Interni l'autorizzazione (che si acclude tradotta in copia) che consente al Koretic libertà di vita e di lavoro in Croazia.-

Recatisi a Zagabria per riaccompagnarlo a casa i parenti hanno saputo che il loro congiunto risulta accusato di comunismo (e sembra quindi che non lo si voglia liberare).-

-/-

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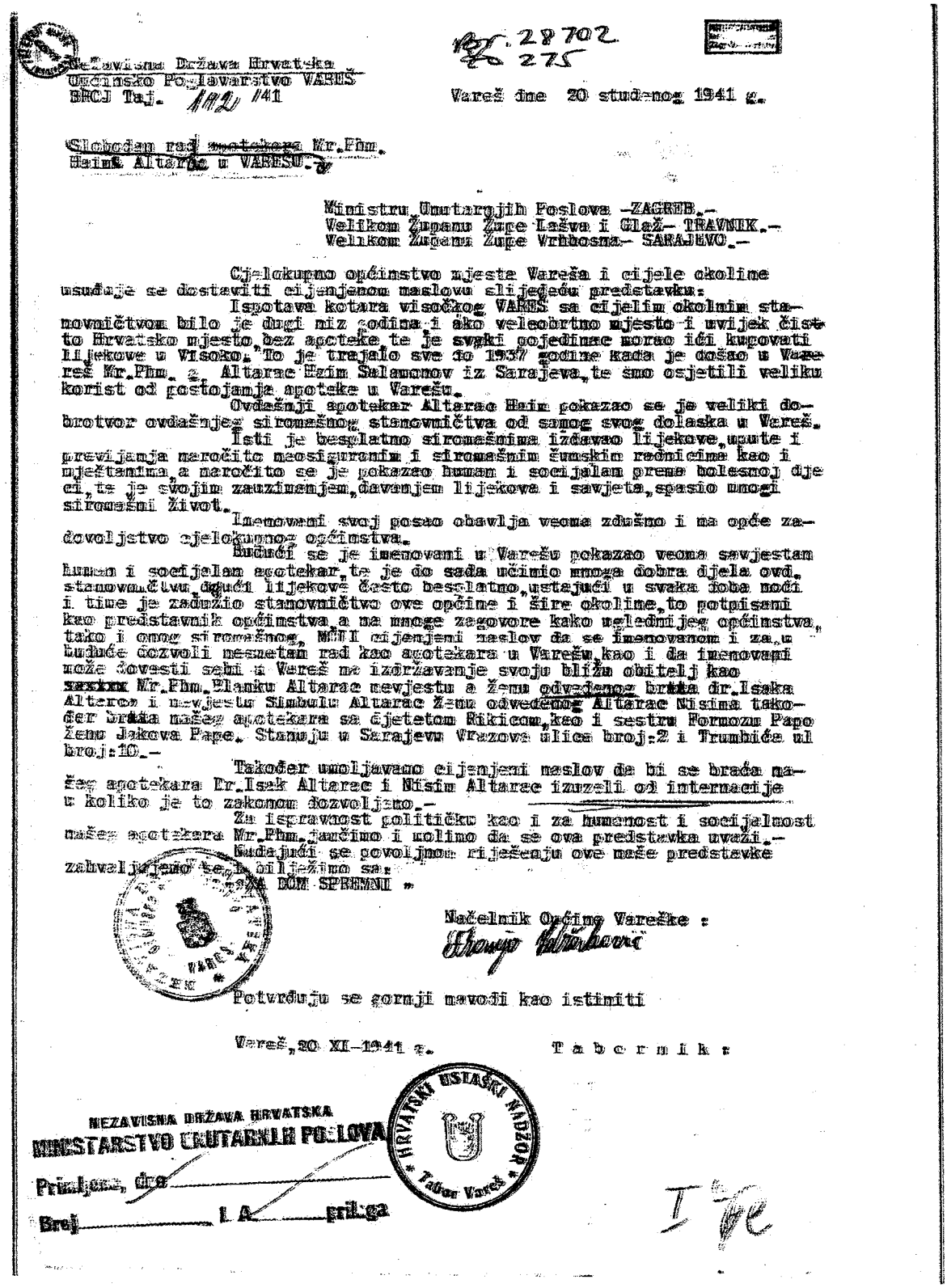
Le informazioni raccolte dal V° Corpo d'Armata nei confronti del Koretic sono ottime: esso non é un comunista ma sarebbe stato arrestato su istigazione di concorrenti proprietari di segherie, per pura gelosia di mestiere.-

Prego codesta Regia Legazione di volersi interessare della cosa anche in relazione al bando di amnistia del 25 dicembre u.s..=

IL GENERALE DI CORPO D'ARMATA
COMANDANTE
(M. Roatta)

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Appendix 5.3.4: The Mayer of the city of Vares requested from the NDH authorities to refrain from deporting their pharmacist Haim Altarac who is vitally needed in the community. Adding that Altarc's conduct was always beyond reproach. On behalf of the entire community he also requested the release from concentration camp all the Altarac family members. (HDA, RUR 252, 28702, ZO275)



Nezavisna Država Hrvatska
Općinsko Poglavarstvo VAREŠ
BRCJ Taj. 1192/141

Ref. 28702
275

Vareš dne 20 studenog 1941 g.

Slobodan rad ~~apotekara~~ Mr.Phm.
Haima Altarca u VAREŠU.-

Ministru Unutarnjih Poslova -ZAGREB.-
Velikom Županu Župe Lašva i Glaž- TRAVNIK.-
Velikom Županu Župe Vrhbosna- SARAJEVO.-

Cjelokupno općinstvo mjesta Vareša i cijele okoline usuđuje se dostaviti cijenjenom naslovu slijedeću predstavku:

Ispotava kotara visočkog VAREŠ sa cijelim okolnim stanovništvom bilo je dugi niz godina i ako veleobrtno mjesto i uvijek čisto Hrvatsko mjesto bez apoteke te je svaki pojedinac morao ići kupovati lijekove u Visoko. To je trajalo sve do 1937 godine kada je došao u Vareš Mr.Phm. Z. Altarac Hazim Salamonov iz Sarajeva te smo osjetili veliku korist od postojanja apoteke u Varešu.

Ovdašnji apotekar Altarac Haim pokazao se je veliki dobrotvor ovdašnjeg siromašnog stanovništva od samog svog dolaska u Vareš.

Isti je besplatno siromašnima izdavao lijekove, upute i previjanja naročito neosiguranim i siromašnim šumskim radnicima kao i uještanima, a naročito se je pokazao human i socijalan prema bolesnoj djeci, te je svojim zauzimanjem, davanjem lijekova i savjeta, spasio mnogi siromašni život.

Imenovani svoj posao obavlja veoma zdušno i na opće zadovoljstvo cjelokupnog općinstva.

Budući se je imenovani u Varešu pokazao veoma savjestan human i socijalan apotekar, te je do sada učinio mnoga dobra djela ovd. stanovništvu, dajući lijekove često besplatno, ustajući u svaka doba noći i time je zadužio stanovništvo ove općine i šire okoline, to potpisani kao predstavnik općinstva a na mnoge zagovore kako uglednijeg općinstva, tako i onog siromašnog, MOLI cijenjeni naslov da se imenovanom i za u buduće dozvoli nesmetan rad kao apotekara u Varešu, kao i da imenovani može čuvati sebi u Vareš na izdržavanje svoju bližu obitelj kao ~~sestru~~ Mr.Phm. Blanku Altarac nevjestu a ženu odvedenog brata dr.Isaka Altarca i nevjestu Simbulu Altarac ženu odvedenog Altarac Nisima također brata našeg apotekara sa djetetom Rikicom, kao i sestru Formozu Papo ženu Jakova Pape. Stanuju u Sarajevu Vrazova ulica broj:2 i Trumbića ul broj:10.-

Također umoljavamo cijenjeni naslov da bi se braća našeg apotekara Dr.Isak Altarac i Nisim Altarac izuzeli od internacije u koliko je to zakonom dozvoljeno.-

Za ispravnost političku kao i za humanost i socijalnost našeg apotekara Mr.Phm. jamčimo i molimo da se ova predstavka uvaži.-

Nadajući se povoljnom rješenju ove naše predstavke zahvaljujemo se i bilježimo sa:

"ZA DOM SPREMNI"

Načelnik Općine Vareške :

Potvrđuje se gornji navodi kao istiniti

Vareš, 20 XI-1941 g. Tabornik :

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
MINISTARSTVO UNUTARNJIH POSLOVA
Primljeno, dne
Broj I A priloga

HRVATSKI USTAŠKI NADZOR * Tabor Vareš *

I Pe

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Appendix 5.3.5: Based upon the special recommendation of Slavko Kvaternik, the leader of the NDH Arm Forces, a request for made to release Dr. Leon Adolf, originally from Sarajevo, from concentration camp. (HDA, RUR 252, 29024, ZO.2514)

29024
20 2514

RAVNATELJSTVO [illegible]
[illegible]
ŽIDOVSKI [illegible]

Kvtgll

1995

Broj : 2514
Predmet: Dr. Leon Adolf molba za otpust iz logora.-

Zagreb, 20. ožujka 1942.-

Ustaškoj nadzornoj službi - ured I.
Ravnateljstvo ustaških redarstva ,

Z a g r e b

Povodom na poduzetku naslova od 9. ožujka 1942 broj 1526 / T / po predmetu molbe Josefe Adolf iz Sarajeva, s kojom moli oslobođenje iz logora svoga supruga Dra. Leona Adolf izvještćujemo Vas, da je ovaj odsjek povodom predanje, kao i k tomu sličnih slučajeva, gdje je Doglavnik i Vojskovođa g. Slavko vitez Kvaternik predložio molbe pojedinih Židova iz Sarajeva za primanje arijskih prava obzirom na zasluge i hrabrost stečenu o prošlom svjetskom ratu ztražio od Ministarstva Hrvatskog Domobranstva mišljenje i prieđlog po tomu, te čim ovaj odsjek primi od Ministarstva taj izvještaj povratiti će predmetnu molbu sa mišljenjem i prieđlogom ovoga odsjeka na daljnji postupak.-

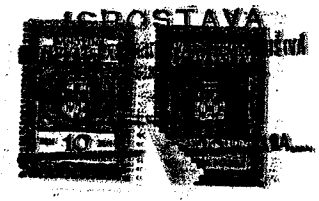
" Za D O M spremni ! "

Predstojnik odsjeka :

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Appendix 5.3.6: Due to the intervention of Slavko Kvaternik, head of the NDH army, Olga and Pavao Njemcic (Croatized name) were excused from wearing the Jewish "Z" band (HDA, RUR 252, 27909, ZO. 2449).

Br. 27909
Zo. 2449 – 29. VII. 41



P.n.

USTAŠKO REDARSTVENO POVJERENIŠTVO
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
1030
u
– ZAGREBU –

Potpisani molimo naslov, da nas oslobodi nošenja židovskog znaka, na temelju zaštite koju imademo od vojskovodje i doglavnika gosp. Slavka Kvaternika koja doslovce glasi:

Gospođa Olga Njemčić i njezin sin Pavao Njemčić stanujući u Vlaškoj ul.br. 7o d I, desno, stoje pod mojom zaštitom.

U Zagrebu, 23/VI. 1.941. S i g vojskovodja i doglavnik

Predsjednički ured KVATERNIK
Zapovjedništvo vojske
I Ministarstvo Domobranstva.

Molimo dij, naslov za povoljno riješenje ove molbe.

Zagreb 29./VII.1.941.

OLGA NJEMČIĆ PAVAO NJEMČIĆ

ZAGREB, Vlaška 7o d.

ISPOSTAVA
USTAŠKOG REDARSTVENOG POVJERENIŠTVA
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
Br 2449
29. VII. 1941

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Appendix 6.1.0: On January 11 1939, Archbishop Stepinac wrote a circular letter asking his parishioners to contribute generously in order to provide a basic support for the refugees (mostly Jews) fleeing the Nazi regime in Europe.

3

Zagreb, 11. siječnja 1939.

Okružno pismo nadbiskupa Stepinca o prikupljanju pomoći izbjeglim i prognanim Židovima početkom II. svjetskog rata. Ovo pismo svjedoči kako nadbiskup Stepinac nije bio "germanofil", ljubitelj Nijemaca, nego je dapače sve učinio da zaštiti Židove i sve one koje su Nijemci iz bilo kojeg razloga proganjali.

Izvor: AP, sv. C, str. 711 (preslik); spis je pronađen među dokumentima izbjegle Vlade NDH u Leibnitzu 1945. godine.

Poštovani Gospodine,

Uslijed žestokih i nečovječnih progona morao je veliki broj ljudi ostaviti svoju domovinu. Ti su jadnici ostali ne samo bez domovine nego i bez sredstava za život. Lutaju po svijetu da nađu zemlju koja će im dati mogućnosti da stvore sebi i svojima novu egzistenciju. Velik broj takovih boravi privremeno u Jugoslaviji. Mnogi su od njih sa ženom i djecom. Njihova je tragika teška, a bijeda neopisiva.

Svaki se dan obraća na nas veliki broj takovih emigranata tražeći savjeta, intervencije, preporuku, pripomoć u novcu ili u naravi. Ima među njima i intelektualaca, i takovih koji su negda dobro stajali.

Naša je kršćanska dužnost da im pomognemo. Stoga držim za potrebno obratiti se na ljude dobra srca i plemenitih osjećaja s molbom za pripomoć spomenutim bijednicima. Slobodan sam obratiti se i na Vas, Poštovani Gospodine, kao člana naše Crkve, koji ćete najbolje shvatiti tragiku ovih ljudi bez doma, bez sredstava, bez pravoga cilja, da dadete svoju potporu fondu koji će biti upotrebljen u korist emigranata.

Molim da na priloženom listu označite svoj dobrovoljni mjesečni doprinos kojim ćete podupirati ovu tako potrebnu akciju.

Uz odlično poštovanje

Dr. Alojzije Stepinac
(vlastoručni potpis)
Nadbiskup[2]

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Appendix 6.1.1: Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac admonishes the NDH Minister of the Interior Andrija Artukovic for the conduct of the government towards the Jews, stating: "it is said that even Germany's conduct towards the Jews is more humane and civil than in Croatia." The Jews should not be punished collectively for crimes they have not committed. (HDA, Ivo Politeo, Stepinac file, sent to Yad Vashem)

30168/ OMOT 12 Sdv. 11,22
(21)
(20)

NADBISKUPSKI DUHOVNI STOL U ZAGREBU

117

Zagreb,22 svibnja 1941

Gospodine Ministre,

Dne 23 travnja o.g. pod br.103/BK imao sam čast obratiti se na Vas predstavkom kojom sam molio da se kod donošenja protužidovskih zakona uzme obzira na one pripadnike židovske rase koji su prešli na kršćanstvo.Međutim su proglašeni zakoni od 30 travnja koji se ništa ne obaziru na vjersku pripadnost. Tada nam je bilo rečeno da su radi razloga neovisnih o nama ti zakoni morali biti proglašeni u ovoj formi,ali da primjena njihova u praksi neće biti tako okrutna.No uza sve to mi vidimo da gotovo svaki dan dolaze sve strože i strože odredbe koje pogađaju jednako i krive i nedužne.Današnje su novine donijele odredbu da svi židovi,bez obzira na starost i spol,te nā vjeru kojoj pripadaju,moraju nositi židovski znak.Tih mjera ima već toliko,da poznavaoci prilika vele da ni u samoj Njemačkoj nisu rasni zakoni provedeni bili takovom strogošću i takovom brzinom.

Razumije se samo po sebi da će svatko odobriti nastojanje da u jednoj narodnoj Državi vladaju sinovi toga naroda i da se uklone svi štetni utjecaji koji rastaču narodni organizam.Svatko će sigurno odobriti nastojanje da privreda bude u narodnim rukama,da se ne dopusti gomilanje kapitala kod nenarodnog i protunarodnog elementa,te da strani elementi ne odlučuju o Državi i narodu.Ali da se pripadnicima drugih narodnosti ili drugih rasa oduzme svaka mogućnost egzistencije i da se na njihn udara žig sramote,to je već pitanje čovječnosti i pitanje morala.A moralni zakoni vrijede ne samo za život pojedinca nego i za državnu upravu.Današnje društveno uređenje i opći moralni pojmovi koji vladaju ne udaraju žig sramote ni na robijaše koji su puštemi iz tamnice na koju su bili suđeni radi uhojstva,jer se želi da i takovi opet budu korisni članovi ljudske zajednice.Nisu obilježeni vidljivim znakom ni konkubinarci,ni poznati preljubnici,pa ni same javne bludnice. Pa kad se to ne čini s onima koji su svojom ličnom krivnjom zavrijedili da ljudsko društvo od njih zazire,zašto da se to čini s onima koji su bez svoje krivnje članovi druge rase? Tu bi trebalo ipak voditi računa da će se,osobito kod omladine koja je još u godinama razvoja i koja je tim mjerama pogođena,u velikoj mjeri razvijati i instinkt osvete i t zv. "Minderwertigkeitskomplex",a te će stvari porazno djelovati na njihovu duševnu formaciju.I-amo li mi pravo na takav atentat na čovjekovu ličnost?

U vezi s izloženim molim Vas,Gospodine Ministre,da

./.

Gospodin
Dr Andrija A r t u k o v i ć,
Ministar unutarnjih poslova
Z a g r e b

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(22)

NADBISKUPSKI DUHOVNI STOL U ZAGREBU

izdate shodne naloge da se židovski i ostali slični zakoni (mjere protiv Srba i dr.) provode tako,da se u svakom čovjeku poštuje ličnost i čovječje dostojanstvo.Odredba o nošenju židovskog znaka uopće se ne bi trebala proveati.Da se pokriju troškovi koje je vlast imala kod nabave tih znakova,moglo bi se tražiti da ih dotični nabave,ali da se nošenje znakova suspendira.Neka se krivci i izrabljivači naroda privedu zasluženoj kazni.Tome se nitko pametan neće protiviti.Ali neka ne bude neodgovorna masa sudac i izvršitelj kazne.

Posebice Vas molim,Gospodine Ministre,da imate obzira prema pokrštenim članovima židovske rase.Mnogi od njih pokršteni su davno prije progona židova,dakle u vrijeme kad je krštenje za njih,s materijalne strane,značilo jedan minus.Mnogi su se od njih već sasvim asimilirali i za koje nitko nije ni znao da su židovi. Ima i takovih koji su se istaknuli u narodnom i ustaškom pokretu. Ja sâm lično poznam nekolicinu koji su oduševljeni i praktični katolici.Kako će oni moći sada vršiti svoje vjerske dužnosti? Zar će sa žutom trakom oko ruke dolaziti na sv.Misu i pristupati sv.Pričesti?U ovom će slučaju ja sâm biti prisiljen da židove katoličke vjere upozorim da ne nose te znakove,da ne bude smjetnje i senzacije u crkvi.

Upozoravam na još jednu činjenicu.Znam pozitivno da Sveta Stolica ne gleda dobrim okom na takove mjere.Da li je zgodno da sada,kad je Sv.Otac tako lijepo primio našeg Poglavnika i našu delegaciju i kad se poduzimaju koraci za priznanje naše Države sa strane Sv.Stolice,stvaramo atmosferu nepovjerenja i disharmonije?

Nadam se,Gospodine Ministre,da nećete zamjeriti moju otvorenu biskupsku riječ.

Primite,Gospodine Ministre,i ovom prigodom izraze mog iskrenog poštovanja

Nadbiskup,
Predsjednik biskupskih konferencija

DOSSE : ALOJZIJE STEPINAC

DOSSIER SE. 301681, DOSSIER 12, STR. 21,22, DOCUMENT 1

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Appendix 6.1.2: (written in English, source HDA, file Ivo Politeo-Stepinac, sent to Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

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Svjedočanstvo kapetana britanske vojne misije u Jugoslaviji Evelyna Waugha od 17. svibnja 1945. o protestima koje je nadbiskup Stepinac upućivao Paveliću protiv progona Židova.

Izvor: Evelyn WAUGH, *Church and State in Liberated Croatia*, London, 17. svibnja 1945., u: CP, sv. XCVI, str. 5278-5287.

Thus in Zagreb in June 1941 the Archbishop Stepinac led a deputation to Pavelić to protest against the persecution of the Jews; many of the clergy of Zagreb wore the yellow star in the streets to ridicule Pavelić's attempt to mark Jews in tha Nazi manner. The Diocesan Conference of 1942 addressed a remonstrance to Pavelić under seven heads, itemising acts of lawlessness by the Ustase, which the parish clergy had been instructed to collect, insisting on the civil rights of the Orthodox Serbs and condemning as sacrilegious the forcible conversions which the Ustase were attempting to impose in certain districts. Recently Archbishop Stepinac, still in German hands, issued a condemnation of the acts of cruelty committed by both sides. (The Belgrade newspaper Borba denounced this condemnation as "hypocritical", saying that the insinuation that partisans were capable of cruelty would "never be forgiven".) The Archbishop also expelled Professor Zunić from the university for his criticism of the anti-Ustase activities of the clergy.

Donosimo prijevod teksta:

Zbog toga je u Zagrebu u lipnju 1941. nadbiskup Stepinac predvodio izaslanstvo Paveliću, koje je protestiralo protiv progona Židova; mnogi svećenici Zagreba nosili su žute vijezde po ulicama kako bi ismijavali Pavelićev pokušaj obilježavanja Židova na nacistički način. Dijecezanska konferencija 1942. uputila je Paveliću protest, koji je u sedam glava razradivao bezakonje koje su počinili ustaše, a koje su svećenici po župama bilježili, inzistirajući na civilnim pravima pravoslavnih Srba i osuđujući kao svetogrđe pokušaje bracenja koje su pokušali nametnuti u nekim dijelovima zemlje. Nedavno je nadbiskup Stepinac, još uvijek u njemačkim rukama, osudio okrutna djela koja su počinile obje strane. Beogradske novine Borba nazvale su tu osudu "hipokritičnom", tvrdeći da su insinuacije vrdnje da su partizani bili sposobni na grubosti koje "se nikad neće oprostiti") Nadbiskup je akoder protjerao prof. Zunića s fakulteta zbog njegove kritičnosti spram anti-ustaških ktivnosti svećenstva.

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Appendix 6.1.3: When several survivors suggested that Archbishop Stepinac be granted the award "Righteous Among the Nations" many wrote letters to Yad Vashem on his behalf describing how they were saved while he risked his life to free them from certain death. The first letter was written by Dan Baram from Jerusalem and the second by Ljudevit Stein who resides in Zagreb. (The letters were randomly selected.)

Svjedočanstvo Dana Barama,[2] židovskog građanina i političkog djelatnika od 3. lipnja 1995. o zaštiti koju je nadbiskup Stepinac pružio ugroženim Židovima.

Izvor: *Pismo Dana Barama*, Jeruzalem, 3. lipnja 1995. u: CP, *Fascikl: Novoprikupljeni dokumenti - Nadbiskup Stepinac i Židovi*, nenumerirano.

Mr. Dan Baram
Schlein 6
96223 JERUSALEM

Jerusalem, 3. lipnja 1995

Dr. BATELJA JURAJ
Viale GIOTTO 27
00153 ROMA

Poštovani i dragi Velečasni!

Oprostite što je malo zakašnjenje, ali imao sam namjeru počekati sve podatke za pok. gosp. SLAVKA RADEJA od njegove supruge Dr. PODKAMINER Elizabet. Pok. SLAVKO RADEJ bio je za vrijeme II. svjetskog rata i za vrijeme NDH, za vrijeme ustaško-fašističke okupacije u Hrvatskoj sakriven i spasen u Kuriji NA KAPTOLU, kao židovski mladić. Spasio ga je, sakrivao i brinuo se za njega, a i još par židovskih omladinaca - NADBISKUP ALOJZIJE STEPINAC. Znam da je čak bio u kaptolskom "KORU" i tamo pjevao i ministrirao u Katedrali. Posebne podatke, kako sam pisao na početku, nadam se dobiti od Dr. Podkaminar.

Sada moje svjedočanstvo, jer nažalost, svi oni što su bili umiješani u taj plemeniti čin Nadbiskupa Stepinca su već preminuli: moji roditelji, Erna i Miroslav Radičević (bivši Fuks), umrli u Jerusalemu, moja tetka Gross Elza i njezin muž Fridrich Gross, rođeni katolik u Austriji i za vrijeme rata direktor Simensa u Hrvatskoj.

Pomoć i intervencija u Kaptolskim dvorima od gospode: F. Gross, Rihard Fuks, odvjetnik u Zagrebu gospođe Lele Sopianec kod Nadbiskupa Stepinca dala je pozitivne rezultate. Prema njegovoj odluci cijela familija naša, porijeklom ŽIDOVI, dobili smo nove dokumente (u toku 1941. godine) na prezime RADIČEVIĆ kao Arijevci i kršćani. (Sjećam se da smo moji roditelji i ja prekršteni u crkvi sv. Petra u Vlaškoj ulici. Datum je bio falsificiran, tako da je izgledalo da smo rođeni kršćani. Oca su unatoč toga ustaše uhapsili. Bio je po zatvorima par godina.) Majku i mene je Nadbiskup Stepinac poslao kod župnika Dragutina Jesiha u župu Ščitarjevo gdje smo bili sakriveni kao kršćani iako je dr. Jesih znao da smo Židovi. Župnik dr. Jesih Dragutin zaklan je na zvjerski način od ustaša koncem 1944. i bačen u Savu. Iznakažen i zaklan pokopan je na groblju u Ščitarjevu pokraj župnog dvora i crkve. Majka i ja nastavili smo se skrivati u rafineriji "OLEX" u sv. Klari koja je bila vlasništvo gosp. F. SOPIANCA i gospođe LELE.

Početkom 1945., kada je otac moj izašao iz zatvora, pomoću dokumenata i pomoću Nadbiskupa Stepinca bili smo do konca rata skrivani i otac je bio zaposlen u rafineriji "OLEX", tamo smo i stanovali, a i u RATKAJEVOM PROLAZU u prostorijama "Olexa", u tzv. vatikanskim kućama.

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Svjedočanstvo Židova Ljudevita Steina, kojega je u svibnju 1943. iz zatvora na Savskoj cesti u Zagrebu spasio nadbiskup Stepinac.

Izvor: Blaženi Alojzije Stepinac, Glasnik Postulature, 6 (1999), 1-2, str. 21

Zovem se Ljudevit Stein, i rođen sam 23. 05. 1935. godine u Zagrebu, od oca Bela i majke Margite rođene Glass.

Živjeli smo u Zagrebu, u Vlaškoj ulici 63, gdje je moj otac imao svoju limarsko-vodoinstalatersku radionicu. Otac je bio poznati zagrebački obrtnik, imao je svoje izume koje je patentirao.

Mirno smo živjeli do proljeća 1941. godine, kada je stvorena tako zvana NDH. Tada su počeli nemiri i progoni Židova. Mnogi su, da bi spasili život pobjegli i nagovarali moga tatu da i on ode, a on im je odgovarao: Ja sam obrtnik, imam svoju radionicu, pa neće valjda i mene - zanatlija uvijek treba.

U rano ljeto iste 1941. godine moji roditelji, ja, i mnogi Židovi koji su ostali u Zagrebu odlazili smo u Katedralu na Kaptol na vjeronauk, kako bismo bili pod zaštitom Katoličke crkve i izbjegli progon kao Židovi. To je sve organizirao tada nadbiskup zagrebački Alojzije Stepinac. Međutim, to nije uspjelo. Jedini rezultat je bio da mi djeca nismo više trebali nositi oko rukava žutu traku sa slovom Ž.

Početkom jeseni 1941. godine počela su velika hapšenja i progon Židova. Prvo su odveli moju baku Reginu Stein, staricu od 70 godina, u Staru Gradišku, i od tada se za nju više ništa ne zna. Par dana kasnije došli su po moga tatu Bela Steina i njegova brata Filipa Steina i odveli ih u logor Jasenovac, a moju mamu i mene istjerali su iz stana; majka je smjela uzeti samo ono što je mogla u rukama ponijeti. U onoj uzbuđenosti uzela je dokumente koji su već biti pripremljeni, i dva mala sviječnjaka koja imam još i danas.

Moj tata i njegov brat bili su u Jasenovcu od 1941. do 1945. godine i radili su u zatočeničkoj grupi I. Lančarija. Bili su živi sve do pokušaja oslobođenja logora i dolaska partizanske vojske u Jasenovac. Mamu i mene prihvatila je sestra moga tate Margita Stilinović, koja se udala za katolika, a živjela je u Zagrebu, na Trešnjevki, u Pazinskoj ulici 52.

U proljeće 1942. godine mama je htjela otići kod svojih roditelja i sestara u Suboticu, koja je bila pod mađarskom okupacijom, jer tamo još nije bilo progona Židova. No prilikom prelaska hrvatsko-mađarske granice, bili smo uhićeni od strane mađarskih graničara i predani ondašnjim hrvatskim graničarima i smješteni u zatvor u Petrovaradinu. Mama je pisala mojoj teti Margiti Stilinović da dođe po mene u Petrovaradin, jer mene puštaju iz zatvora, što je teta i učinila, te me odvela u Zagreb. Ondje sam zadnji puta vidio moju mamu, i više nikada nisam čuo za nju. Želim napomenuti da od mnogobrojne mamine obitelji, 1943. godine su svi uhapšeni, odvedeni i nestali, samo se pukim slučajem iz logora Auschwitz uspjela spasiti najmlađa sestra Barbara Kereshi, koja je 1949. godine otišla u Izrael i umrla ove godine.

U noći između 14-og i 15-og svibnja 1943. godine uhapšen sam i odveden u zatvor na Savskoj cesti. Te noći bila su velika i masovna hapšenja preostalih Židova, za koje su tadašnje vlasti znale. Iz zatvora sam pušten 18-og svibnja 1943. godine, za što posjedujem izvornu otpusnicu. Za vrijeme suđenja nadbiskupu Alojziju Stepincu, koje je bilo prenošeno preko radija, teta Margita Stilinović mi je rekla: "Kod njega sam išla moliti da nešto učini za tebe, da te puste iz zatvora." Uvijek sam u sebi nosio poštovanje prema Kardinalu, sada blaženom Alojziju Stepincu, da spasi moje roditelje i mene, što je i uspio.

Moja supruga Zlatica i ja bili smo u 8. mjesecu 1990. godine u Krašiću, u kući i sobi u kojoj je blaženi Alojzije Stepinac boravio i živio. Soba je bila tako uređena i pospremljena,

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Appendix 6.1.4: Archbishop Stepinac writes to Ante Pavelic protesting the order that all Jews have to wear the yellow identification mark. He reminded Pavelic that even in the Third Reich the citizens of the Reich were exempt from such a debasement.

bien qu'illégitime.[5]

Donosimo prijevod teksta:

Antisemitske mjere

Nakon izvršenja popisa Židova u Hrvatskoj, donesena je odluka da svi Židovi s prebivalištem u Zagrebu, bez obzira na vjeru koju ispovijedaju moraju od 28. ovog mjeseca nositi na lijevoj strani prsa i leđa distinktivna obilježja od dva kvadratića platna žute boje veličine oko 2 centimetra kvadratna sa zvijezdom Siona i slovom Ž (Židov). Čak su i Nijemci poštedjeli Židove Reicha ovog ponižavajućeg zahtjeva koji je izazvao negodovanje dobrog dijela hrvatske javnosti, pa i samih pristalica vlade koji su ga proglasili sadističkim. Time je još dodatno pojačana napetost koja je već vladala između "Kaptola" (sjedište nadbiskupa i Prvostolnog kaptola) i članova vlade kao revnih katolika. Ta napetost se očitovala povodom nedavnog posjeta Rimu dr. Ante Pavelića. Zagrebački nadbiskup Mons. Stepinac, koji je bio pozvan da se priključi delegaciji zaduženoj da preda hrvatsku krunu jednom princu iz obitelji Savoie, odbio je poziv i poslao na svoje mjesto jednog od pomoćnih biskupa. Zlobnici su izmislili da je taj otpor Kaptola željama Poglavnika rezultat utjecaja dvaju kanonika članova slobodne masonerije ili bojazni Kapitola da im vlada ne oduzme neke posjede. S druge strane, sasvim su dovoljni i drugi razlozi materijalne prirode da bi opravdali ovakvo ponašanje. Zaista je Crkvi teško dopustiti takve mjere kao što je odredba prema kojem valjanost svakog vjerskog prijelaza (novog preobraćenja) podliježe prethodnoj upravnoj dozvoli.

Uvjeravaju me, da je Crkva osudila nedavne mjere po kojima su Židovi bili prisiljeni nositi ponižavajuća obilježja i Kaptol da se zauzima za ublažavanje tih odluka vlasti. Međutim, treba reći da usprkos tome što nova vlada teži reputaciji inkorupcije, događa se da se bogati Židovi uspijevaju osloboditi obveze nošenja obilježja na što su prisiljena njihova subraća. Takvi vrlo lako i legitimno ishode potvrdu o arijskom podrijetlu, odričući se svoga. Rim, 9. srpnja 1941.

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Appendix 6.1.5: The Jewish Community in Zagreb asked Archbishop Stepinac to write to his contacts in the Holy See asking them, if possible, to obtain from the Italian authorities entry visas for 200 Jewish children from Croatia to Italy. The children, mostly orphans, would be taken care for by various humanitarian organizations and by the local Jews. The Archbishop wrote the letter but, shortly after, he received the answer that only children with Italian relatives could be relocated.

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U Zagrebu ima oko 200 djece u dobi od 7 – 17 godina. Najveći dio te djece ovdje je bez očeva, a mnogiti broj bez očeva i bez majki.

Naša je namjera odobrenjem nadležnih vlasti sukcesivno preseliti ovu djecu u Kr. Italiju.

Prva bi grupa od neko 50 djece pod vodstvom određenih pedagoških i stručnih ulla trebala da ode po mogućnosti u što skorijem vremenu. Ostala djeca putovala bi naknadno, opet u grupama od 30-40 sa potrebnim odgojnim osobljem, kad bi prve grupe bile smještene. Djeca će biti potpuno opremljena, obskrbljena odjećom na duže vrijeme te udžbenicima i svime što je potrebno.

Kao mjesto smještavanja dolazi u obzir Firenza, gdje tamošnja židovska općina posjeduje nekoliko zgrada u kojima je bio prije smješten rabinski seminar ili Padova, gdje općina također posjeduje ~~smještenxx~~ neke zgrade. Za kasnije smještavanje bilo bi najpovoljnije koje imanje, kako bi imadina mogla dobiti poljodjelsku izobrazbu.

Novčano uzdržanje ovih omladinskih grupa preuzet će na sebe židovske pripomočne organizacije.

(izvještaj žid.bogoš.općine u Zagrebu
– predmet u svrhu intervencije.)

Br. 5387/46

Prepis se slaže sa izvornikom.

Zagreb, dne 1 Listopada 1946.

Ovlašteni nadz. činovnik:

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Appendix 6.1.6: Sample list of converts to Catholicism at St. Mark Church in Zagreb. The list included only vital data while the addresses of the converts were omitted despite the Ustashe request.

Općina Centar Ulica 25
Matični Ured.

Knjiga Krštenih 1936-1938

ŽUPNI URED SV. MARKA

U ZAGREBU.

Broj:664/1941.

Popis pokrštenih židova.

Godina 1937.

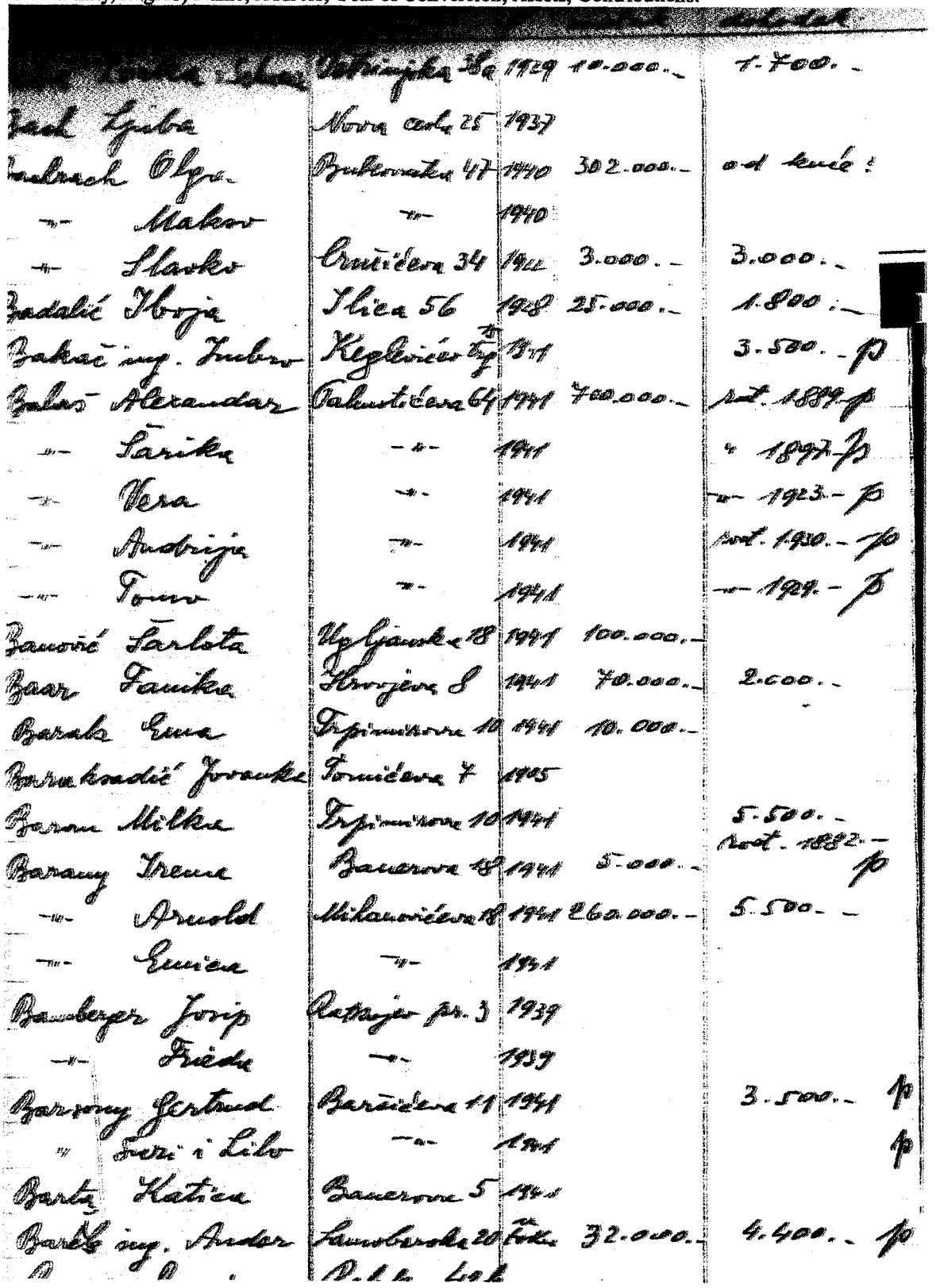
1. Stern Ella.....r.8.IV.1907.Vel.Kopanica,stan Zagreb
2. Stern Terezija " 30.XII.1908, " " "
3. Weiss Ilse " 11.IX. 1914.Nova Gradiška," "
4./Goldstein Edit " 10.X. 1915. Djakovo " "
5. Tkalčić Markus Milan " 16.IV. 1896. Kutina " "
6. Dr.Zdenko Vinski, " 3.V. 1913. Zagreb " "

Godina 1938.

1. Siegfrid dr.Kaufer - Karas, 27.IV.1894.u Koprivnica " "
2. Dr.Klara Župić r.Deutsch, 30.V. 1897.u Zagrebu, " "
3. Maceljski Gustav, 29.I. 1882.u Zagrebu " "
4. Hellinger Hugo 5.XI.1886.u Striegau, " "
4. Büchler Ernst 9.VIII.1918 Našice , " "
5./Schön Vilim 12.V. 1896 Zagreb, " "
6./Kreutzre Franjo 5.VII.1909 Graz " "
7./ Polić Danica r.Fröhlich 29.XI. 1895 Našice " "
8./ Dr.Artur Polić 5.III.1890 Našice, " "
9./ Fischl Helena r.Weisselberger, 8.III.1903. Cernauti, " "
10/ Dr.Edmund Brodjovin 1.VII.1873. Zagreb, " "
11./Schwarz Julije 14.IX.1881. Graz " "
12./Szikla Bela 21.X. 1902 Košice " "
13./Dominits Ilonka r.Singer, 16.III.1908.Zemun, " "
14./Deutsch Mariška r.Gombaš, 18.XII.1903,Sombor " "
15./Kraus Ela, 3.VI. 1909, Zemina, " "
16./Ljubomir Elsner, 29.IX.1898, Biala/Poljska/ stan Zagreb
17./Elsner Elise r.Pilzer, 12.V.1901, Czseczyn " " "

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Appendix 6.1.7: In contrast to the list of converts submitted to the Ustashe authorities by the Catholic Church, the Jews were in no position to refuse orders; they had to record full addresses as well as the financial status of the converted Jews. In 1941 the number of converts was in the thousands. (ZOZ, Jewish Community, Zagreb) Name, Address, Year of Conversion, Assets, Contributions.



Appendix 6.1.8: On April 1943, the Chief Rabbi of Zagreb, Dr. Freiberger, begins his letter by stating: 'once again, we are obliged to turn to you [to Archbishop Stepinac] for assistance to find accommodation for our elderly'. Dr. Stepinac found immediate accommodation for them on the church premises. (HDA, Odvjetnicka Pisarnica I. Politeo, Predmet: A. Stepinac)

14. travnja 1943.

1588/P/43-Dr.F./DA

Prečastnom Prvostolnom Kaptolu
Z a g r e b .

Svojevremeno je prečastni naslov blagohotno odobrio, da podpisana občina o svoj trošku odobrenjem državnih vlasti smjesti u napuštenim stanjama majura Sesvetski Kraljevec starce i djecu. S razloga, koji nisu bili u našoj moći, nije se občina ovim odobrenjem mogla poslužiti.

Sad smo primuđeni ponovno se obratiti prečastnom naslovu, da nam dopusti iskoristiti gore spomenuto odobrenje.

U Zagrebu se nalazi utanoviti broj stranih državljana židovskoga porietla, kojima redaratvene vlasti uzkraćuju daljnji boravak. Njihove nadležne inozemne občine im osporavaju zavičajnost, odnosno državljanstvo, pa tako za te bjednike predstoji bacanje s granice na granicu, i konačno logor. A radi se dialom o domaćim ljudima, koji su sav svoj vlek proveli na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, a samo nepažnjom ostali zavičajni na drugim teritorijima bivše Jugoslavije ili još prije Monarhije, ili pak o emigrantima, listom starcima i staricama.

Sa strane redaratva je občini dan savjet, da zatraži za njih konfinaciju, i da predloži mjesto konfinacije.

Kako je već navedeno u prvoj našoj molbi, občina bi [redacted]me adaptacije provela s odobrenjem Prečastnoga naslova na svoj trošak, a nakon prestanka upotrebe bi sgrade prema želji uspostavili u sadašnje stanje.

S dubokim poštovanjem:

(Dr.Hugo Kon) (Dr.M.Freiberger)

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Appendix 6.1.9: After the burial of Sabina Steiner in the Catholic Cemetery in Crikvenica, as was customary, the Jews attending the ceremony collected from each attendee a small contribution to be given to charity. The attendees decided to contribute the 306 kunas to the orphans of Crikvenica in the name of Archbishop Stepinac who at every opportunity made an effort to ameliorate the tragic conditions of those in the concentration camps. (HDA, Odvjetnicka Pisarnica I. Politeo, Predmet: A. Stepinac)

Predstavništvo izbjeglih Židova u Crikvenici svjedoči o iskazanim dobročinstvima nadbiskupa Stepinca prema progonjenim Židovima, od 2. kolovoza 1942.
Izvor: CP, sv. CVII, str. 2834.

PREDSTAVNIČTVO IZBJEGLICA ŽIDOVA U CRIKVENICI,
UL. KRALJA TOMISLAVA 106
Vila Klara

. 129/42 Hr/Mi

P. n.

DJEČJE SIROTIŠTE
CRIKVENICA

Povodom sahrane Židovke gdje Sabine Steiner na ovdašnjem katoličkom groblju dne 1.VIII. o.g. sakupljeno je /prema običaju kod židovskih pogreba/ u dobrotvorne svrhe svota od Kn 306.- Potpisano Predstavništvo odredilo je, da se ova svota namijeni sviham ugledneg naslova.

Iako neznatna svota, molimo da je primite kao simbol ljubavi k bližnjemu, a napose kao znak naše zahvalnosti prema predstavnicima Katoličke Crkve, u prvom redu prema Nj. Preuzvišenosti nadbiskupu g. Alojziju Stepincu, koji su svakom zgodom, kad je to bilo moguće, uložili svoj upliv da ublaže neobično tragičan položaj onih, koji - nedužni - čame, ginu i izgibaju u logorima.

Izvolite primiti izraz našeg
odličnog poštovanja
M. P.
(Potpisi nečitljivi)
U Crikvenici, dne 2. kolovoza 1942.

M. P.

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Appendix 6.1.10: The Jewish community in Zagreb was notified that its services were no longer needed. On the request of the Jewish Community, Archbishop Stepinac wrote to the Interior Minister, Artukovic, asking that the Jewish Community premises remain open so that services would be provided for the needy. (HDA, Odvjetnicka Pisarnica I. Politeo, Predmet: A. Stepinac)

1175

Zagreb, dne 8. svibnja 1943.

Gospodine Ministre !

Slobodan sam dostaviti Vam u prilogu molbu židovske bogoštovne občine u Zagrebu, koje ista traži slobodu rada za dobro onih, koji su još ostali na slobodi. Sama narav stvari, kako se vidi iz priloga, pravednu molbu preporučuje.

Molim Vas, gospodine Ministre, da toj molbi izadjete u susret, da osobama, koje su jedine preostale od občine i upućene u njezino poslovanje, dadete dozvolu rada na naznačenim područjima djelovanja občine, a u koliko je koja od navedenih osoba u zatvoru, da dadete nalog, da se pusti na slobodu.

Zahvaljujući Vam, gospodine Ministre, na sve, što ste učinili i što ćete učiniti, da spasite naravno-etički i kršćanski karakter našega naroda, izražavam Vam i ovom prilikom moje duboko poštovanje

Nadbiskup zagrebački

Br. 1991/ko.

Prepis se slaže sa izvornikom.

Zagreb, dne 1. listopada 1946.

Gospodin
Dr. Andrija A R T U K O V I Ć
Ministar unutarnjih poslova
Z a g r e b

NADBISKUPSKI DUŠOBRIŽNI STAN U ZAGREBU

Appendix 6.1.11: In the Hans Helm file, a letter from 24.3.1943 states that the Nazi agent, Kriminic, reported that the Archbishop Stepinac is the protector of Jews and that he intends to close all the churches should the deportation of Jews in mixed continue. (HDA, Hans Helm, box 33, Book XIV)

otpremljeno 25.III.1943

25/3 952/43

Reichsführer SS i šefu njem.policije

RSHA- Amt VI
radi znanja Amt IV

B e r l i n

Predmet: Mješoviti brakovi u Hrvatskoj

Veza:-bez

Hrvatska vlada je odredila da svi židovi,pa i oni koji žive u mješovitim brakovima,imaju da se jave kod policijske direkcije. Povodom ovog nekoji židovi se obratili na nadbiskupa STEPINCA i zamolili za zaštitu. Nadbiskup je obećao punu zaštitu i obratio se sa jednim memorandumom na papu. On hoće,u slučaju ako sa strane Hrvata bude preduzeto nešto protiv židova koji se nalaze u mješovitim brakovima,da u znak protesta zatvori na izvjesno vrijeme sve katoličke crkve u Hrvatskoj. Prema njegovom shvaćanju ovo bi značilo miješanje hrvatske države u prava crkve,ako bi mješovite brakovi bili rastavljene od strane hrvatske vlade.

U vezi sa ovim priča se u Zagrebu,da papa je preduzeo korake kod Führera,kako bi izdejstvovao,da se ništa ne preduzima protiv mješovitih brakova.

Ovaj izvještaj još nije proveren,ali pošto se pozna da nadbiskup STEPINAC je veliki prijatelj židova,to može se pretpostaviti da se umješao u njihovu korist.

u zastupanju

C

,krimin.inspektor

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Appendix 6.1.12: In the Hans Helm file, letter dated 24.3.1943 states that two Nazi agents Mravunac and Gosnjak reported that the Archbishop Stepinac is the protector of Jews and that he intends to close all the churches should the deportation of Jews of mixed marriages continue. (HDA, Hans Helm, box 33, Book XIV)

Zagreb 24.3.1943

O b a s k a

Predmet: Mješoviti brakovi u Hrvatskoj

Dobio sam od mojih VM /Mravunac i Gošnjak/ sljedeći izvještaj:

Povodom prijave židova i onih koji žive u mješovitim brakovima, došlo je do jednog dogovora onih koji žive u mješovitim brakovima. Nekoji od njih otišli kod nadbiskupa STEPINCA i tražili zaštitu./Ovo je potvrdio i Enko/. Nadbiskup je obećao svoju zaštitu i napisao je memorandum papi. Prema dogmama katoličke crkve, jedan brak ne može da bude rastavljen. Ako ipak hrvatske vlasti preduzmu nešto protiv mješovitih brakova, onda nadbiskup u znak protesta će zatvoriti sve katoličke crkve na izvjesno vrijeme. On smatra, da u vezi sa mješovitima brakovima ovo pretstavlja mješanje države u crkvene stvari.

Nadalje u Zagrebu se priča, da papa preduzeo korake kod Führera, kako bi dobio uvjerenje, da protiv mješovitih brakova neće se ništa preduzeti.

Provedra ovog izvještaja za sada još se ne može izvršiti. Ali vrlo je verovatno da ovo ili slično preduzeto od strane STEPINCA, jer isti je poznat kao zaštitnik židova.

K.I. Hübner s molbom na znanje

X

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Appendix 6.1.13: On May 14 1941, Archbishop Stepinac writes to Ante Pavelic: I have received news that in Glina 260 Serbs have been massacred. I know that the Serbs committed heinous crimes against our people in the past 20 years. But it is my duty to raise my voice in protest that your conduct is against the morality of the Church. I must request that you take all measures that no Serb is killed in the territories of NDH without first investigating if crime has been committed. If this continues we cannot count on heaven's blessings without which we are ruined. (This murderous act was attributed by the Serbs to Archbishop Stepinac.)

ARHIV HRVATSKE
ZAGREB

29
326

Pismo Nadbiskupa Poglavniku radi pokolja Srba u Glini.

Poglavniče!

Ovaj čas primio sam vijest, da su Ustaše u Glini postrijeljali bez suda i istrage 260 Srba. Ja znam da su Srbi počinili teških zločina u našoj domovini u ovih dva dea t godina vladanja. Alismatram ipak svojom biskupskom dužnošću da podignem svoj glas i kažem da ovo po katoličkom moralu nije dozvoljeno, pa Vas molim, da poduzmete najhitnije mjere da cijelom teritoriju Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, da se ne ubij mi jedan Srbin ako mu se ne dokaže krivnja radi koje je zaslužio smrt.

Inače ne možemo računati na blagoslov neba, bez kojega moramo propasti. Nadam se da mi ne ćete zamjeriti ovu otvorenu riječ.

Sa odličnim poštovanjem itd.

Zagreb 14.V.1941.

Stepinac
nadbiskup

Br. I 992/66
Prepis se slaže sa izvornikom.
Zagreb, dne 1 Listopada 1966.
Ravnatelj nadb. pisarne:

NADBISKUPSKI DUHOVNI ST... U ZAGRE...

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Appendix 6.1.14: In his sermon, October 13 1943, Stepinac publicly attacked the Croatia regime. HDA, Hans Helm File, box 33, Book XIV)

Eisatzgruppe Sipo i SD
Hrvatska. Zagreb 1o.11.43

br. III- 2435/43

U p i s a t i !

Poverljivo /

Drž.gl.ured službe sigurnosti
Amtu III, IV, VI.

B e r l i n

Predmet: Katolička crkva u Hrvatskoj
Veza: bez
Prilog: -1-

Usljed oštrog napada nadbiskupa dr. STEPINCA protiv režima u njegovoj propovjedi od 31 oktobra 1943, odnosi izmedju države i crkve u Hrvatskoj nalaze se u središni općih interesa. Pregled organizacije, položaja i o rukovodećim osobama kao i o njihovom stavu prema državi daje ovaj izvještaj, koji potiče od jednog hrvatskog saradnika i ovdje bio ispitan i preradjen.

u prepisu

g- policijskom attache
SS-Stubaf HELM-u

Z a g r e b

dostalja se na znanje.

potpis
SS- Ostubaf

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Appendix 6.1.15: Stepinac gave a talk in Bistirica on October 31, 1943, stating that the Catholic Church does not recognize the division of people into races. He ended his letter by declaring "death to fascism!"

Govor nadbiskupa dr. Alojzija Stepinca 31./X/1943.
u B. Bistrici.-

Katolička crkva nepoznaje rasa koje gospoduju i koje robuju.Katolička crkva poznaje samo rase i narode kao tvorevine božje,a ako koga više cjeni to je onaj koji ima plemenitije srce,a ne jaču pesnicu.Za nju je čovjek jednak crnac iz centralne Afrike kao i Evropejac.Za nju je kralj kao čovjek u kraljevskoj palači upravo tako čovjek kao i zadnji siromah i ciganin pod šatorom.Ona medju njima nepoznaje razlike kao čovjeka (bitne).Jedan i drugi imaju neumrlu dušu jedan i drugi su istoga krvnoga porijekla vukući svoju lozu od Boga Stvoritelja.To je rasna nauka katoličke crkve,a sve druge su obična podmetanja koje vrijede rječi. "Ulaži su kratke noge".Katolička crkva nemože priznati da koja rasa ili narod zato što je brojčano jači ili bolje naoružan smije počiniti nasilje nad brojčano jačim slabijim i manjim narodom Ni nemožemo odobriti da se ubijaju nevini zato što je možda kad god iz zasjede ubio jednog vojnika pa bio naj plemenitije rase.Sistem streljanja stotina taoca radi zločina kojemu se nemože otkriti krivac,poganski je sistem,koji nije nikad urodio dobrim plodom niti ikmože uroditi.Jer je sasvim sigurno ako bi se ovakvim mjerama pokušale napraviti red da će mnogi i mnogi od onih koji su do sad slušali glas crkve makar izloženi teroru kusati konačno također potražiti spas u šumama.Mi osudjujemo sve nepravde,sva ubijanja nevinih sve paleže nevinih sela,sva zatiranja sirotinjskih žuljeva,mi žaleći nevolje i patnje svih koji danas nepravedno pate odgovaramo ovako:Crkva je uvijek za onaj poredak koji je koliko star koliko i deset zapovjedi božji.Mi smo za poredak koji je napisan ne na raspadljivom papiru nego svjesti ljudskoj prstom Boga živoga.Zato bližnjem moramo priznati pravo na život,imetak i čast,jer je pisano ne ubij,ne ukradi, ne reci lažnog svedočanstva na bližnjega svoga.

Na odgovor da je katolička crkva gilokomunistička raspoložena ili možda pristrana.Možda da bi ti isti koji sastavljaju taj prigovor bolje učinili da pokucaju na vrata vlastite svjesti i da se upitaju nisu li mnogi koji se sakrivaju po šumama otišli onamo ne iz kakovog uvjerenja nego često puta iz očaja radi nečovječnih metoda,nerazboritih pojedinaca,koji su mislili da mogu raditi što ih je volja i da za njih nepostoji zakon ljudski ni božji.

Ako netko misli da katolička crkva strepi radi svoga rada pred budućnosti taj se ljuto vara.Ona stoji vedra čela i mirne svjesti da pogleda u oči svakoj situaciji koja bi mogla doći.

Mi zaključujemo našu procesiju vrućom molitvom gospodinu Bogu:Gospodine daj da progledaju svi oni koji su sljepi i da upoznaju da nema mira ni sreće ni jednom čovjeku,ni jednoj obitelji,ni jednom narodu ni državi bez tebe Stvoritelja.- Amen.

Smrt fašizmu - Sloboda narodu!

HDA, I. POLITEO, PREDMET: A. STEPINAC

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Appendix 6.1.16: Forty eight Catholic women from Osijek, with the help of their priests, asked Archbishop Stepinac help to obtain the release of their deported husbands. Stepinac wrote a letter of protest to the authorities. He threatened to close all the churches should this practice continue. Stepinac asked the Vatican to intervene on behalf of the Aryan women married to Jews.

1183

Njegovoj Preuzvišenosti
Gospodinu Dru Alojziju S t e p i n c u
Hrvatskom Metropoliti i Nadbiskupu
u/
Z A G R E B U

Podpisane žene rkt. vjere, čiji su muževi Židovi po rasi, ali rkt. vjere slobodne smo podastrieti Vašoj Preuzvišenosti primjerak molbe, koju smo podnieli Njegovoj Preuzvišenosti Poglavniku Nezavisne Države Hrvatske i Visokom Predsjedništvu Hrvatskog Državnog Sabora u Zagrebu,-

sa usrdnom zamolbom, da bi Preuzvišenost Vaša istu na najvišem mjestu dobrohodno na uvaženje preporučili.

Poznavajući Vašu Preuzvišenost, kao crkvenog dostojanstvenika, koji se vazda zauzeo za pravednu stvar-pouzdano se nadamo, da ćete i ovom zgodom uočiv naše teško stanje - izaći nama nesretnicima u susret.

Ostajemo uvjek zahvalni.

U Osieku, dne 14. svibnja 1942.

Milka Rausnitz rod.Veselinović.	Josipa Görög rod.Pernar
Vuka Eško rod.Kovjanić.	Teresija Kohn rod.Lukačević.
Ana Kohn rod.Mum.	Marija Kon rod.Valter
Slava Ungar rod.Galović.	Emilija Zimmermann rod.Sitar.
Mica Švarc rod. Mić.	Anna Ungar rod.Schweizer.
Olga Misner rod.Sremčević.	Viktoria Glück rod.Zappe.
Slavica Salamon rod.Glas	Leopoldina Scheiber rod.Hartl.
Marija Glesinger rod.Kapaunig.	Antonija Schlesinger rod.Miklenić.
Eva Zeldiner rod.Soukop.	Anica Spingarn rod.Nefedova.
Poljak Mira rod.Schmidt.	Julijana Bauer rod.Dotlić
Štefica Eisenstädter rod.Maracki.	Marija Schiffer rod.De Gregori.
Thilde Lang rod.Hugo.	Marija Uhlman rod.Salk
Marija Friedmann rod.Acham.	Ljubica Perles rod.Decker.
Marija Ehrenfreund rod.Bayer.	Anita Goldstein rod.Stivi
Spitzer Erna rod.Hentz.	Zorislava Reich rod.Magjer
Jelisaveta Lichtenthal rod.Path.	Anica Weiss rod.Perović
Marija Lichtenthal rod.Ift.	Franciska Leitner rod.Petelin.
Julka Rechnitzer rod.Venos.	Mira Bošković rod.Sandukčić
Lederer Marija rod.Šager.	Slezinger r.Henč Katica
Löwy Štefica rod.Paradeiser.	Anica Grinberger r.Petelin
Katarina Klein rod.Goll.	Herman Staža r.Strelac
Štefica Sabo rod.Halter	Ana Dirnbach rod.Pleterski
Ela Beutel rod.Treml.	Zora Kraus rod.Miketar
Herma Herman rod.Endlicher.	Tereza Pollak rod.Dijaković.

Istinitost gornjih navoda potvrđuje i preporuča molbu:

Rim, kat. župski ured,
U Osijeku II. dne 18. svibnja 1942.
Br. 1491/42

Šeper v.r.
župnik.

Prepis se slaže sa izvornikom.

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Appendix 6.1.17: A request was made to Archbishop Stepinac to convert to Catholicism three Jewish orphans whose parents were deported to concentration camps. (Conversion was the only way to assure their safety.)

Prečasnom

Nadbiskupskom Duhovnom Stolu

u ZGREBU

Predmet: Moli dozvolu krštenja troje djece.

Molim taj Preč. naslov, da dozvoli kratiti troje djece, koja potječu od roditelja jevrejske vjere, i to: Ladislava Deutsch od četiri godine i njegovu sestricu Nadicu od šest mjeseci, pak njihovu rodjakinju Leju Kohn, od šest godina i devet mjeseci.

Ladislav Deutsch rodio se je u Kaču 10.X. 1938, a Nadica Deutsch u Vinkovcima 28.III. 1942, i ova nikada nije dobila Rodnog lista, a nije se ni tražio. Oboje su zakonita djeca Aleksandra Deutsch i Ružice rodj. Kohn.

Leja Kohn rodila se je u Bjelovaru 17. XII. 1935. kao zakonita kći Aleksandra Kohn i pok. Antinke rodj. Stranger.

Roditelji sve troje djece nalaze se negje u logorima, te su ih roditelji povjerili gospogji Jurekević, Vlaška Ul. 70/d, koja ih je pr prijavila na krštenje.

U Zagrebu, dne 30. rujna 1942.



Dr Jos. Lončar
Zagreb

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Appendix 6.1.18: Request to convert two Jewish children to Catholicism. The parents had been deported and the children were also at risk. Permission to convert the children was granted.

Župni ured sv-Petra u Zagrebu.

Broj 1264.

Krštenje Leona i Ljerke Bauer.

Zagreb,dne 4.rujna 1942.

Prečasni

nadbiskupski duhovni stol

Z a g r e b .

Jevreji Mihajlo Bauer i Regina Gold otišli su iz Zagreba,on lanjske godine,ona sada,obadva nepoznatog boravišta,ostavili su kod svojih rodjaka Stjepana i Marije Bauer,Zagreb,Bogišićeva ul.12,rkt,dvoje djece:Leona Bauer,rodj.3.9.1938,i Ljerku Bauer,7 mjeseci staru.Roditelji su izrazili želju,da se ova dje pokrsti,tako žele i djed i baka od djece.Zbog toga je došla u ovaj župni ured gdj.Marija Bauer te molila,da se spomenuta djeca pokrsti.

Molim ovlast,da mogu pokrstiti Leona i Ljerku Bauer.

ŽUPNI URED * SV. PETRA * ZAGREB

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Appendix 6.1.19: Archbishop Stepinac writes on behalf of the Jewish Community, Zagreb, to validate and to extend the exit visas given for 50 children, only 11 of which had been issued. The Jewish Community would like to send 39 additional children to Turkey.

1188

Gospodinu
Ministru unutarnjih poslova
Nezavisne Države Hrvatske
Z a g r e b .

Na molbu Židovske bogoštovne općine u Zagrebu od 14. travnja 1942., koju sam lično odnio Gospodinu Ministru unutarnjih poslova odobrio je gospodin Ministar svojim rješenjem broj 2550-I-A-1942. od 15. travnja 1942. preseljenje 50 židovske djece u Turску.

Na osnovu ovoga odobrenja izašlo je 11 djece, dobivši putni list prema rješenju Glavnog Ravnateljstva za javni red i sigurnost broj 10888 od 26. siječnja 1943., u veljači o.g. u Turску.

Sad je zamolila Židovska bogoštovna općina u Zagrebu da se povrh neiskorišćenih 39 odobrenja izda daljnje za trideseteru djece sa pratnjom.

Kako se radi najvećim dijelom o sirocadi i o djeci koja se hranitelji nalaze najvećim dijelom u zatočeničkim logorima, priključujem se molbi Židovske bogoštovne općine da odobri izlaz iz Nezavisne Države Hrvatske za spomenutu djecu i njihove pratioce.

Br. 5997/42.
Prepis se šalje na znanje.
Zagreb, 4. kolovoza 1942.
Ravnatelj: [illegible]

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Appendix 6.1.20: The Jewish Community was informed that a large transport with Greek Jews would be passing through Zagreb and that the Red Cross had not managed to obtain permission to provide the detainees with refreshments. The Jewish Community asked Stepinac to intervene, which he did. The Red Cross managed to provide the basic humanitarian necessities for people who for several days had been without food.

oo

Bilješka nadb. tajnika I. Šalića po nalogu nadbiskupa Stepinca od 29. ožujka 1943. o pruženoj pomoći Židovima, transportiranima u Njemačku.

Izvor: CP, *Fascikl: Prezidijalni spisi nadbiskupa Alojzija Stepinca - 1943.*

Izvještaj za "Arhiv Tajni"

Dne 27. III. 1943. poslie podne oko 4 sata došao je g. Davidović poslan od židovskoga Nadrabina Dra Freibergera sa ovim izvještajem:

Rekao je: Dobili smo obavijest od ....., da se u Novskoj nalazi jedan transportni vlak od 1.800 Židova, koji su određeni za Njemačku. To su Židovi navodno u glavnom iz Grčke. Transport je njemački, i svu pasku na tim ljudima imadu Njemci. Međutim tim se ljudima ne smije ništa dati: niti jesti, niti umiti se, dapače ne smije im se pružiti niti čaša vode. Po nalogu Preuzv. G. Nadbiskupa, nadbiskupski tajnici vlč. gg. Šalić Ivo i Dr Stjepan Lacković poduzeli su sve mjere i intervencije, da ovima ljudima bude pomoženo. Zamoljen je "Crveni Križ", dapače sam predsjednik "Crvenog Križa" g. Dr. Hühn, koji je pitao (tako je rekao) njemačke vlasti i da su ove rekle, da to nije dozvoljeno i da prema tome "Crveni Križ" ne može ništa učiniti. Zamoljen svećenik Dr. V. Keilbach, da poduzme preko g. von Kocijana, njemačkog častnika, ali i ovaj, inače dobar katolik, izjavio je, da je inkompetentan u toj stvari, i da se ne može ništa učiniti. Vlak je imao doći oko 9 i 10 sati na večer. Članice (gospodje) "Crvenoga Križa" bile su voljne pomoći, ali se nisu usudile, jer je iza svega toga stajalo pitanje, hoće li njemačke vlasti dozvoliti. Već je bila nada posve izgubljena, kada nam reče X.Y. gospodja, da se obratimo na dežurnoga njemačkog oficira na samome kolodvoru i da mu stvar tako zgodno prikažemo, da je sada jedini on kompetentan, da tim bijednim ljudima izidje u pomoć. I zbilja! Tajnik g. Lacković se obratio na samoga njemačkoga dežurnoga oficira i ovaj se stavio sa gospodjama "Crvenog Križa" u vezu i stvar je uspjela. Podijeljen je topli obrok ovim Židovima.

Danas predsjednik "Crvenog Križa" Dr Hühn javlja, da su ipak podijeljeni hrana i ostalo svim stradalnicima. On to tako naglašava, kao da je u tome bio factotum, medjutim, da nadbiskupsko Tajničtvo nije na nalog preuz. G. Nadbiskupa poduzimalo sve mjere, nitko ne bi ni prstom maknuo. Hvala Bogu!

Zagreb, dne 29. ožujka 1943.

Po nalogu Nadbiskupa
ovo zabilježio
Ivo Šalić, v.r.
nadb. tajnik [1]

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Appendix 6.1.21: A letter of gratitude and appreciation was sent to Archbishop Stepinac for his assistance to the Jews of Croatia. It was written on June 11 1943, signed by Dr. Weltmann, a Jewish activist who operated from Istanbul.

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Svjedočanstvo dr. Weltmanna, židovskog službenika u Carigradu od 11. lipnja 1943. u promemoriji upućenoj apostolskom delegatu u tome gradu mons. Angelu Roncalliu, o zaštiti koju je nadbiskup pružio progonjenim Židovim u NDH.

Izvor: *Le dr. Weltmann au délégué apostolique à Istanbul Roncalli*, Istanbul, 11. lipnja 1943. u: *Le Saint Siege et le Victimes de la Guerre*, sv. IX, Janvier - Décembre 1943., nav. dj., str. 337.

"Mi znamo da je mons. Stepinac učinio sve što je bilo u njegovoj mogućnosti da bi pomogao i ublažio nesretnu sudbinu Židova u Hrvatskoj, čiji broj danas, prema izvješćima ne prelazi 25.000 uključujući žene i djecu. Molimo Vas da biste priopćili mons. Stepincu izraze naše duboke zahvalnosti za pruženu njegovu pomoć i molimo ga da nastavi svoje tako časno djelovanje u spašavanju naše nesretne braće, sestara i djece koja su zajedno s predsjednikom dr. Hugom Konom i s nadrabinom dr. Miroslavom Freibergerom uhićeni prije mjesec dana. Molimo također mons. Stepinca neka bi intervenirao kod nadležnih vlasti da se olakša putovanje Židova iz Hrvatske u Mađarsku i Italiju, odakle ćemo, nadamo se, moći prebaciti ih u neutralnu zemlju, ili u neku neutralnu zemlju u Palestini."

12 Rukopisa Dr. Batelja
(Izdvojio Osobno Dr. Batelja
214 - 246

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Appendix 6.1.22: The Jewish Community asked Archbishop Stepinac to intervene on behalf of 18 Jewish orphans to prevent their deportations. The community was willing to take full responsibility for their upbringing, Stepinac added that the Catholic Caritas will also provide support.

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Br.27/int. Zagreb,dne 22.ožujka 1944.

Gospodine glavni ravnatelju!

ARHIV HRVATSKE
ZAGREB

Čast mi se,gospodine glavni ravnatelju,obratiti na Vas u slijedećoj stvari:

Pred neko vrijeme doprealjeno je iz Otočca u Zagreb osamnaest osoba po rasi žid.va,koji se sada nalaze u ustanovi Redarstvene oblasti na Zagrebu.Njihova su imena slijedeća:

1.	Lpenger Hinko	soba br. 17/II.
2.	Lpenger Miroslav	" 17/II.
3.	Kabiljo Salamon	" 24/II.
4.	Kabiljo Avram	" 24/II.
5.	Kraus Julijo	" 24/II.
6.	Serkić Venecija	" 33/III.
7.	Serkić Laura	" 33/III.
8.	Serkić Mija	" 33/III.
9.	Kabiljo Rahela	" 33/III.
10.	Finci Bona	" "
11.	Lpenger Bamrija	" "
12.	Lpenger Elsa	" "
13.	Kraus Emilija	" "
14.	Finci Flora	" "
15.	Lpenger Zlata	" "
16.	Kraus Edita	" "
17.	Kornfein Emilija	" "
18.	Danajo Mirjam	" "

Budući da su to u glavnom samo ženske osobe i djeca molim Vas, gospodine glavni ravnatelju,da ih se pusti čim prije na slobodu,a garanciju za njih preuzet da židovske bogoštovne općine. to se tiče pak djece, "Karitas"Nadbiskupije zagrebačke voljan ih je preuzeti pa ako se ne bi z moglo pustiti odrasle,to Vas se umoljeva,da barem budu na slobodi puštena djeca i predana "Karitasu".

Nadam se,gospodine glavni ravnatelju,da ćete se svoje strane pobrinuti da ovoj molbi bude što prije udovoljeno.

Primite izraze moga dubokoga poštovanja.

Nadbiskupski tajnik
Salić

Gospodin
Dr.Milutin Jarčić,
Glavni ravnatelj za j.r.i s.
Zagreb
Opatička ul.1.

HDA, Y. POLITEO, PREDMET: A. STEPINAC

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Appendix 6.2.0: Engineer Gjuro Kastl requested Aryan rights on ground that he acted all his life as a loyal Croat; forty six well known Croats vouched on his behalf. (HAD, RUR 252, 28004, ZO 4110)

Br. 28004
Zo. 4110 — 26.VIII.41
(ovdje)

Ministarstvu unutarnjih poslova
Nezavisne države Hrvatske
u
Zagrebu.

Molba ing.Gjure Kastl-a ovl.inžinjera arhitekture iz Zagreba,Gjorgjićeva ul. za priznavanje prava,koja pripadaju osobama arijskog porijekla.

Pozivom na točku 6.zakonske odredbe o rasnoj pripadnosti molim,da mi se priznaju prava koja pripadaju osobama arijskog porijekla,te ovu svoju

Molbu

potkrepljujem slijedećim razlozima:

Odgojen sam u čisto hrvatskom duhu od majke,koje je otac već god.1892 bio izabran za gradskog zastupnika u Zagrebu na specifičnoj listi,t.j. u doba asimilacijonog pokreta,koji je čak iz židovskih redova mnogo javnih radnika na kulturnom i političkom polju.

Cijelog svog života radio sam kao Hrvat te nisam nikada bio član niti cijonističkih niti masonskih društava.

U srednjoj školi bio sam član hrvatskog Sokola i Hrv. Akademskog Športskog Kluba.

Kao tehničar radio sam aktivno u hrvatskim redovima u Pragu i u akademskom društvu"Hrvat" u Pragu.

Za vrijeme svjetskog rata od 1914-1918 bio sam borac u bivšoj A-U vojsci,te sam odlikovan malom srebrenom kolajnom za hrabrost i vojnim križem za zasluge III.r.sa mačevima(Militär Verdienstkreuz III.Kl.mit Schwertern),osim toga počiljem mi je "Karl Truppenkreuz."

God.1923.vjenčao sam na rimo-kat.vjeru,a iste sam se god. oženio sa nećakinjom gđe.Marije Radić.

Iz toga braka potječe jedna kćerka,kojoj je po zakonskoj osnovi priznato pravo arijskog porijetla i koja se odgaja u čisto hrvatskom duhu.

Od god.1918 unaprijed bio sam uvijek u hrvatskim redovima te sam na svim izborima glasovao samo za hrvatske stranke,a kod mješanih se izbora nisam od glasovanja ustegao.

Za vrijeme diktature radio sam aktivno za hrvatske stradalnike te sam davao i sakupljao novac i darove za iste premda je za takav rad bila predvidjena najstroža kazna.

U Zagrebu,20.svibnja 1941. ing.Gjuro Kastl v.r.

Istinitost gornjih navoda potvrdjuju:

ing.Dragutin Matizović v.r.
dr.Ivan Pernar "
ing.Ferdo Keller "
Rafael R.Brizar "
Marija ud.Radićeva "
dr.Stjepan Krasnik "

Osim toga potvrdjujem,da ing.Kastl za cijelo vrijeme svojega rada kao član gradjevnog poduzeća Špiller i Žurlina a poslije Špiller i Kastl t.j. od god.1925 do god.1940 ne samo da nije stekao nikakav imetak,nego niti on,niti njegova porodica za budućnost nije materijalno osigurana.

ing.Dragutin Špiller v.r.

./.

Spomenica fakturirana dne 4.VI 1941 pod br. 323

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J8004

Gjuro Kaučić v.r.
Velimir Vuletić "
dr.Ctcn Beloševič v.r.
liječnik
ing.Josip Ivančić "
ing.K.Havić "
ing.Vladimir Balloy "
Gjuro Prašin "
ing.Milan Krekovič "
Franjo Erbuđ "
ing.Ferdo [illegible] "
Josip Turkalj "
kipar
Vilko Gecan "
slikar
Julije Novak "
ing.Vilko Crlenjak "
Lasić Ivan "
ing Juraj Denzler "
Knežević "
Kozarčanin Stjepan "
Ferdinand Čorovac "
J.Kaučić "
Tomo Pigić "
dr.Rudo Jagić "
odvjetnik
Mirko Broz "
sobcsl.obrtnik
ing.Cmelković
ravn.gr.plinare u m "
M.Schira "
trgovac
dr.Veljko Freteg "
Vjekoslav Majer "
hrvatski književnik "
Bogumil Car "
akad.slikar i prof.
Juraj Jurković "
poslovođja
Škvarić Juro "
zidar
Radenić Ivan "
tesar
Jurković Antun "
skelar
Božić Ivan "
radnik
Družinec Mirko "
radnik
Josip Kovosel "
Dr.Vjekoslav Rotkvić "

Prilozi:
1) Domovnica
2.) Kolaki list (original prepis)
3.) Vjenčani " (" ")
4.) Izvod za vojni
križ za zasluge " "
5) Izjava Hana
Lazića vel.jud.matičara
6) Izjava ing. Ferde
Hranilića

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Appendix 6.2.1: Fanika Gewolb requested Aryan rights. On her behalf 22 supporters signed their names; v.r. indicates that it was personally signed and that the current document was copied. (HAD, RUR 252, 29873 ZO. 5317)

Br. 29873
Zo 5317
P. 1/3

2174

FANIKA GEWOLB, ZAGREB
TRNJSKA ULICA BR. 20.
moli priznanje prava
prema točki 6/ Zak. odredbe
o rasnoj pripadnosti.

Priepis molbe

MINISTARSTVO UNUTRAŠNJIH POSLOVA
Odjel za rasnu pripadnost,

Z A G R E B

Slobodna sam podastrijeti Visokom Naslovu svoju molbu, da mi se podijele prava arijskih lica u smislu gore navedenog zakona.

Rodjena sam 1894 u Solnici kotar Donja Stubica, a stanujem u Zagrebu 45 godina, dakle skoro od rodjenja. Neudata sam.

Odgojena u hrvatskom duhu nisam se nikada drugačije ni osjećala nego dobrom Hrvaticom. Kao takova namještena sam bezpre-kidno 31 godinu u Umjetničkom salonu Ulrich, gdje skromno i savjesno radim na zadovoljstvu svojih poslodavaca, koji su potpuni arijevci katolici, kao i na zadovoljstvo cijelog niza hrvatskih umjetnika, jer sam svoje namještenje u ovom hrvatskom umjetničkom salonu pored zasluge potrebne za život svagda smatrala za propagiranje hrvatske umjetnosti i pomaganje hrvatskih umjetnika.

Osim svoje plaće ne posjedujem nikakav imetak.

Istinitost mojih navedenih podataka potvrđuju niže potpisani hrvatski umjetnici, među kojima ima i poznatih Ustaša.

Nadajući se povoljnom riješenju moje molbe, ostajem spremna, da i dalje savjesno služim gore istaknutoj ideji, te bilježim

s poštovanjem
Fanika Gewölb

Istinitostost gornjih navoda svjedoče g. g.
Rudolf Marčić ak. slikar ust. potpukovnik v. r.
Mijić Karlo v. r.
Josip Horvat ak. slikar v. r.
M. Trepše v. r.
Juraj Škarpa v. r.
Viktor Šipek ak. slikar v. r.
Prof. P. Papp v. r.
Prof. Robert Auer v. r.
Mirko Uzorinac ak. slikar v. r.

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Appendix 6.2.2: The neighbors of late Ljudevit Bauer are full of praise of his character and conduct; he was a decent man and Croat. The citizens of Slatina are writing to assist his widow by requesting her undisturbed stay in Slatina. (HDA, RUR 252, 27673, ZO.1342)

Br. 27673
Zo. 1342-14. VII. 41

I Z J A V A .

Potpisani građani Hrvati iz Podravske Slatine ovime izjavljuju, da je istina , da je godine 1939. umrli blage uspomene Ljudevit Bauer tiskar i vlasnik papirnice u Slatini kroz 40 godina svoga boravka i djelovanja u Slatini uvijek se smatrao i od nas njegovih sugrađana smatran ako uvjerenim nepokolebivim Hrvatom , te da je kao takav bio od Hrvatstvu nepočudnih vlasti i osoba proganjan , imućtveno i poslovno oštećivan i napače stavljan pod kućni zatvor .

Pok. Ljudevit Bauer sudjelovao je sa Hrvatima Podravske Slatine u svim hrvatskim narodnim pokretima , te je kao osvjedočeni Hrvat kod svih izbora za općinske odbore i za narodne zastupnike uvijek glasovao za Hrvatske kandidate .

Isti je umro u vrlo teškim imućtvenim prilikama , a njegova supruga je zagovorom hrvata katolika Pod. Slatine teško bolesna i nekoliko puta od kapi dirnuta , pak prema tomu nemoćna smještena u njegu i opskrbu kod čč. Sestara Milosrdnica u Slatini .

Iz svih ovih razloga potpisani građani Hrvati iz Slatine preporučuju njezinu molbu upućenu Ministarstvu za unutarnje poslove Nezavisne Države Hrvatske , da se ista povoljno riješi .

U Podr.Slatini, dne 14. lipnja 1941. -

Župnik

Franjo Hlebec
Ivan Repić
Mandl Stjepan

Klara Lesar pojedina.
Dragutin Culek ml.
Debeljak Ivica Stjepanec
Stjepan Lipovec

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Appendix 6.2.3: The peasants from the village Vetovo Kotar Pozeski requested that their friends, Jakob Silinger and his wife Etelka, be released from concentration camp. The Silingers were respected and honored. The village collected 11 signatures. (HDA, RUR 252, 28941, ZO.2227)

Br. 28941
ZO 2227
P. 1/3

Mi potpisani Hrvatski seljaci iz sela Vetovo kotar Požeški izjavljujemo da nam je osobno poznat Jakob Šilinger i njegova supruga Etelka iz Požege,koji su u našemu selu sve do prevrata poslije svjetskoga rata živjeli i bavili se seljačkim gospodarstvom te su bili vazda uz Hrvate,uživali glas vrlo poštenih ljudi te su se napose Jakob Šilinger isticali kao pristaše Hrvatske stranke prava i pomagali kod izbora narodnome zastupniku Ivanu Zatluki. Bavili su se uglavnom zemljoradnjom a Jakob Šilinger bio je i glavar naše zemljišne zajednice.Mi jamčimo za njegovu čestitost i opredjeljenost prema Hrvatima te znamo da se on ne će ni u buduće ogriješiti o interese hrvatskoga naroda.Stoga molimo,da bude dopušteno,da bude oslobođjen od boravka u zbirnome logoru u Jasenovcu s tih razloga kao i s razloga što je otac i bolešljiv odnosno iz logora u Staroj Gradiški.

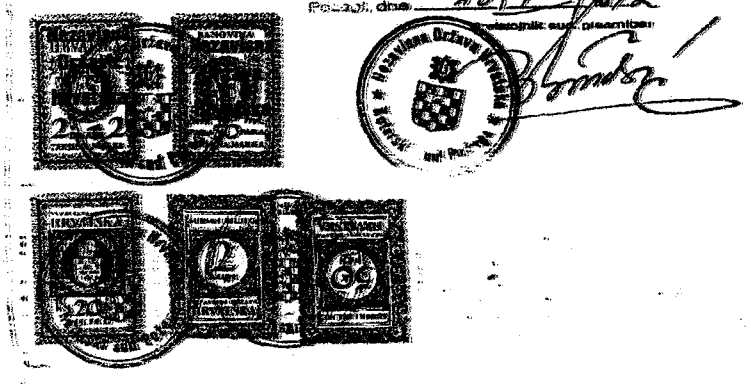
U Vetovu,dne 3.siječnja 1942.

za Dom spremni!

Franjo Rališ,v.r.
Stjepan Turac,v.r.
Neto Razumović,v.r. "
Vjekoslav Tepeš,v.r.
Luka Mikić,v.r. "
August Grbić,v.r. "
Kovačević Stjepan,v.r.
Marko Reljević,v.r. "
Andrija Mikić,v.r. "
Marko Špoljarić,v.r. "
Karlo Mitrović,v.r. "

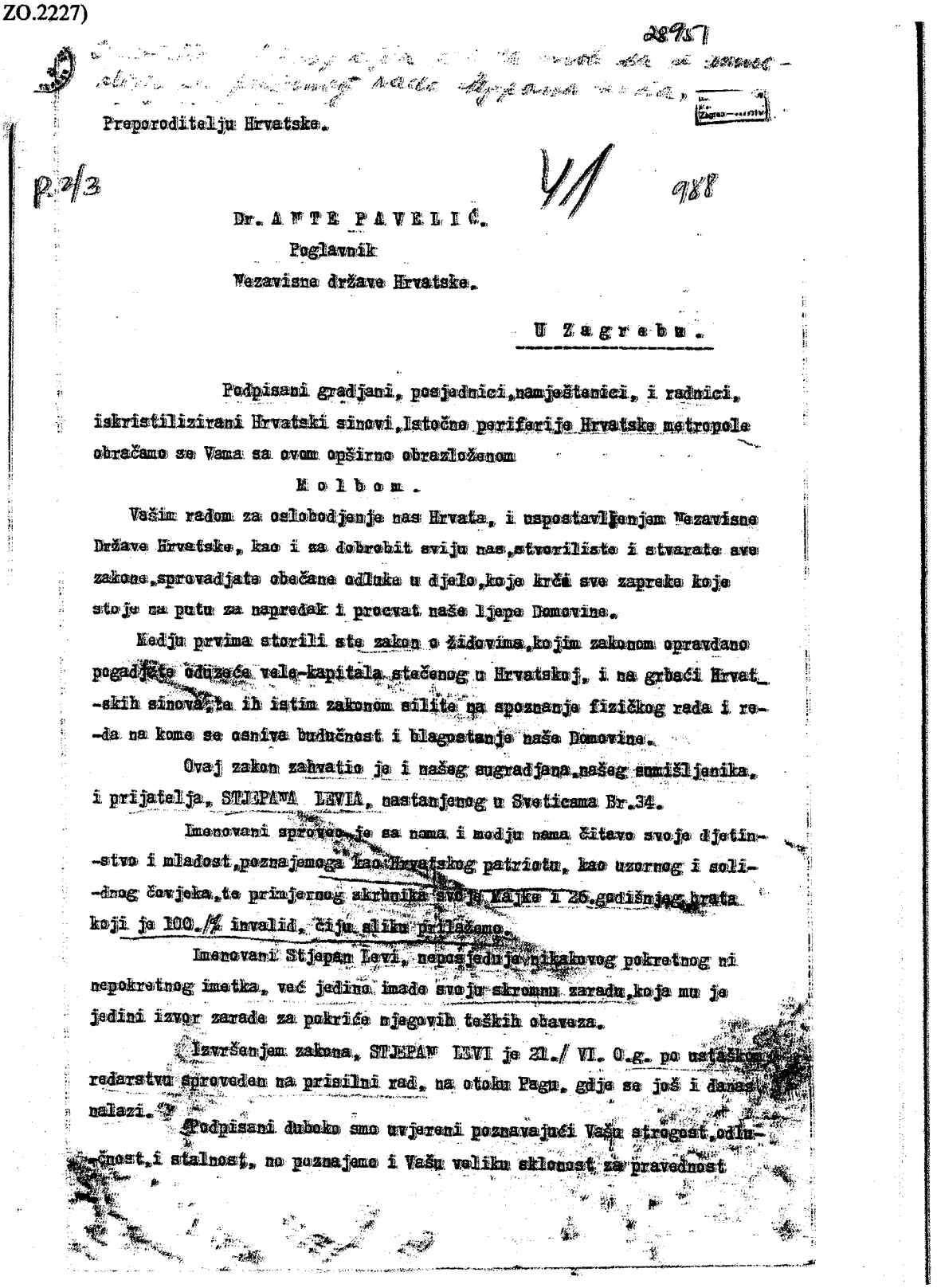
Sud potvrđuje da je ovaj od stranke ~~(od sudca)~~ izrađeni prepis suglasan sa svojim izvornikom, koji se nalazi od str. do str.) i na kome je prilepljena taksa od: ... u taksenim markama.

Kotar Rį sud
Požega, dne 10/I 1942



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Appendix 6.2.4: A letter of discontent over the Racial Laws signed by 20 individuals, arguing that these laws discriminate against their friend, expert forester Stjepan Levi, whom they consider to be an honest Croat. His friends requested his release from concentration camp on the Island of Pag. (HDA, RUR 252, 28951,
ZO.2227)



28951

Preporoditelju Hrvatske.

P-2/3 VI/ 988

Dr. ANTE PAVELIĆ.
Poglavnik
Nezavisne države Hrvatske.

U Zagrebu.

Podpisani građjani, posjednici, namještenici, i radnici, iskristilizirani Hrvatski sinovi, Istočne periferije Hrvatske metropole obračamo se Vama sa ovom opširno obrazloženom

Molbom.

Vašim radom za oslobodjenje nas Hrvata, i uspostavljanjem Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, kao i za dobrobit sviju nas, stvorilište i stvarate ave zakone, sprovadjate obečane odluke u djelo, koje krči sve zapreke koje stoje na putu za napredak i procvat naše ljepe Domovine.

Medju prvima storili ste zakon o židovima, kojim zakonom opravdano pogadjate oduzeća velo-kapitala stečenog u Hrvatskoj, i na grbači Hrvat-skih sinova, te ih istim zakonom silite na spoznanje fizičkog rada i re-da na kome se osniva budućnost i blagostanje naše Domovine.

Ovaj zakon zahvatio je i našeg sugradjana, našeg sumišljenika, i prijatelja, STJEPANA LEVIA, nastanjenog u Sveticama Br.34.

Imenovani sprovodio je sa nama i medju nama čitavo svoje djetin-stvo i mladost, poznajemoga kao Hrvatskog patriotu, kao uzornog i soli-dnog čovjeka, te primjernog skrbnika svoje majke i 26.godišnjeg brata koji je 100.% invalid, čiju sliku prilažemo.

Imenovani Stjepan Levi, neposjeduje nikakovog pokretnog ni nepokretnog imetka, već jedino imade svoju skromnu zaradu, koja mu je jedini izvor zarade za pokriće njegovih teških obaveza.

Izvršenjem zakona, STJEPAN LEVI je 21./ VI. O.g. po ustaškom redarstvu sproveden na prisilni rad, na otoku Pagu, gdje se još i danas nalazi.

Podpisani duboko smo uvjereni poznavajući Vašu strogost, odlu-čnost, i stalnost, no poznajemo i Vašu veliku sklonost za pravednost

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p. 3|3

pogotovo za bjedne i nemočne, to smo više nego uvjereni da će te ovu našu molbu kao hitnu u pretres uzeti, i naložiti Vašim podređenim da se Stjepan Levi, Vašom odlukom amestira sa prisilnog rada, i da se povrati k nama i medju nas, da se vrati svojoj majci, i svome nemočnom bratu, kojima je on jedini hranioc.

Vašu odluku poštivat će mo u cjelosti pa ma kako glasila, te u tom očekivanju ostajemo i jasmo

ZA DOM SPREMNI.

Zagreb 10./ VII 1941.

Cyprus Leo
Lovačićeva 8
Kelek
Brzaver
Božo Pavičić
Resnička 7
Pero Hranitelj
židovski redovnik
Svetice 30
Franjo Pavlina mesarski pomoć
Svetice 32.
Franjo Hlevnjak
Svetice 32

Fricer Srećo
Mesarski pomoć
Savska cesta 9
Hrnčić Josip
Radnik - Ulica Hrvatske
Stjepan F. Katolenac
Ljevački Obrtnik
Ivan Ljevak K. S. S.
Pamahor Franjo
mlinarski pomoćnik
Zagrebački paromlin
Zeken Ludvig
trg. putnik
Svetice 33
Konrat Klapač
Ljevački šegrt
Hanzek Ivan
Svetice 22.
Živko Josip pekar
Savska cesta
cestar-majstor
stan Svetice 31.

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Appendix 6.2.5: The mother of the Ustasha, who strongly believes in the Ustashe cause, argues that educated and loyal citizens such as Dr. Kazimir Donner should be protected and rescued and treasured as a national asset. Dr. Donner, always helped the poor and he is also a nephew of a World War I Croatian national hero. (HDA, RUR 252, 28524, ZO.7990)

Br. 28524
Zo 7990
P 1/2

Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta Zagreb—Arhiv

Marija ud.Mastan
majka ustaše Milije Gubca
Z a g r e b

60

Poglavniče naš!

Otkni sam u svom razvitku kao čovjek iozrela,ošla sam lo spoznaje,da prvi i najviši pojam ljudskom biću ima biti Bog, a drugi:domovina.

Po tom sam principu živjela i tako ga usadila u srce svome jedinom sinu,ustaši ne od desetog travnja 1941.,kakovih imade mnogo,već unatrag od šest godina.

Ne pozivam se na zasluge toga svoga jedinca samo utvrđujem činjenicu,da sam majka Hrvatica,koja je u srce sinu usađjivala od prvih početaka uzgoja ljubav prema domovini i rein hrvatskomu.Kao kršćanki-katolikinji savjest moja i ljubav k ~~istini~~ istini jača je od svega i ona mi diktira ovo pismo.

Dr.Kazimira Donnera,zagrebačkog odvjetnika poznajem od njegove dječačke dobe.

Nečak je premilog majora hrvatske vojske Julija Donnera čija je ljubav za hrvatstvo bila dokumentirana i javno potvrđena. Nečak je jednako kao i stric ljubio Hrvatsku i govorio je"škrlak" mjesto"šešir" i "rubača" mjesto"košulja",jer je to hrvatskije.

Pomagao je hrvatskm siromašnju,gdje je samo mogao.Navodim slučaje:stara gdja Lamer imala je biti od svog rastavljenog muža kome je rodila sedmero djece i čijoj je drugoj ženi po staro-katoličkom zakonu smetala,strpana u Stenjevac.Njem katolički odvjetnik Dr.Juričić iz Vlaške ulice ostavio ju je na cjedilu tom prije rasprave na siromašnjskom povjerenstvu i zlo bi bila prošla,da nije bilo Dr.Donnera.Na moju molbu uskočio je Dr.Donner i spasio staricu od živog groba.Učinio je to iz čistog čovjekoljublja,bez ijednog dinara nagrade.Zastupao ju je zbušno i poslije je čitavu godinu dana besplatno,jer nije imala čim da plati.

Drugi slučaj:Jedan naš hrvatski dr.filozofije i privatni docent hrvatske zadruge došao je u prekuran položaj radi pronevjerenja drugog člana i bio bi dospio u zatvor,da nije Dr.Donner bio zastupnik protustranke.Uvidjevši težak položaj čovjeka Hrvata oca od petero djece,pa da ga spasi od nesreće i sramote rekao je: Gospodine,treba da obiđem klijenta/inozemna tvrtka/i postupao je tako,da je čast čobjeka i oca bila spašena.

To su samo 2 slučaja od mnogih.

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Appendix 6.2.6: Gjuro Jelinek, Dentist, requested from the NDH authorities to grant him Aryan Rights. Many of his friends and patients supported his request by singing the letter. . (HAD, RUR 252, 27087, ZO5317)

P 313 27087

ske i materijalne izdatke .

Podupirao sam uvijek i svakom prilikom sva kulturna nastojanj hrvatskog naroda i njegove socijalne ustanove, o čemu svedoči moje članstvo u sljedećim društvima: Hrvatski liječnički zbor - Društvo Strossmayerovog Sveučilišta - hrvatska akademska menza - Društvo čovječnosti - Društvo sv.Vida - Materinstvo - Društvo za spasavanje - Prehrana - Društvo za podizanje spomenika kralju Tomislavu - Društvo za podizanje spomenika A.G.Matošu, a podupiratelj sam Matice Hrvatske i Hrvatskog ženskog lista, te mislim da mogu mirne duše i sa punim pravom reći, da sam zaista srastao sa hrvatskim narodom i sa ovom zemljom, isto tako kao i svaki čistokrvni Hrvat.

Uvijek sam tiho i skromno radio i ničim se nepovoljnim nijesam isticao, ali sam sada primoran da to sve navedem, kako bih opravdao svoju molbu, da mi slavni naslov podijeli dozvolu da mogu trajno ostati u svojoj ordinaciji i stanu, jer bi jedno eventualno ponovno seljenje u neko od gradu udaljeno područje onemogućilo meni daljnji opstanak, a isto tako i mojim pacijentima,koji već kroz decenije dolaze k meni, ne bi više bilo moguće da se i dalje obraćaju na liječnika svog povjerenja.

Zato još jednom molim slavni naslov - a ovoj molbi priključuju se niže potpisani pacijenti - za dobrohotno hitno rješenje moje molbe, te zahvaljujući najtoplije na tome i obećajući, da ću i nadalje upotrijebiti svoje znanje i svoje skromne sile na dobrobit hrvatskog naroda, bilježim se sa dubokom odanošću

U Zagrebu, dne 27 svibnja 1941. Dr.Gjuro Jelinek

ISPOSTAVA
USTAŠKOG REDARSTVENOG POVJERENIŠTVA
ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK
Br. 142
1941

liječnik-zubar
Martićeva ulica 4/III

~~Ne udovoljava se~~

Zagreb,29.V.1941.

Dolazeno i izplaceno odgovor pod Br. 142/41. 5/6.41

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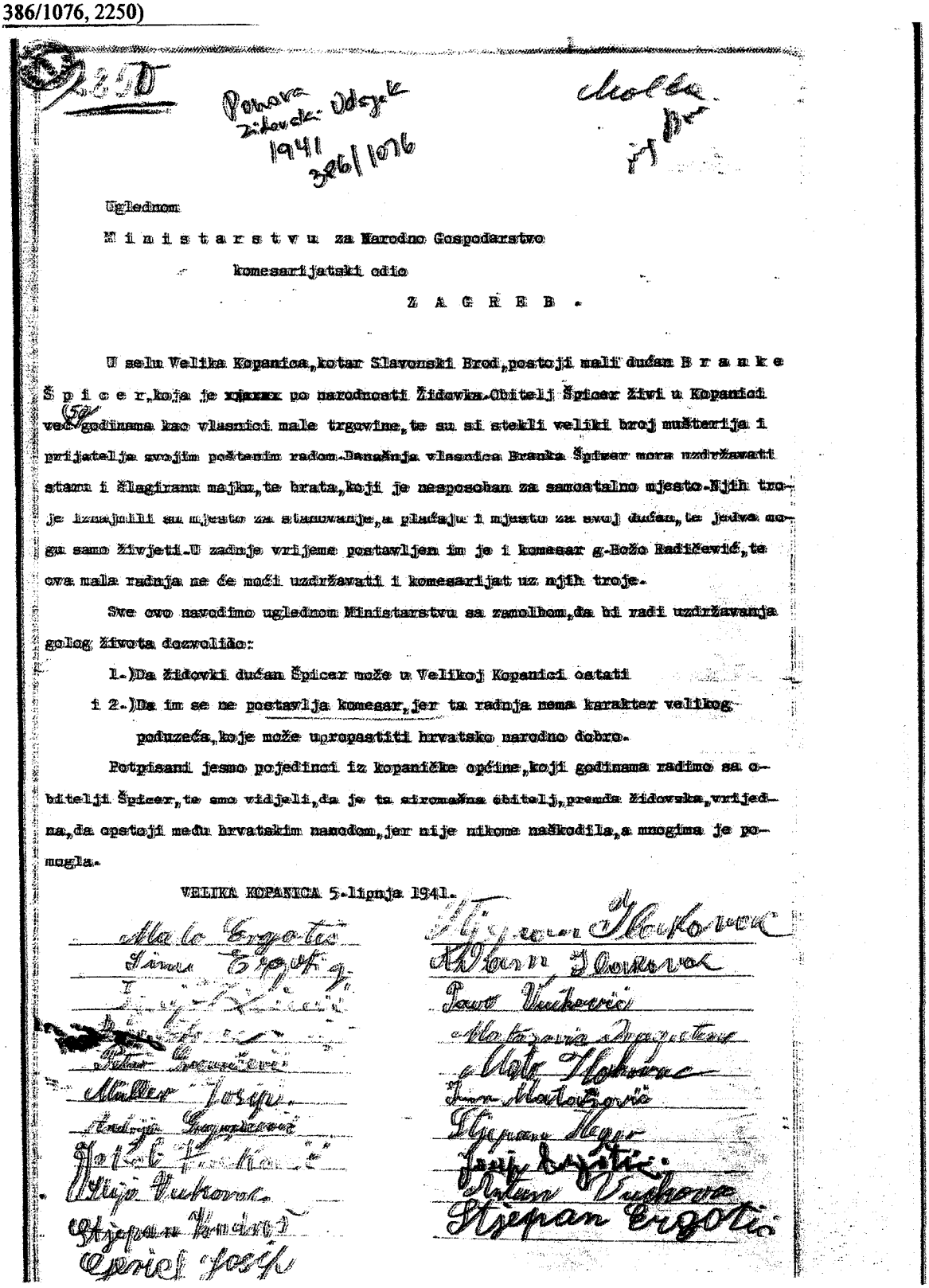
27807

pr 2/3

Miranda Plenčić	Trg Jurišićeva 16
prof. dr. Albert Bolleri	ul. Ban Jelačića 1/II
Dragutin Hanke	Ilica 35
dr. Gustav Kleinberger	Praškovićeva 13
Irma Filipović-Rogić	Ilica 35 II.
Edgar Vrbanić	Zrinjevac 14/I.
Stjepan Stražnicky	Vlašićeva Trg 7/II.
Ivan Hartl	Kneginje Jelene 2.
Vid Vranić	Lašćina ul. 14/III.
Franjo Stefan	Babukićeva ul. 4
Valerija Hajdinjak	Ciuvajeva Marija Antuna
Ostoja Mejo	Samostanska br. 2
Valentin Krmpotić	trg Bana Jelačića 3/II.
Stjepan Valentić	Vlašićeva ul. 4.
Ivan Jarnević	Gradska ulica 3
Franjo Schulz	Petrinjska 4. stanuje Central Hotel
Franjo Vrbanić	Gajeva ulica 81
Zdravko Jurković Milić Šantić	Ilica 5.
Ivan Ilić	Medulićeva pl. 7.
Ljudevit Gaj	Savska cesta 18.

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Appendix 6.2.7: The peasants residing in the village of Velika Kopanica requested the removal of the appointed trustee and the restoration of the store to its rightful owner Branka Spicer, arguing that the store can support only one family. 103 signatures were collected on her behalf. (HDA, PONOVA, ZO 1941, 386/1076, 2250)



Ponova Židovska: Odsyk 1941 386/1076

Uglednom

Ministarstvu za Narodno Gospodarstvo

komesarijatski odio

Z A G R E B .

U selu Velika Kopanica, kotar Slavonski Brod, postoji mali dućan B r a n k e Š p i c e r, koja je po narodnosti Židovka. Obitelj Špicer živi u Kopanici već 59 godinama kao vlasnici male trgovine, te su si stekli veliki broj mušterija i prijatelja svojim poštenim radom. Današnja vlasnica Branka Špicer mora uzdržavati stara i šlagirana majku, te brata, koji je nesposoban za samostalno mjesto. Njih troje iznajmili su mjesto za stanovanje, a plaćaju i mjesto za svoj dućan, te jedva mogu samo živjeti. U zadnje vrijeme postavljen im je i komesar g. Božo Radičević, te ova mala radnja ne će moći uzdržavati i komesarijat uz njih troje.

Sve ovo navodimo uglednom Ministarstvu sa zamolbom, da bi radi uzdržavanja golog života dozvolilo:

1.) Da Židovki dućan Špicer može u Velikoj Kopanici ostati

i 2.) Da im se ne postavlja komesar, jer ta radnja nema karakter velikog poduzeća, koje može upropastiti hrvatsko narodno dobro.

Potpisani jesmo pojedinci iz kopaničke općine, koji godinama radimo sa obitelji Špicer, te smo vidjeli, da je ta siromašna obitelj, premda Židovska, vrijedna, da opstoji među hrvatskim narodom, jer nije nikome naškodila, a mnogima je pomogla.

VELIKA KOPANICA 5. lipnja 1941.

Stjepan Ergotić

Stjepan Ergotić

Stjepan Ergotić

Stjepan Ergotić

Stjepan Ergotić

Stjepan Ergotić

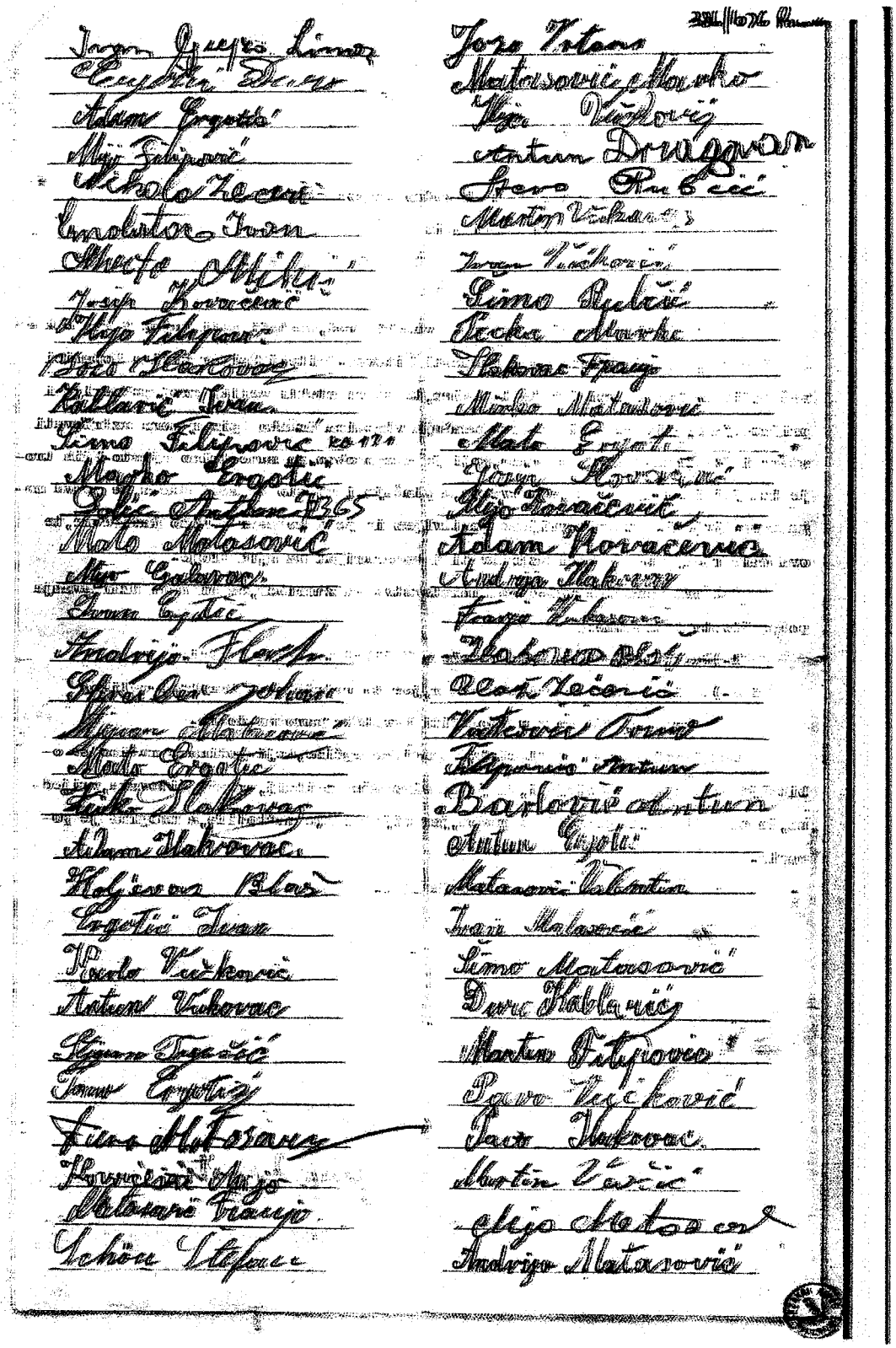
Stjepan Ergotić

Stjepan Ergotić

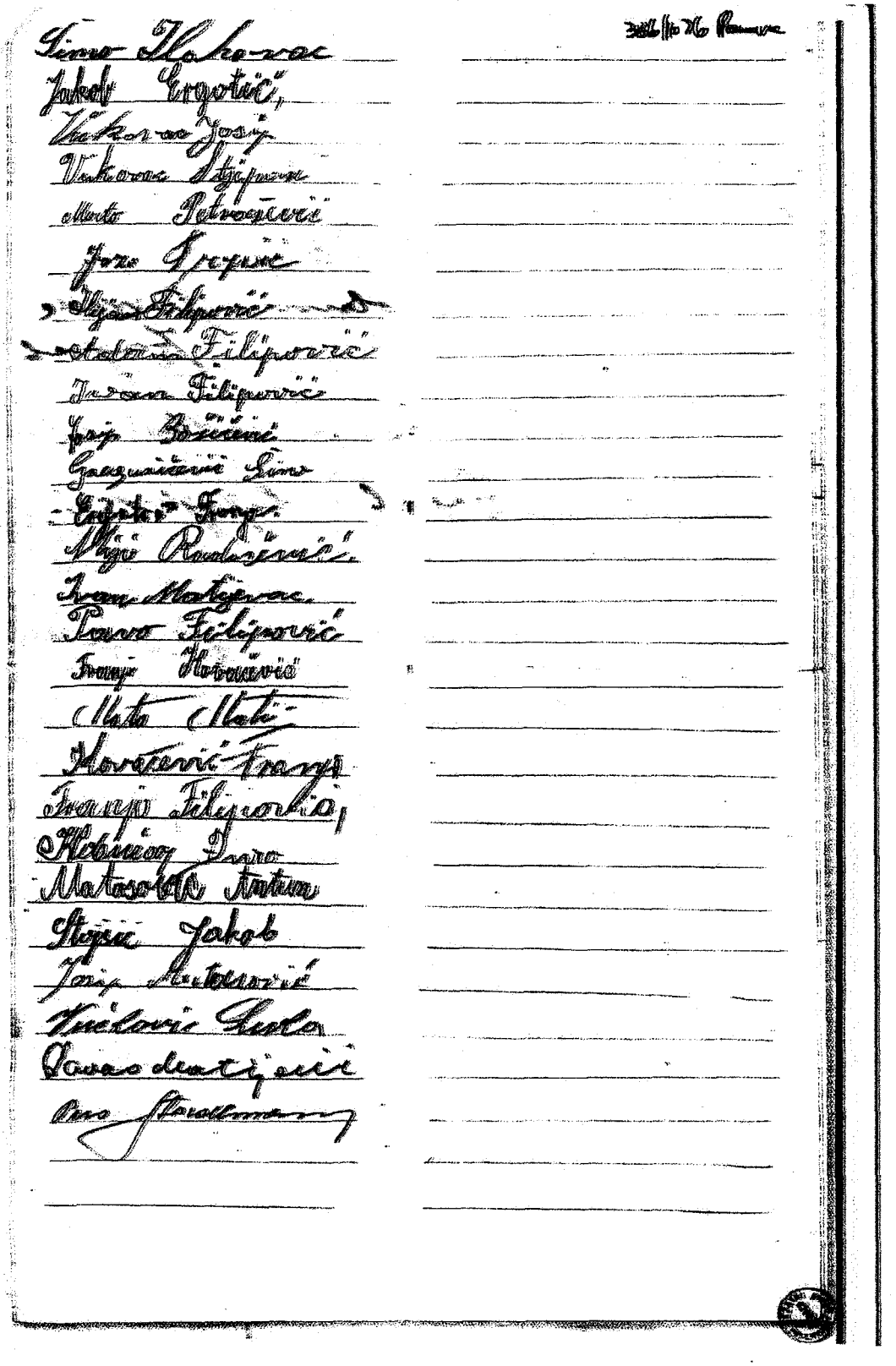
Stjepan Ergotić

Stjepan Ergotić

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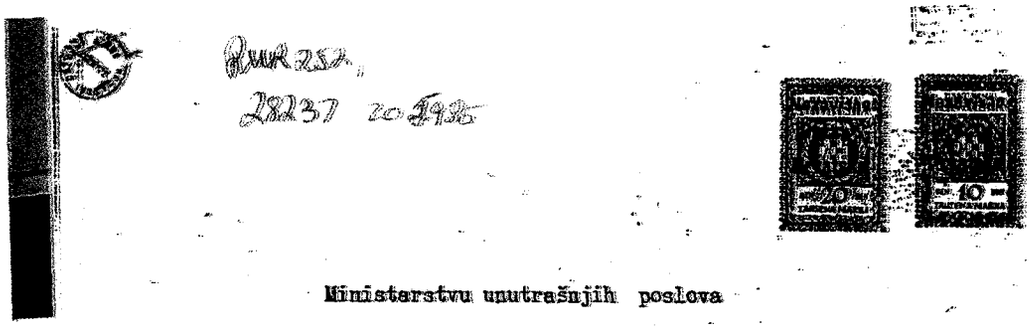


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Simo Ilakovac
Jakob Grgotić,
Vukov Josip
Vukova Stjepana
Mato Petrovečki
Jozo Krpina
Ilija Filipović
Stjepan Filipović
Ivana Filipović
Josip Božičević
Gašparić Simo
Grgotić Josip
Mijo Radošević
Ivan Matijevac
Pavao Filipović
Franjo Horvatić
Mato Matić
Horvatić Franjo
Franjo Filipović
Kolarov Ivan
Matasović Antun
Stipić Jakob
Josip Antolović
Vuković Luka
Ivana dentijevi
Ana Stanković

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Appendix 6.2.8: The residents of Donja Lomnica requested the Ministry of the Interior to free Alexander Sandor Loyi from Jasenovac since he had lived in the community for 30 years and was a loyal Croat and good friend. . (HAD, RUR 252, 28237, ZO5985)



RUR 252.
28237 ZO 5985

Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova

u

Z a g r e b u.

Niže potpisani uzimamosi slobodu slavni naslov, da podnesemo slijedeću :

M o l b u !

Alexandor Šandor Löyi iz Remetinca, kbroj 22. općina Stupnik, rodjen godine 1.883. u Bjelovaru, a koji je bio preko 30. godina u Donjoj Lomnici,nalazi se sada u Židovskom logoru u Jasenovcu, bio je uvjek dobar i čestit Hrvat, podupirao uvjek i svakom zgodom naše Hrvatske kulturne ustanove. Bio je član društva „ Starčević ", pje„ vačkog društva „ Z O R A " iz Lomnice, zatim pjevačkog društva „ Si„ jač" iz Stupnika, te još raznih drugih društava,

Uvjek je glasovao za našu Hrvatsku seljačku stranku i bio uvjek uz nas Hrvatske seljake, te nam uvjek po svojoj mogućnosti, skromnim i materijalnim prilikama koli moralno toli i materijalno po„ magao.

Osim toga, borio se je za vrijeme svjetskog rata i kao takav bio ranjen i prigodom liječničke pregledbe pronadjen za invalida.

Nadalje kao takav borio se je na strani profesora Jušića, koji mu je to i potvrdio.

Kako je gore rečeno, isti je živio preko 30. godina u D. Lomnici, kotar Vel. Gorica, te nam je uvjek svojim savjetom u pomoći bio na razpolaganje, unatoč što nije posjedovao nikakav imetak.

Od godine 1930. nanješten je kod t.t. Zvonimir Unger u Remetincu, i tu se nije nikada ogriješio proti časti Hrvatskog naroda, naprotiv borio se je kao uvjek za oslobodjenje Hrvatske od Srpskog jarma.

Povodom toga gore obazloženog, niže potpisani, molimo Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova, da izvoli ovu našu skromnu molbu

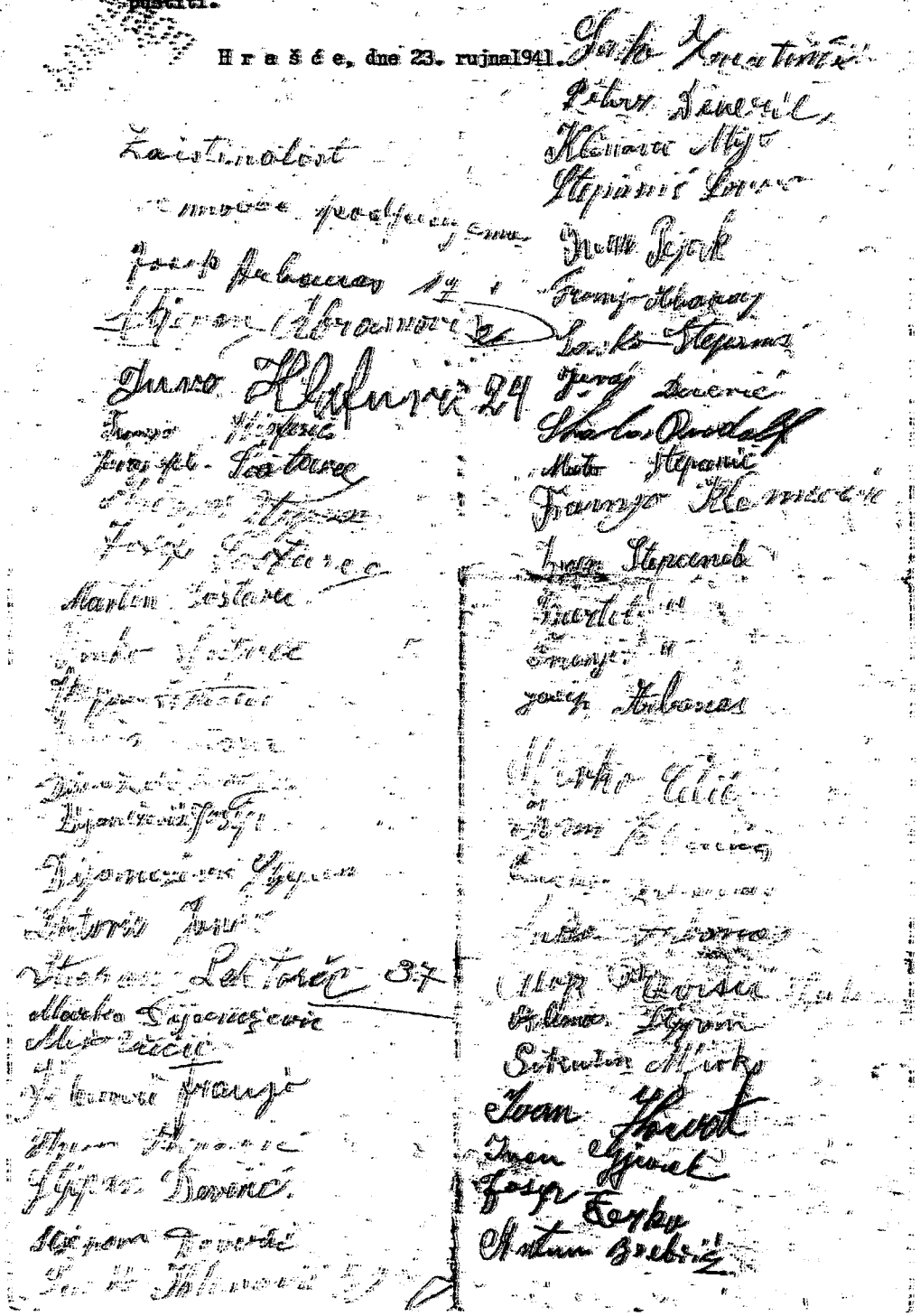
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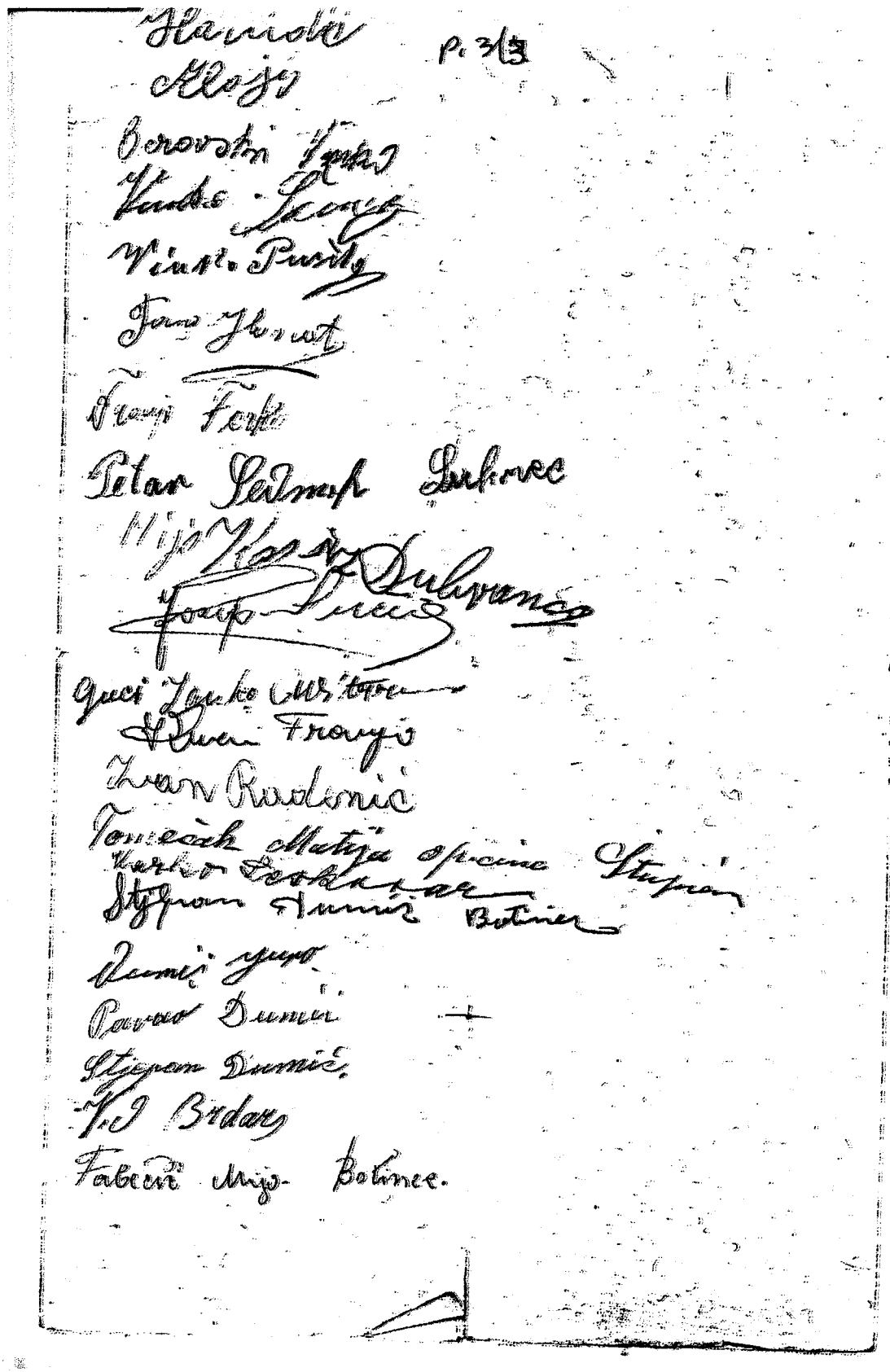
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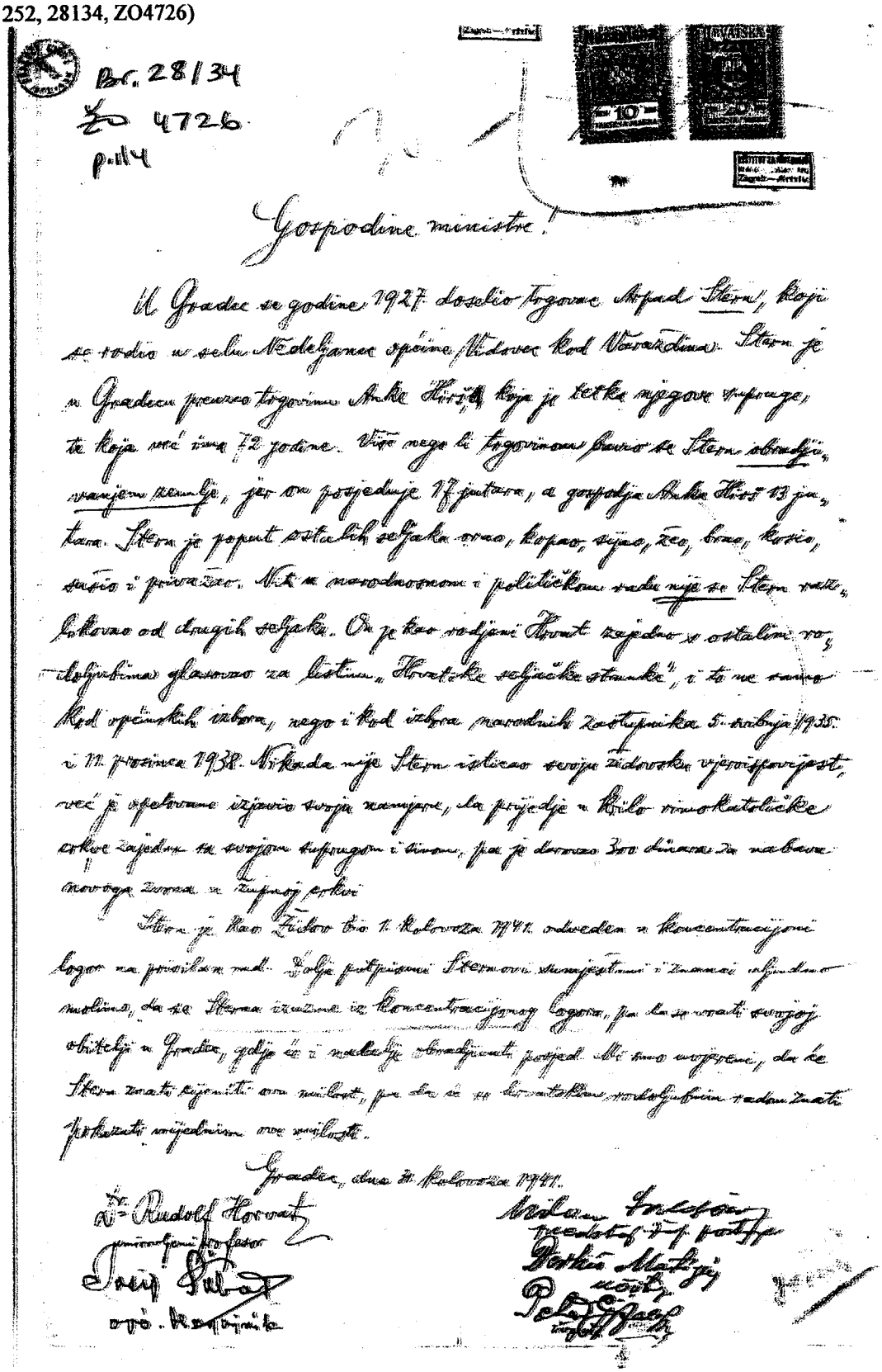
uvažiti i Šandora Alexandra Löyia, iz Židovskog logora, na slobodu puštiti.

H r a š ć e, dne 23. rujna 1941.





Appendix 6.2.9: Friends and neighbors singed on behalf of Arpad Stern, a local merchant, requesting his release from concentration camp on grounds that he was known as honest and loyal citizen. . (HAD, RUR 252, 28134, ZO4726)



Br. 28134
Zo 4726
p. 114

Gospodine ministre!

U Gradcu se godine 1927. doselio trgovac Arpad Stern, koji se rodio u selu Međeljanec općina Ludvec kod Varaždina. Stern je u Gradcu preuzeo trgovinu Anke Kiršić koja je sestra njegove supruge, te koja već ima 72 godine. Više nego li trgovinom bavi se Stern obradjivanjem zemlje, jer on posjeduje 17 jutara, a gospodja Anka Kiršić 13 jutara. Stern je popust ostalih seljaka oralo, kopao, sijao, žeo, vozio, kosio, sušio i privezao. Kod narodnosnom i političkom radu nije se Stern nikad odvojio od drugih seljaka. On je kao rodjeni Hrvat zajedno s ostalim rodjenim Hrvatima glasovao za listinu „Hrvatske seljačke stranke", i to ne samo kod općinskih izbora, nego i kod izbora narodnih zastupnika 5. travnja 1935. i 11. prosinca 1938. Nikada nije Stern izlicao svoju židovsku vjeroispovjest, već je opetovano izjavio svoju namjeru, da prijedje u Rimo rimokatoličke crkve zajedno sa svojom kćerkom i sinom, pa je doznao 300 dinara za nabavu novoga zvona u župnoj crkvi.

Stern je kao Židov dne 1. kolovoza 1941. odveden u koncentracijonu logor na prisilan rad. Želje potpisani Sternova susjedstva i znanci usudjuju se moliti, da se Stern izuzme iz koncentracijonog logora, pa da se vrati svojoj obitelji u Gradac, gdje će i nadalje obradjivati polje. Mi smo uvjereni, da će Stern znati ispuniti ovu milost, pa da će u hrvatskim narodnjačkim radnim krugovima znati pohvaliti njezinim ove milosti.

Gradac, dne 30. kolovoza 1941.

Dr. Rudolf Horvat
umirovljeni profesor

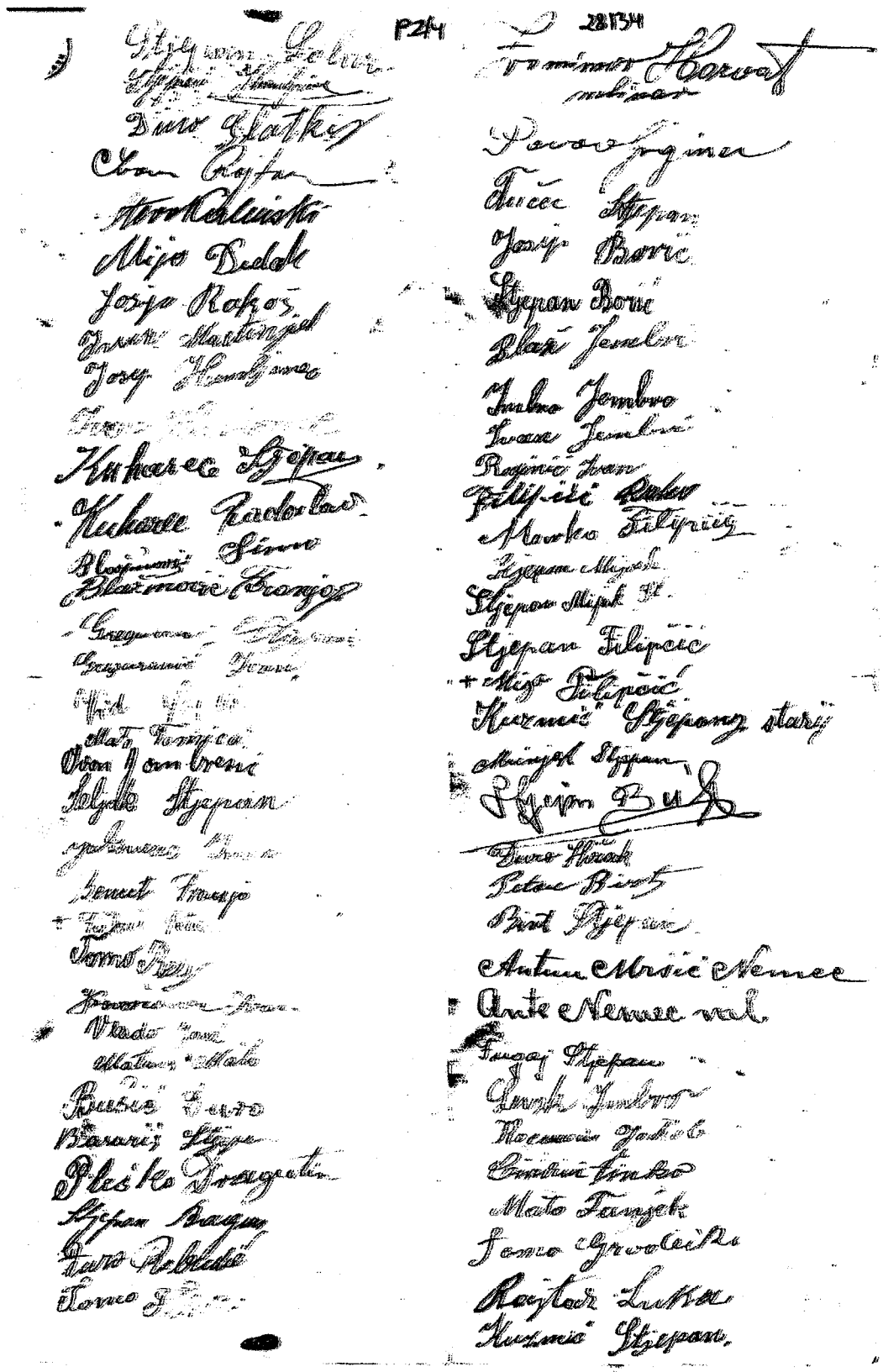
Ivan Šulc
opć. knjigovodja

Milan Grdešić
predsjednik HSP-a

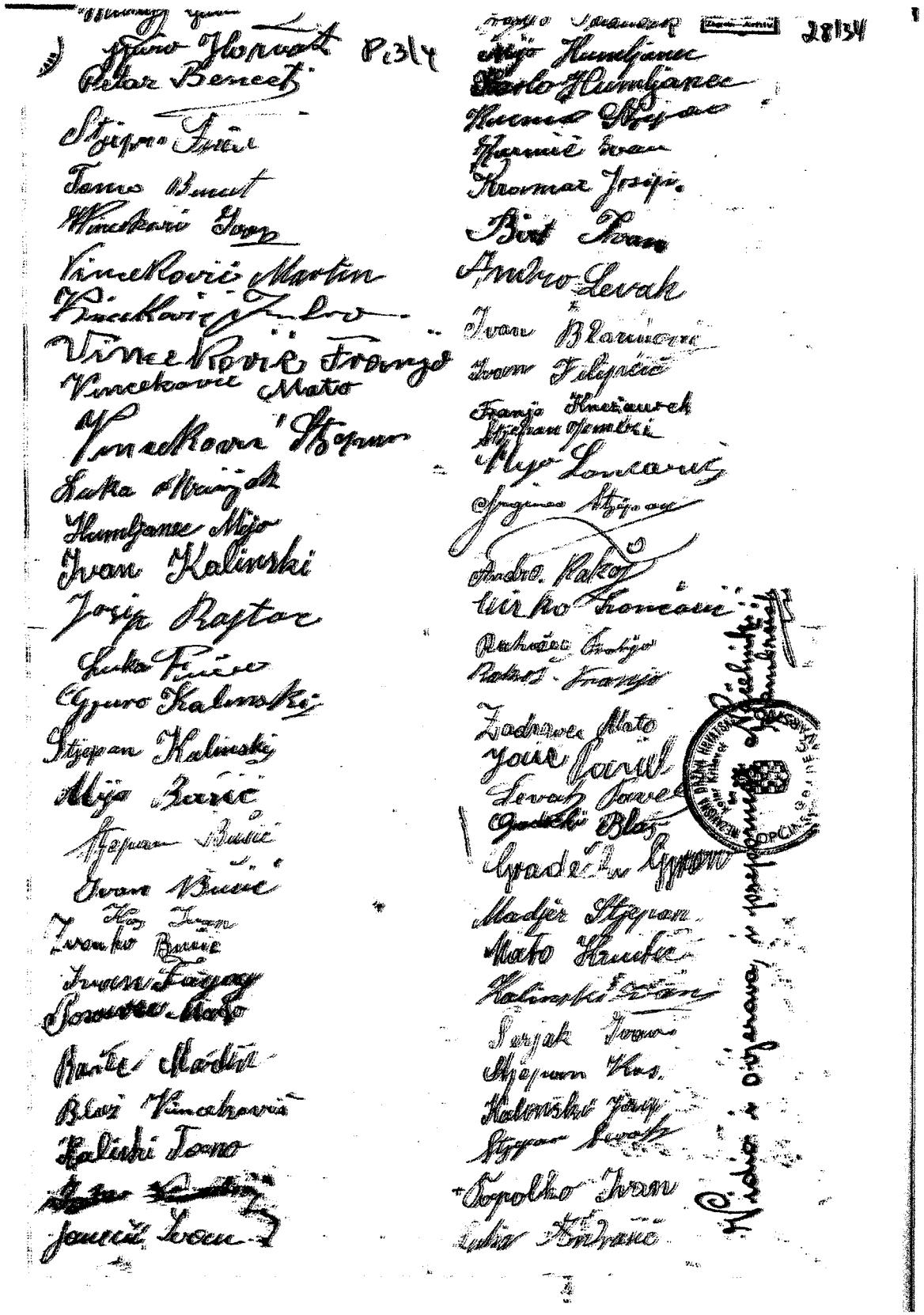
Josip Matijaš
učitelj

Petar Jagić
trgovac

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28134

P. 4/4

Prilog molbi

Zaključak donesen na zgodnicama upravnog odbora stočarske udruge Konjogojstvene udruge i zadruge za osiguranje stoke u Gradecu ka gore imenovanih članova Stjepa Roji je upućivanim zadrugama želan upravnog odbora od njihovog osnutka Rao jedan od glavnih članova pa radi ovih navoda se priključuju molbi za njegovo pomilovanje

Tajnik
Stjepan Kalanić

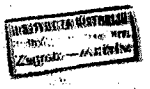
Predsjednik
Bušić Ivan
uprava
Petrić Josip
Ivan Klarić
Pavel Bušić
Franjo Šoštarić
Fuggi Ivan
Matuna Ivan
Ivan Marijak
Marijak Mijo

Vidio i ovjera i preporuka

Načelnik općine
Hambreiak

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Appendix 6.2.10: The friends and associates of the musician Miroslav Spiller consider him as one of the best musicians in Zagreb and one who always took part in the cultural Croat life. We the signed below include our names I support of his request. (HDA, RUR 252, 29962)



Potpisani potvrdjujemo, da nam je g.Miroslav Spiller poznat kao jedan od najboljih zagrebačkih glasbenika, koji je uviek radio u skladu sa interesima hrvatskog glasbenog života.

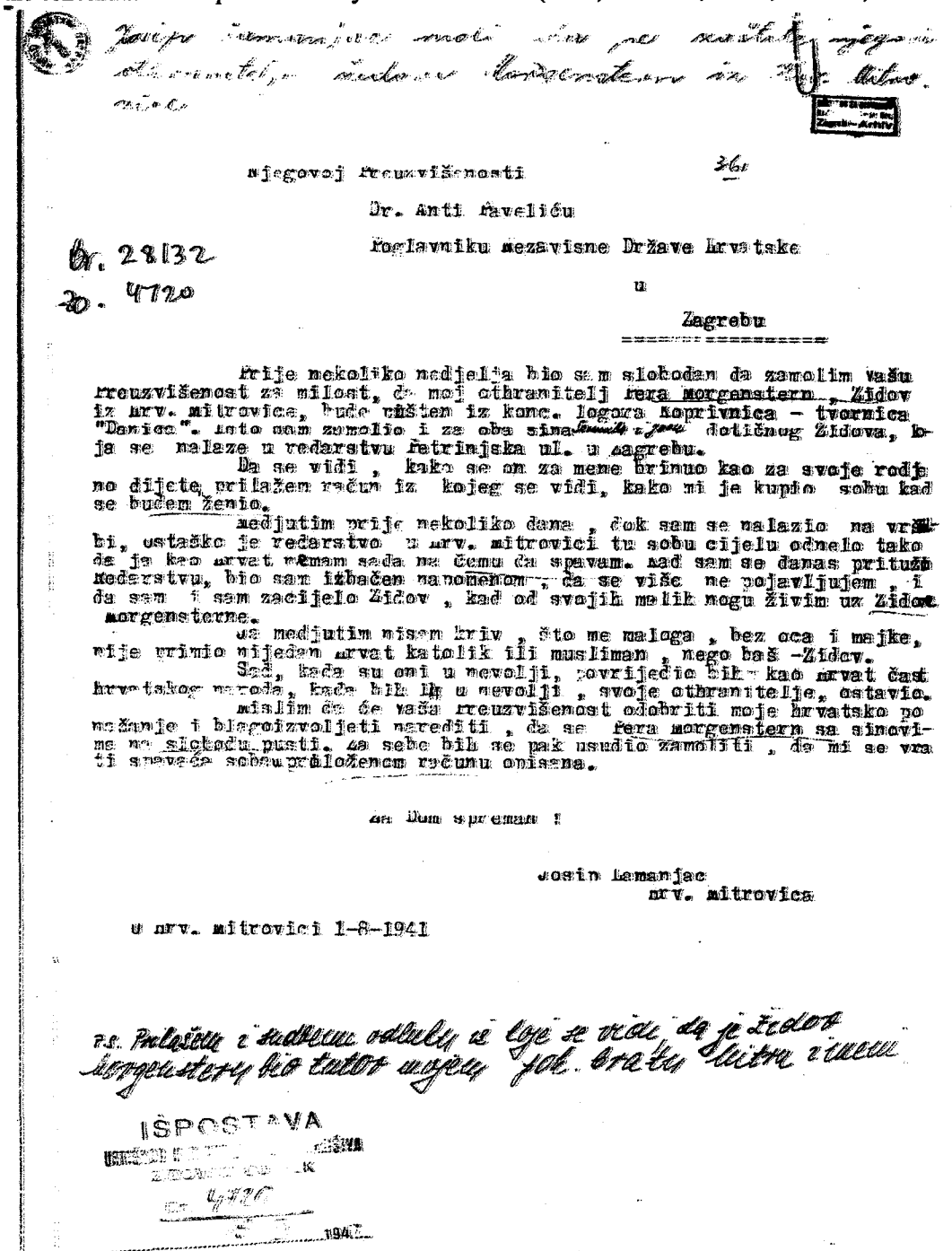
Priključujemo se njegovoj molbi u pogledu arizacije, jer držimo da bi daljnjem razvoju hrvatskog glasbenog života bio njegov rad od nesumnjive koristi.

U Zagrebu, dne 11.svibnja 1942.

Melita Lorković,
Vladen Pozajić
Lav Vrbanić
Slavko Zlatić
Zlata Špehar
Ivka Hanžeković
Liga Doroghy
Ljera Dujmović
Franjo Lucić
Pinkava Ivan
Krsto Odak
Boris Papandopulo
Božidar Kunc
Milo Cipra
Stanislav Strežnicki
Marija Pirnat
Elvira Marić
Petar Dumičić
Olga Vukelić
Jakov Gotovac
Vlasta Debelić Lorković
Lovro pl.Matačić

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Appendix 6.2.11: Josip Lamanjac a Catholic orphan, had been adopted by a Jewish family from Hr. Mitrovica. He wrote to Ante Pavelic (Poglavnik), informing him that only the Jewish family of Pera Morgenstern had been willing to adopt an orphan Croatian child.. Lamanjac requested their release from the concentration camp to which they had been taken.. (HDA, RUR 252, 28132, ZO4720)



Njegovoj Preuzvišenosti

Dr. Anti Paveliću

Poglavniku nezavisne Države Hrvatske

u

Zagrebu

Br. 28132
20. 4720

Prije nekoliko nedjelja bio sam slobodan da zamolim vašu Preuzvišenost za milost, da moj othranitelj Pera Morgenstern, Židov iz nrv. mitrovica, bude pušten iz konc. logora koprivnica - tvornica "Danica". isto sam zamolio i za oba sina dotičnog Židova, koja se nalaze u redarstvu Petrinjska ul. u zagrebu.

Da se vidi, kako se on za mene brinuo kao za svoje rodjeno dijete, prilažem račun iz kojeg se vidi, kako mi je kupio sobu kad se budem ženio.

medjutim prije nekoliko dana, dok sam se nalazio na vrši bi, ustaško je redarstvo u nrv. mitrovici tu sobu cijelu odnelo tako da je kao nrvat nemam sada na čemu da spavam. nad sam se danas pritužio redarstvu, bio sam izbačen naopomenom, da se više ne pojavljujem, i da sam i sam zacijelo Židov, kad od svojih malih nogu živim uz Židove morgensterne.

ja medjutim nisam kriv, što me maloga, bez oca i majke, nije primio nijedan nrvat katolik ili musliman, nego baš -Židov.

Sad, kada su oni u nevolji, povrijedio bih kao nrvat čast hrvatskog naroda, kada bih ih u nevolji, svoje othranitelje, ostavio.

nadam se da će vaša Preuzvišenost odobriti moje hrvatsko po mažanje i blagoizvoljeti narediti, da se Pera morgenstern sa sinovima na slobodu pusti. za sebe bih se pak usudio zamoliti, da mi se vrati spavaća soba priloženom računu opisana.

za Dom spremam!

Josip Lamanjac
nrv. mitrovica

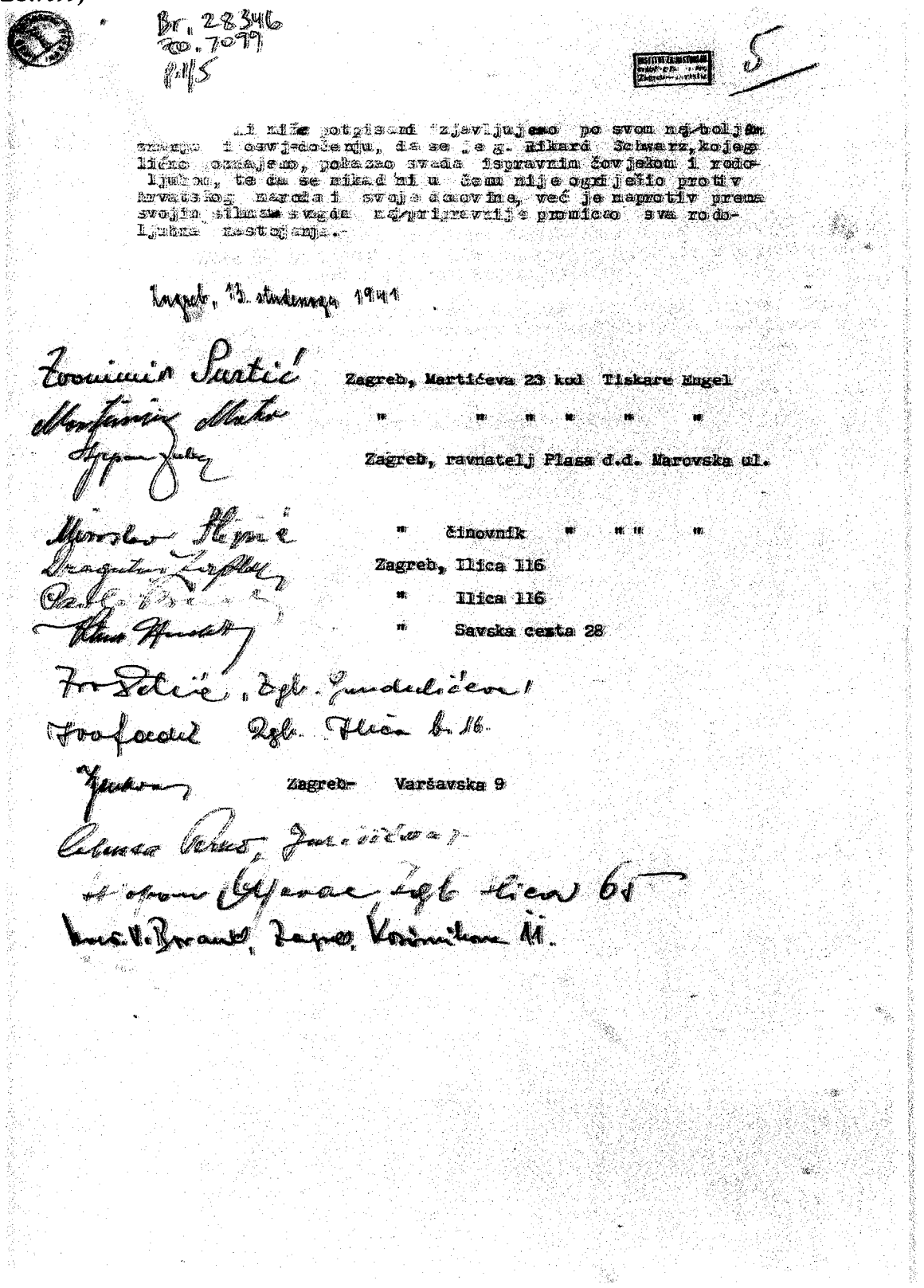
u nrv. mitrovici 1-8-1941

p.s. Pokušao i sudbenu odluku u koje se vidi, da je Židov Morgenstern bio tutor mojeg pok. brata Ljutra i mene

ISPOSTAVA
ZEMALJSKOG ...K
Br. 4720
... 1941

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Appendix 6.2.12: Signatures of 13 Croat, local residents, signed their names on behalf of Rikard Schwarz and his family stating his loyalty and integrity he rendered over the years.(HDA: RUR 252, 28346 ZO.7099)



Br. 28346
ZO. 7099
P.115

5

Mi niže potpisani izjavljujemo po svom najboljem znanju i osvjedočenju, da se g. Rikard Schwarz, kojeg lično poznajemo, pokazao svuda ispravnim čovjekom i rodoljubom, te da se nikad ni u čemu nije ogriješio protiv hrvatskog naroda i svoje domovine, već je napotiv prema svojim silama svuda najpriljevnije pomicao sva rodoljubna nastojanja.-

Zagreb, 13. studenoga 1941

Zvonimir Šurtić — Zagreb, Martićeva 23 kod Tiskare Engel
Montanin Mato — " " " " " "
Hrpan Julka — Zagreb, ravnatelj Plasa d.d. Marovska ul.
Miroslav Hegedić — " činovnik " " " "
Dragutin Zerpfel — Zagreb, Ilica 116
Ana [illegible] — " Ilica 116
Stana Hanaček — " Savska cesta 28
Fr. Šetić, dipl. građevinski tehničar — Zagreb Ilica br. 16.
Ivan Ćurić — Zagreb Varšavska 9
Ivan Ćurić, građevinski tehničar — Zagreb Ilica 65
Ivan V. Brandt, Zagreb, Kačićeva 11.

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Appendix 6.2.13: Adolf Svarc, a commercial assistant, was a decorated soldier in World War I, and had fought for 3.5 years against the Serbs in Zagreb. His friends requested that the Minister of Interior release him from concentration camp. . (HDA, RUR 252, 28704, ZO.278)

28704
Zo 278

1065

P. n.

Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova

Zagreb

Predmet:
Molba, da se protiv Adolfa
Švarcu iz Zagreba ne pri-
mjenjuju mjere predvidjene
no proti Židova.

Adolf Švarc, trgovački pomoćnik rodjen u Vašku /Podravska Slatina/ 24. I. 1899., sin ~~Mirka~~ Jakoba Švarca, sa zadnjim boravištem u Zagrebu, Iločka ul. br. 26. interniran je po nalogu Židovskog otsjeka ustaškog redarstva.

Kaljučim Adolf Švarc bio je desetnik bivše 53. pješačke pukovnije u Zagrebu, te se je istakao u vojničkom ustanku 5. XII. 1918. proti Srba u Zagrebu.

Osudom Vojnog suda u Zagrebu po optužnici broj 6/1 359/18 osudjen je na kaznu od 3 1/2 godine.

Pošto je za cijela vrijema rata a i u ustanku Adolf Švarc pokazao, da je primjerni Hrvat, te se istakao svojom hrabrošću, to molimo

da izvoli Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova odobriti i naložiti, da se imenovani Adolf Švarc pusti iz internacije i da se na njega ne primijene mjere predvidjene proti Židova, te odnošenja odnosnog zakona o Židovima.

Zagreb, 25. srpnja 1941.

Ivan Perecic
Petrinjska ul 24 III kat
Zagreb

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Appendix 6.2.14: The organization for the Blind Sv. Vid wrote in support of their Director of the Board dentist Haim Montiljo who had served faithfully in this capacity from 1933 to 1938 requesting that he remain in his post. (HDA, RUR 252, 28324, ZO.)

28324

I Z J A V A.

Potpisani bivši i sadanji članovi upravnoga odbora „članovi kao i slijepi„društva za pomaganje slijepih Sv.Vid u Zagrebu„dajemo za pravo gospodina Haima Montilja zubara iz Zagreba„slijedeću izjavu:

Gospodin H.Montiljo bio je od godine 1930 do 1938 veliki prijatelj slijepih i društva Sv.Vid„te je od pristupa u članstvo društva vodio akciju za poboljšanje slijepih u društvu„te je bio pretstavnik "grupe prijatelja slijepih".

U tome svojstvu i radu preko tri godine gospodin Montiljo postaje početkom 1933 tajnikom društva„koju je čast podnašao sve do pod konac 1935 godine u počasnome svojstvu kao i ostala gospoda odborници.

Kako je društvo Sv.Vid u Zagrebu imalo svoje zgrade na Ilinarskoj cesti„koje je posve nepovlašteno i protuzakonito bivša država Jugoslavija godine 1926 oduzela„te je na inicijativu gospodina Montilja upravni odbor tužio državni Fisk„te mu je nakon ogorčene borbe uspjelo„da država isplati društvu Sv.Vid iznos od preko dva miljuna dinara„za oduzete zgrade na Ilinarskoj cesti„za kojom svotom su kupljene sadanje zgrade na Radničkoj cesti i izgrađena društvena zgrada po kasnijem odboru u Ivkančevoj ulici.

Pod konac 1935 godine podnio je gosp.Montilje ostavku na čast tajnika„jer se nije nikako„kao i mnoga druga dosadjujuća gospoda slagati sa većinom tadanjega odbora koja su bili članovi slobodno zidarske lože "Libertas"u Zagrebu.

Od tada gospodin Montiljo vodi kao pretstavnik grupe ponovnu borbu u društvu da se sruši odbor koji je u većini pripadao slobodnozidarskoj loži"Libertas"te u toj radnji sudjelovali članovi Hrvatske Seljačke stranke na čelu sa gosp.Stjepkom Vrtarom„sadanjim pretsjednikom Radunarskoga Suda i književnikom„Franjom Vukovićem„sadanjim zastupnikom Zaštitē i upravitelj Sv.Vida„Zlatkom Lamotom trgovcem„Dr.Zvonimirom Vinkovićem„tajnikom Radničke Komore i profesorom Adolfom Gomerčićem„ravnateljem dvorazredne trgovačke škole uz mnoga druge članova društva„te je napokon uspjelo nakon velike borbe tek 1938 godine srušiti slobodnozidarsku upravu i postaviti nove Hrvatsku upravu u društvu Sv.Vida.

Iz ove velike zasluge gospodina Montilja po društvo moramo izričito napomenuti da je ja članove [illegible] od godine 1930 do 1938 godine [illegible] potpisano popravljao slijepim zube kao stiđenicima društva tako i potrebnim vanjskim slijepima.

Radi svega gore navedenoga potpisani izjavljuju da je rad gospodina Montilja u veliko zadužio društvo Sv.Vid„te kako je to društvo jedino u Hrvatskoj Državi„a slijepih ikada preko tri tisuće Hrvata„to je imenovani svojim nesebičnim radom u veliko doprinjeo da se bijeda slijepih Hrvata ublaži i popravi.

U Zagrebu„10.svibnja 1941.

Ing Gomerčić
ravnatelj trg. škole
u Zagrebu

Dr. Dominik Mikšić
pl. tajnik Radničke komore
Ilinska 16/II, bivši odbornik
društva Sv. Vida, Zvonimirova 20.

Stjepan Vrtar
bivši odbornik Sv. Vida

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Appendix 6.2.15: The peasants where Schonauer Vilim worked as a principle of the local nursery school requested to award him with Aryan rights for his generosity towards all the Croats.The request was approved by the NDH authorities. (HDA, RUR 252, 28338, ZO.)

P.2/3 2378

Ovime se potvrđuje da je g. Schönauer Vilim i obitelj uvijek bio našim našem ojčjem domu "Nazaret" u Šestinama zgodimice obdario djecu i Dom, u cijenama bio je uvijek do krajnjih granica mogućnosti popustljiv makar ga zato nijesmo izričito molili. Rado nam je davao živežne namirnice na dug i makar je dugo čekao isplatu nije se ustručavao i dalje davati na dug . Uvijek ga poznajemo kao vrlo poštena čovjeka, koji je nama i ostalima u nevolji pomagao ne vodeći računa o narodnosti i vjeri

U Šestinama 5 kolovoza 1941

Za samostan kćeri milosrđa
Upraviteljica dječjeg doma
SS, Budić Sofija v.r.

Broj 1379/41

U V J E R E N J E

Potpisano općinsko poglavarstvo ovime uredovno posvjedočava, da g. Vilim Schönauer rodjen godine 1883 u Petanjci kotar murska Sobota u Medjumurju, stanuje na području općine Šestine od godine 1911. nepre=kidno do danas, da je zavičajnik općine Šestine od godine 1932, koja mu je podijeljena po općinskom odboru, da je za sve vrijeme boravka u ovoj općini bio uvijek dobroga vladanja i nije nikada radio proti interesa Hrvata, već je za vrijeme diktature na svim svim izborima glasao zajedno sa Hrvatima za kandidate koje je postavila diktatorskoj vladi opoziciona stranka t.j. za kandidatsku listu Dra. Mačeka.
Kao trgovac uvijek je radio uz umjerenu dobit i nije nabijao cijene već je pomagao siromašne seljake davajući im na vjeresiju robu, a za dužne svote nije nikada vodio ovrhu, pa i danas imade kod seljaka tražbina oko 140.000 D. koje mu seljaci dobrovoljno odplaćuju.
Ova svjedodžba izdaje se na vlastitu molbu po naplati biljegovine iz T.Br. 3 i 4 a može se upotrebiti kao prilog k molbi da se njemu i njego=voj supruzi Mariji Schönauer priznaju sva prava koja pripadaju osobama mrijskog porijekla u smislu točke 6 Zakonske odredbe o rasnoj pripadnosti od 30.IV. 1941.

Općinsko poglavarstvo
U Šestinama, dne 9. kolovoza 1941

Načelnik: Krajač v.r. /.M.P./ Bilježnik: Čabrajec v.r.

Da su gornji navodi istiniti potvrđuje:
Tabornik Krajač v.r.

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otpisi seljaka i obrtnika.

P-37 28338

Slavko Herlc trgovac v.r.
Jakob Zadrinić mesar "
Josip Sollić seljak v.r.
Mato Sabljić " "
Stjepan Sabljić " "
Capak Martin " "
Capak Josip " "
Flegan Josip " "
Fijucek Josip " "
Komarović Franjo bank. čin.v.r.
Stjepan Dvojković trgovacv.r.
Skvorc Ivan radnikv.r.
Stjepan Fijucek st. seljak v. r.
Stjepan Fijucek ml. -"- -"-
Jagušt Josip -"- -"-
Petar Lubenjak krčmar -"- -"-
Mirko Boltek -"- -"-
Kecerin Slavko -"- -"-
Kecerin Stjepan Kapela -"- -"-
Mato Kecerin -"- -"-
Mirko Crnić -"- -"-
Vjekoslav Boltek -"- -"-
Herlc Josip -"- -"-
Stjepan Valevček -"- -"-
Kukor Slavko -"- -"-
Crnić Mato -"- -"-
Rodbinić Juraj -"- -"-
Boltek ud. Bara -"- -"-
Duro Opuhač -"- -"-
Benko Stjepan -"- -"-
Ivan Kosinec -"- -"-
Josip Lubenko -"- -"-
Za pok. Ivana Bolteka
Boltek Slava -"- -"-
Josip Benko -"- -"-
Branko Zlatar učitelj v.r.
Sabić Franjo -"- -"-
Franjo Vurdelja -"- -"-
Mirko Kecerin -"- -"-
Mato Kecerin -"- -"-
Šimun Kecerin -"- -"-
Josip Kecerin -"- -"-
Stjepan Kecerin -"- -"-
Kecerin Mirko -"- -"-
Kecerin Juraj -"- -"-
Kecerin Petar -"- -"-
Duro Somun opančar -"- -"-

Josip Somun seljak v.r.
Mirko Somun " "
Stjepan Dominko " "
Slavko Kelković " "
Mirko Valenčak " "
Duro Valenčak " "
Mirko Valenčak st.
Juraj Lasić " "
Martin Lasić " "
Ivan Lasić " "
Cesar Juro " "
Cesar Josip " "
Stanko Martin " "
Pavlić Juraj " "
Vinšćgandić Slavko trgovac
Opuhač Slavko " "
Malec Josip " "
Kosović Juro " "
Pavlić Pavao " "
Kelković Petar " "
Kelković Josip " "
Požgaj Boža Brijač
Pavlić Juro " "
Cesar Stjepan " "
Malec Juraj " "
Lasić Petar kramar
Boltek Jela ud.Somun
Pavlić Jakob " "
Juraj Kecerin " "

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Appendix 6.2.16: The peasants from the village of Dolic near Krapina requested the release from concentration camp of their Jewish neighbors Josip and Josipa Klein and their children. They argued that the Kleins were honest and honorable citizens of their community. (Total of 72 signatures were collected.) (HAD, 252 28026, ZO.4178)



Br. 28026
ZO 4178 – 29.VIII.1941
p. 1/3

1640

Gospodinu

VELIKOM ŽUPANU VELIKE ŽUPE ZAGORJE

u/

V A R A Ž D I N U.

Dne 4.kolovoza 1941. odvedeni su od svoje kuće u Doliću kod Krapine Josip Klein sa suprugom Josipom i njegovi sinovi Ivica i Kiroslav kao i brat mu Ljudevit.-

Svi su oni odpremljeni u logor za internijence u Gospiću na državnoj Ovčarskoj stanici.

Josip i Josipa Klein bavili su se u Doliću trgovinom i gostioničarskim poslom u čemu im je pomagao neoženjeni brat Josipe Kleina, Ljudevit.

Svi su oni rodjeni u Hrvatskoj i na području kotara Krapinskoga osim Josipe Klein, koja je također rodjena u Hrvatskoj ali u Pitomači.

Svi oni osjećali su uvijek Hrvatski te su glasovali uvijek samo za Hrvatske liste sa narodom su lijepo postupali i dobro se slagali. Svoju trgovinu vodili su najčestitije i tako da je bila od velike koristi okolnomu seljaštvu jer su uvijek davali u zimi kad narod nije imao hrane, živežne namirnice na vjeru i uz vrlo povoljne uslove, a bezbrojnim seljacima koji nisu mogli dugovinu isplatiti, oni su ju otpustili.-

Stoga nisu imali niti nikakovogaimetka osim kuće u kojoj su stanovali i pardesataka hvati zemljišta oko kuće, ali je ta kuća opterećena dugovima nastalim iz trgovine baš poradi toga što su svoju trgovinu vodili na gore opisani način.-

Može se reći da dugovi iznose približno istu visinu koju dosiže i sama vrijednost nekretnina.-

Iz svih ovih razloga podnio je Josip Klein molbu velikog broja seljaka da mu se u smislu ustanove točke 6.Zak.odr. o ras. prip. priznaju prava koja pripadaju osobama arijevskog porijetla.

Ova je molba i po Ustaškom stanu u Krapini u pogledu svojih navoda potvrdjena, ali kao ni druga molba toga sadržaja do danas nije riješena.-

Pošto se iz prednjega vidi da Josip Klein sa svojom obitelji nije niti osjećao niti radio nikada drugačije nego kao Hrvat da je i u društvenom pogledu bio bez prigovora, a u privrednom pogledu da je njegovo poslovanje bilo za seljački ovaj kraj upravo koriano, to nisu postojali nikakovi razlozi prijeke nužde da

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P-213 2804

on i njegova obitelj uklone iz svoga doma i smjeste u logor.

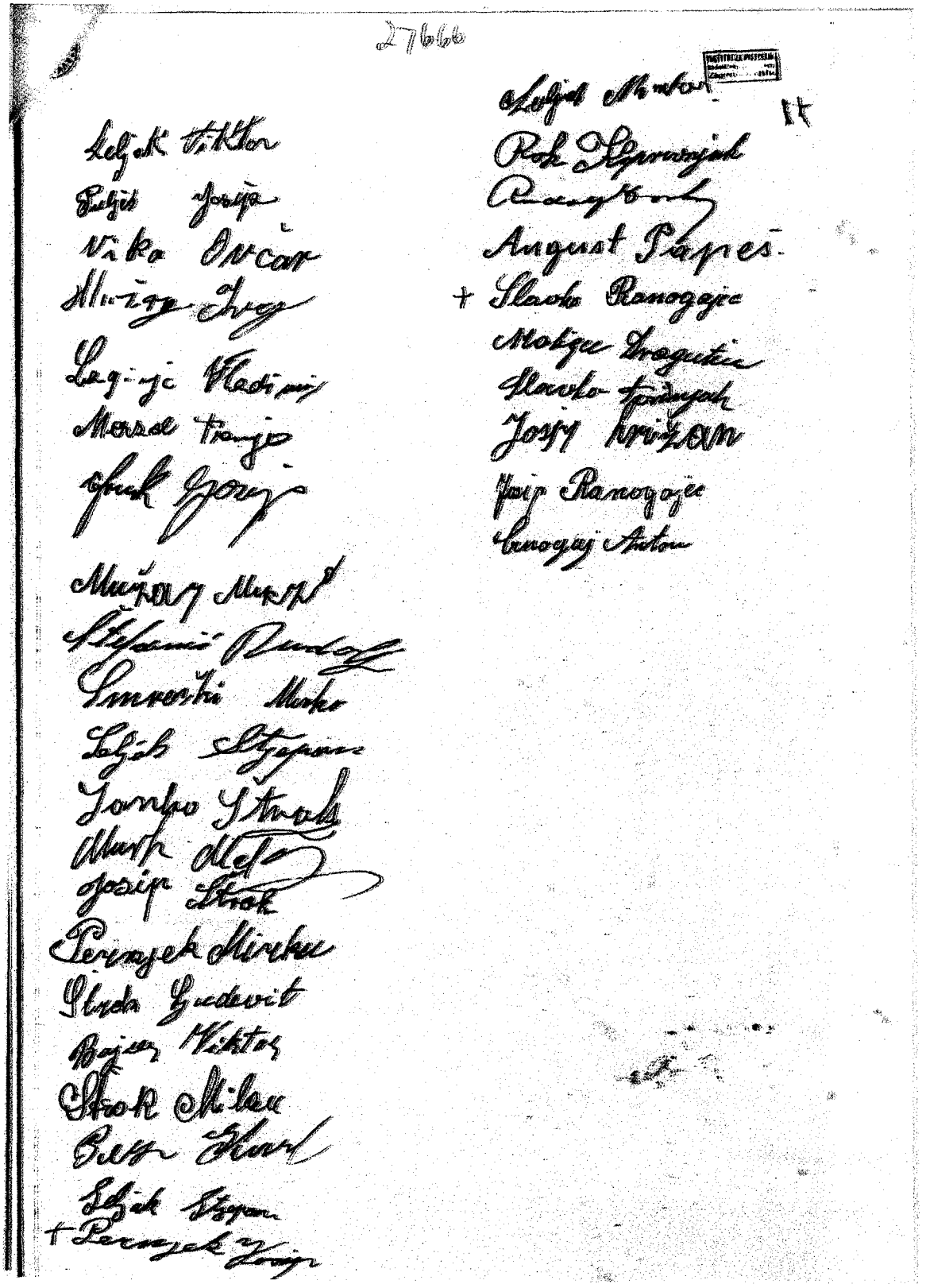
Josip i Josipa Klein stari su blizu 60 godina i bolešljivi te se Josip Klein stalno mora liječiti od šećerne bolesti i reume a Josipa Klein boluje od trajne srčane pogreške i tek je prod od prilike dvije godine prošla jednu teška operaciju, poslije koje se više nikada potpuno opravila nije.-

Iz svih tih razloga mi potpisani susjedi i seljani kojima je rad i držanje ove čestite obitelji dobro poznat molimo,

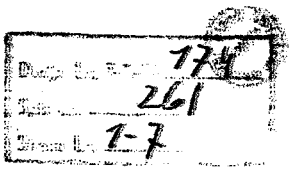
da bi se Josip i Josipa Klein zajedno sa navedenim članovima svoje obitelji pustili iz logora i vratili svojoj kući i da im se tu dozvoli trajam i miran boravak.-

Josip Klein
Jakob Klein
Ferčec Ivan
Horvat
Horvat
Horvat Franjo
Stjepan Horvat
Ivan Grofelnik
Horvat Ankica
Horvat Ankica
Antun Selin
Perčk Damir
Rock Julka
Franjo Gmeiner
Franjo Stjepanić
Bajcar Ella
Horvat Marko
Adam Jakopić
Stjepan Horle
Marko Zakić
August Rockl
Franjo Lešjak
Frankel Milan
Franjo Gavrić
Smitzner Ivan
Jura Katalenić
Dragutin Ljak
Rudolf Ljak
Ivan Sopek
Franjo Fink-Krapina
Nikola Jerničar
Karl Plantić
Dragutin Kovačić
Josip Ottaviano
Posnić Stjepan

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Appendix 7.1.0: On June 12 1942, in a 7 page report, the Governor of Dalmatia was informed that approximately 50 to 60 of his soldiers committed horrific acts of brutality against the Jews who were praying in the Split synagogue. (Yad Vashem Archive-Yugoslavia)



V R H O V N A K O M A N D A
Vojna obaveštajna služba
CENTAR CS

Br. prot.6568- Prilozi.....

Zadar 23 juna 1942 XX

Odgovor na akt .....

Predmet: Popratni akt

VLADI DALMACIJE
Generalnoj direkciji policije

Z A D A R

i na znanje:

KOMANDI KARABINJERA ZA DALMACIJU

Z A D A R

Poverenik ovoga Centra došao je preko jednog Židova do podataka koje Vam u prilogu dostavljamo, a odnose se na zbivanja koja su se odigrala u Splitu naveče 12 juna u odnosu na jevrejski živalj u tom gradu.

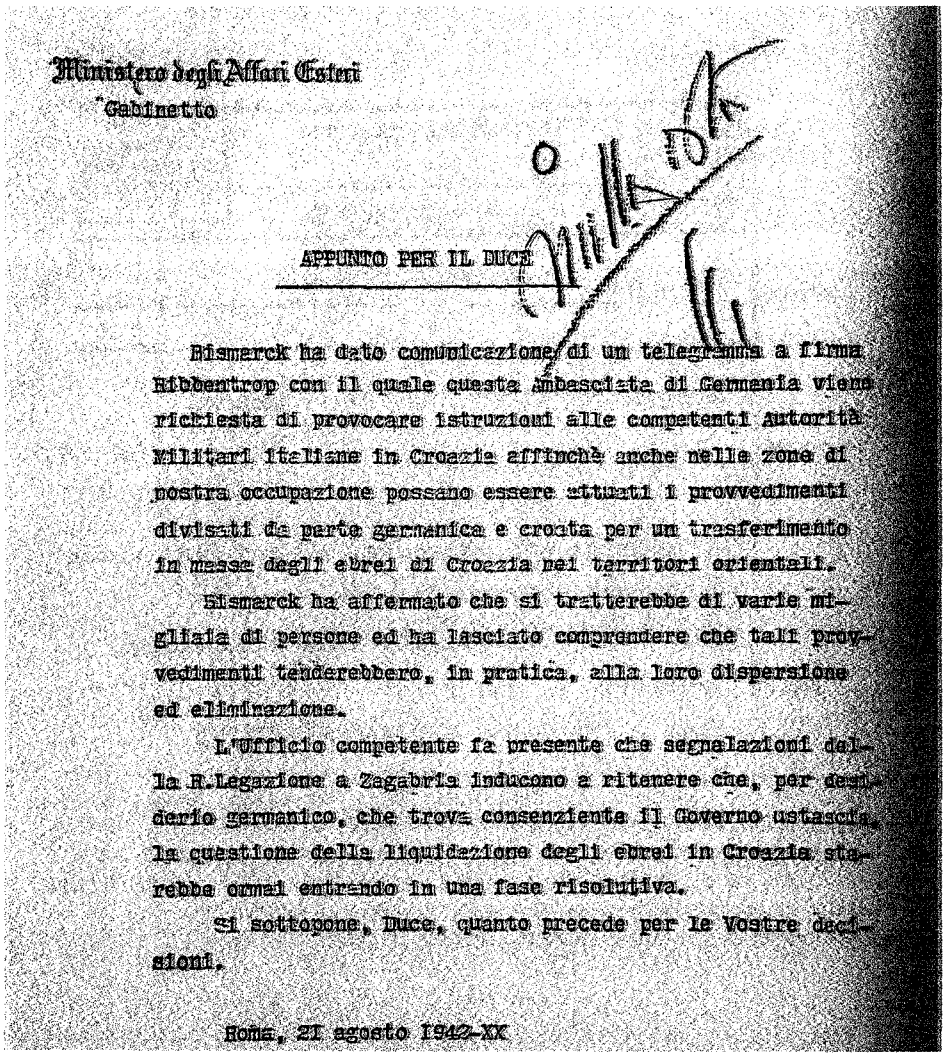
Napominjemo da ovakvi dogadjaji nisu interesantni i ne dolaze u delokrug rada službe CS /Kontra ob. služba/.

Major Karabinjera Šef centtra
s.r. Arnaldo Valenrini

Primedba prev. - Original ovog popratnog akta ima nekoliko opaski napisanih olovkom. U gornjem desnom uglu je okrugli pečat + Vlada Dalmacije, 25 juna 1942-prepiska- Akt je ku can na hartiji koju upotrebljava Centar za službeni saobra čaj.

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Appendix 7.1.1: August 21 Memorandum delivered by Von Bismarck the advisor of the German Embassy. It included a request of the Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop that instructions be issued to the Italian Army Headquarters to extradite the Croatian Jews so that they could be included in the deportations to the territories in the East. Von Bismarck hinted that the deportations meant "liquidations" of these Jews. The Italian Foreign Ministry asked that Mussolini decides the matter. Mussolini replied "no objections." These two short words almost sealed the fate of the Jews in the Italian territories of occupation. Thanks to the Italian 2nd Army they were saved. (Source: Yad Vashem Archive-Yugoslavia JM/34)



Ministero degli Affari Esteri
Gabinetto

APPUNTO PER IL DUCE

Bismarck ha dato comunicazione di un telegramma a firma Ribbentrop con il quale questa Ambasciata di Germania viene richiesta di provocare istruzioni alle competenti Autorità Militari italiane in Croazia affinchè anche nelle zone di nostra occupazione possano essere attuati i provvedimenti divisati da parte germanica e croata per un trasferimento in massa degli ebrei di Croazia nei territori orientali.

Bismarck ha affermato che si tratterebbe di varie migliaia di persone ed ha lasciato comprendere che tali provvedimenti tenderebbero, in pratica, alla loro dispersione ed eliminazione.

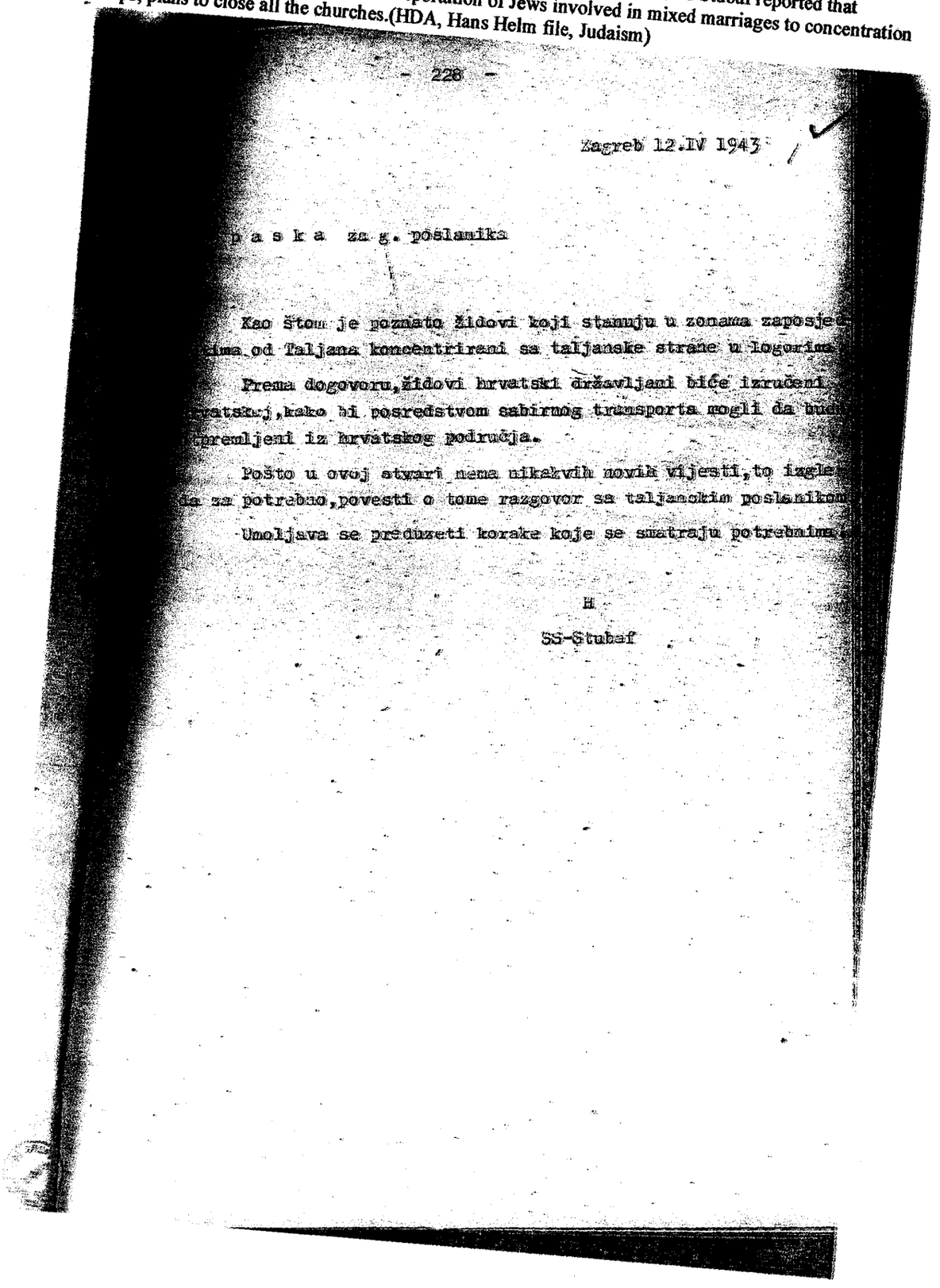
L'Ufficio competente fa presente che segnalazioni della R.Legazione a Zagabria inducono a ritenere che, per desiderio germanico, che trova consenziente il Governo ustascia, la questione della liquidazione degli ebrei in Croazia starebbe ormai entrando in una fase risolutiva.

Si sottopone, Duce, quanto precede per le Vostre decisioni.

Roma, 21 agosto 1942-XX

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Appendix 7.1.2: Entry in file Hans Helm, German Attaché in Zagreb, the SS Stubaf reported that Archbishop Stepinac, in protest of the deportation of Jews involved in mixed marriages to concentration camps, plans to close all the churches.(HDA, Hans Helm file, Judaism)



- 228 -

Zagreb 12.IV 1943

p a s k a za g. poslanika

Kao što je poznato židovi koji stanuju u zonama zaposje
ima od Talјana koncentrirani sa talјanske strane u logorima

Prema dogovoru,židovi hrvatski državljani biće izručeni
rvatsk.j,kako bi posredstvom sabirnog transporta mogli da bud
premljeni iz hrvatskog područja.

Pošto u ovoj stvari nema nikakvih novih vijesti,to izgle
da za potrebno,povesti o tome razgovor sa talјanskim poslanikom

Umoljava se preduzeti koraka koje se smatraju potrebnima.

H

SS-Štubaf

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Appendix 7.3.3: Lelio Vittorio Valobra, the head of DELASEM in Genoa, in a letter dated February 9, 1960 and addressed to Ilva Vaccari of Modena, described succinctly the rescue of the Yugoslav children that became known as the Children of Villa Emma. (Yad Vashem Arichive-Yugoslavia)

[redacted]

Genova 9 Febbraio 1960

[redacted]
Istituto Storico della Resistenza
Corso Canalgrande 58/60
MODENA

Gentile Signorina,

Le trascrivo qui di seguito i dati storici che ho potuto raccogliere sulle vicende dei giovani ebrei ospitati a Villa Emma di Nonantola.-

Debbo premettere che nell'anno 1939 l'Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane con sede in Roma (Ente Morale R.D. 30-10-1930 n. 1731) della quale ero Vice Presidente, istituì una Delegazione Assistenza Emigranti Ebrei (DELASEM) alla quale fui preposto come dirigente.- Lo scopo iniziale della Delasem era quello di assistere i profughi ebrei provenienti dal Centro Europa, e quindi direttamente dalla Germania, dove erano già in atto, ad opera del governo nazista, le persecuzioni razziali.-

Lo sviluppo degli avvenimenti, ormai tristemente noti, che portarono il governo italiano ad allinearsi alla politica nazista, costrinsero lo scrivente ed i suoi collaboratori ad agire praticamente nella illegalità e nella clandestinità per fronteggiare il più grave dei doveri e cioè quello di salvare la vita agli ebrei che venivano perseguitati senza alcuna discriminazione per i vecchi, per le donne, per i bimbi e per gli infermi.- E' stata una attività veramente complessa e meritoria, con pericolo di arresto, e ciò dico ad onore dei miei collaboratori e di tutti coloro che hanno disprezzato il pericolo per salvare delle vite umane. Poichè ogni le prove di bontà ricevute affievoliscono il ricordo di tanta ferocia.-

Non è questa la sede per parlare della difficile organizzazione della Delasem in Italia e delle ramificazioni istituite anche nei paesi stranieri per la necessaria collaborazione ai fini che la Delasem si proponeva.-

Vengo quindi a parlare dell'episodio che più La interessa

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L. Dolansen aveva nominato quale suo fiduciario nella zona di Gorizia certo sig. Eugenio Dolaffio, uomo modesto, ma pieno di coraggio, che resse per pura idealità eminenti servigi. Di lui non si ebbe più alcuna notizia dopo l'8 settembre 1943, e vi è ragione di ritenere che sia finito in deportazione nei campi di sterminio.-

Nei primi mesi dell'anno 1942, il sig. Eugenio Dolaffio mi diede notizia che un gruppo di ragazzi ebrei di diverse nazionalità, tutti orfani o superstiti dai massacri e dalle deportazioni, si erano rifugiati in Slovenia, nel tentativo di sfuggire alla zona occupata dalle truppe tedesche e di raggiungere la zona occupata dalle truppe italiane, dove avrebbero potuto trovare più umano atteggiamento e salvare la vita.-

Decisi subito di recarmi sul luogo (si trattava di Lesno Brdo nelle vicinanze di Lubiana). In quest'ultima città occupata dalle truppe italiane, aveva sede l'Alto Commissario per la Slovenia, nominato dal governo fascista. Mi occorse del tempo per ottenere per me e per il mio segretario, sig. Enrico Lucchetto, le autorizzazioni del Ministero degli Interni e del Ministero della Guerra per recarmi a Lubiana a tentare il salvataggio di questo gruppo di giovani.-

Nei primi mesi del 1942 (non ricordo con esattezza la data) mi recai, col segretario, a Lubiana, segnalando con tutta franchezza alle autorità civili e militari, colà residenti, lo scopo della mia missione. Venni così a conoscenza che il gruppo dei ragazzi aveva trovato rifugio in un vecchio castello di Lesno Brdo, in una zona che poteva definirsi di nessuno, perchè detta località non era ancora stata occupata dalle truppe tedesche, e le truppe italiane non avevano, in quel momento un diretto controllo, data l'attività che ivi svolgevano le bande partigiane jugoslave, particolarmente favorite dalla natura del terreno.-

Il problema era quindi quello di raggiungere questa località per fornire il gruppo di viveri e di mezzi e per organizzare il salvataggio definitivo. Fu ancora il sig. Eugenio Dolaffio che ci consigliò l'unico mezzo possibile. Egli ci

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[illegible] di rivolgervi con fiducia alla Presidentessa della Croce Rossa Slovena, donna energica e ben nota per la sua attività contro il nazi-fascismo. Purtroppo non ricordo il suo nome e non so che fine abbia fatto. Seppi soltanto che venne successivamente arrestata ed allontanata dalla zona, perchè sospettta di attività partigiana.-

Il colloquio con detta signora non sarà mai più da me dimenticato. Dopo qualche attimo di diffidenza reciproca, aggravata dalla difficoltà della lingua, si istituì fra noi una fiducia assoluta (malgrado la coscienza dei rischi che ciascuno di noi incontrava). In breve, la signora ci disse che al mattino seguente una automobile sarebbe venuta a prelevarci all'albergo, che l'autista aveva già tutte le istruzioni del caso, che nulla avremmo dovuto dirgli, ma soltanto fidarci di lui. Ed invero il giorno seguente, all'alba, entrammo in una automobile senza proferire parola e ci avviammo verso una zona a noi sconosciuta, impervia, disabitata. Qualche raro passante, osservando il nostro passaggio, assumeva un atteggiamento conseguente.-
Giungemmo così a Lesno Brdo, ed avemmo la grande gioia di incontrarci col gruppo dei ragazzi ebrei.-
Fu studiato il piano d'azione che diveniva particolarmente urgente, stante la notizia che le truppe tedesche stavano avanzando nella zona.-

Al mio ritorno, chiesi udienza all'Alto Commissario di Lubiana e riuscii ad ottenere che il gruppo venisse accolto entro le linee occupate dalle truppe italiane e che a spese della Delasem, con la collaborazione della Croce Rossa Slovena, i ragazzi fossero provvisoriamente sistemati in locali predisposti dalla stessa Croce Rossa. 24 ore dopo, tutti i ragazzi si trovavano al sicuro a Lubiana.-

La permanenza costì durò qualche mese, sino a quando cioè l'Alto Commissario di Lubiana mi fece pervenire un telegramma (alla sede della Delasem in Genova) col quale mi si avvertiva che il gruppo sarebbe stato inviato a nostre spese a Genova, non essendo più gradita la loro permanenza colà.- Provvedemmo al necessario coi fondi della organizzazione e trovammo il modo di far viaggiare il convoglio a Modena, ove nel frattempo, a mezzo

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dei nostri rappresentanti, avv. Gino Friedmann, avv. Conigliani e dott. Salvatore Donati (questi ultimi due entrambi deceduti, ed io li ricordo con tanta venerazione) si riuscì ad avere la disponibilità della villa Emma di Nonantola.-

Spiegata così l'origine di questa vicenda, non mi resta che trascrivere la relazione fattami dal dott. Umberto Jacchia, che venne nominato dalla Delasem fiduciario per i profughi di Villa Emma.- Non senza ricordare il benevolo atteggiamento tenuto in questa occasione dalle Autorità di P.S. di Modena.-

Il gruppo era composto di 42 ragazzi, ebrei, di nazionalità jugoslava, polacca, tedesca, austriaca, rumena, tutti,(come abbiamo già detto) orfani e superstiti del massacro e delle deportazioni naziste, che avevano letteralmente distrutto le rispettive famiglie.- Accompagnavano i ragazzi - di età compresa fra i 9 anni ed i 21 - un gruppo di accompagnatori e dirigenti adulti, precisamente i signori : Endig Joseph (maskir) di nazionalità jugoslava, dal polacco Schoky Marco (economo), da Robert Stein, croato (insegnante di educazione fisica), dalla sig.na Helene (croata), dai coniugi Avin, austriaci (cuoco e guardarobiera) e dal prof. Boris, russo (insegnante di pianoforte.-

Facevano inoltre parte del gruppo, come esterni, la famiglia Licht, composta dal dott. Licht (massimo dirigente del sionismo croato), dalla moglie Licht Erna, dalla figlia Licht Tamara; nonchè due vecchi coniugi in età molto avanzata, i sigg. Kurger. Questo "gruppo di esterni", legati però al gruppo dalla precedente convivenza nella sede di Lesno Brdo, prese alloggio, in qualità di confinati e come tali regolarmente registrati presso la Questura di Modena, in due locande del paese di Nonantola.-

In un foglio allegato vengono indicati i nomi di quasi tutti i ragazzi facenti parte del gruppo.-

Qualche giorno dopo l'arrivo a Nonantola, per decisione della Delasem di Genova, il gruppo di Villa Emma venne affidato al dott. Umberto Jacchia, di Milano, il quale assumeva le funzioni di direttore e responsabile del gruppo nei confronti sia della Delasem di Genova, sia della Comunità Israelitica di Modena, ed

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attraverso quest'ultima, nei confronti delle autorità di P.S. della stessa città.-

Sempre per decisione della Delasem, un mese più tardi verso il 20 settembre 1942, si aggregò al gruppo di Villa Emma, in qualità di assistente sanitaria e di medico, la dottoressa Laura Cavaglione di Genova.-

Dopo un primo periodo di assestamento, sotto la direzione della Delasem centrale, e con l'assistenza della Comunità Israelitica di Modena, ed in particolare del suo presidente, avv. Gino Friedmann, la vita del gruppo venne gradualmente organizzata e sistemata in modo da assumere tutte le caratteristiche di una specie di campo di internamento, e di sede obbligata (nei confronti della autorità locale) e nello stesso tempo, dal punto di vista interno, la caratteristiche di una convivenza il più possibile lontana da ogni idea di campo di concentramento : una specie di collegio, di comunità volta al fine unico di fare dimenticare ai 42 orfani le tristissime vicissitudini precedenti ed il tragico destino della loro famiglia.-

Fu così che nel giro di 14 mesi circa, e cioè dalla fine luglio 1942 all'8 settembre 1943, la vita del gruppo di Villa Emma assunse veramente le caratteristiche di una comunità organizzata con la massima perfezione possibile, sia dal punto di vista ebraico, che dal punto di vista politico ed educativo.-

Venne istituita una scuola interna (gli adulti del gruppo, compresi il direttore Jacchia ed il medico Laura Cavaglione, si assunsero le funzioni ed i compiti di maestri, professori, educatori); un laboratorio di falegnameria; un laboratorio di sartoria per le ragazze; un ambulatorio medico interno (la dott.ssa Cavaglione coadiuvata da alcune ragazze del gruppo in qualità di infermiere); una specie di scuola pratica di agraria (lavoro nei campi, coniglicoltura, pollicultura, ecc..) che ebbe sede nelle campagne facenti parte della proprietà agricola di Villa Emma, affidate a mezzadria, ad una famiglia di contadini con la quale i ragazzi di Villa Emma non tardarono ad allacciare oltre che rapporti di attività comune, anche rapporti di affettuosa e comprensiva convivenza.-

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Verso la primavera del 1943 giunse, nella stessa Villa Emma, un secondo gruppo di ragazzi ebrei orfani e profughi, di nazionalità prevalentemente croata, compresi fra i 4 ed i 22 anni : circa una cinquantina di persone che si aggregarono al gruppo di Villa Emma, e nei successivi 5 o 6 mesi ne divisero la vita in comune nella stessa comunità.-

Villa Emma venne ad essere composta di circa un centinaio di persone fra adulti e ragazzi. Dopo il primo periodo di assestamento, i due gruppo si amalgamarono facilmente. Fu naturalmente necessario ampliare tutte le iniziative di carattere educativo e di lavoro già in atto.-

Nei due o tre mesi successivi, la vita del gruppo di Villa Emma subì un ulteriore radicale mutamento per effetto della decisione da parte della Delasem di Genova, di trasferire all'interno della villa - utilizzando le energie e le attitudini della massima parte di adulti e di ragazzi - una succursale della attività di assistenza (corrispondenza, consulenza medica, spedizioni di medicinali e di effetti di vestiario, ecc..) della stessa Delasem, in direzione delle migliaia di internati ebrei confinati nei campi di concentramento dell'Italia Centro-Meridionale. Vennero inviati dalla Delasem di Genova altri funzionari, e dagli stessi campi di concentramento vennero fatti trasferire, previe pratiche presso le rispettive autorità, numerosi internati.-

La vita del gruppo di Villa Emma dalle sue origini, era radicalmente cambiata e tutte le energie dei cento fra ragazzi ed adulti, erano direttamente od indirettamente investite dell'umanissimo compito di assistenza e di solidarietà nei confronti dei fratelli confinati nei campi di concentramento.-

Uno degli scopi principali cui tendeva l'opera della Delasem, era raggiunto, per lo meno in buona parte : organizzare una vita decente dal punto di vista materiale, dare ad una comunità di oltre cento persone uno scopo preciso ed una attività di solidarietà umana che facesse dimenticare il più possibile la cupa tragedia del quinquennio precedente, le persecuzioni, i progroom, le deportazioni, i viaggi nei vagoni piombati, la distruzione di mi-

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glimia di nuclei familiari, la perdita degli affetti più cari.- In questa atmosfera spirituale e materiale di attività, piombò sul gruppo di Villa Emma la tragedia dell'8 settembre 1943. Bastarono 48 ore per distruggere l'opera paziente ed appassionata dei dirigenti, la serenità relativa riacquistata attraverso il lavoro e l'attività.-

In 48 ore Villa Emma scomparve : il gran cuore della popolazione emiliana, che nei 14 mesi precedenti aveva imparato a conoscere la tragedia di ognuno dei componenti di Villa Emma, che si era prodigata con ammirevole slancio e disinteressato amore per aiutare in ogni senso il gruppo e per facilitarne la vita e l'attività, dette ancora una prova di bontà e di solidarietà; in 48 ore tutti i componenti di Villa Emma si trovarono ospitati e raccolti nelle cascine dei contadini entro un raggio di 10 km. attorno alla villa.- Mentre i nazisti occupavano sistematicamente tutta la località alla ricerca dei singoli componenti del gruppo, questi rimasero nascosti, ospitati, rifocillati ed aiutati in ogni senso dalla popolazione di Nonantola, e delle campagne circostanti.- Col risultato che non uno dei ragazzi e degli adulti di Villa Emma conobbe la cattura, la deportazione. Tutti, a gruppi isolati o singolarmente, trovarono nel giro di poche settimane la strada della salvezza attraverso il confine svizzero;-

Questo miracolo va indubbiamente attribuito per la massima parte alla popolazione di Nonantola e dei paesi vicini.-

Nominativi di abitanti di Nonantola ai quali il gruppo di Villa Emma deve essere particolarmente riconoscente per la continua assistenza e per ogni forma di aiuto morale e materiale ricevuto.

Il medico condotto di Nonantola: non ne ricordiamo il nome, ma non dovrebbe essere difficile ricostruirne l'identità. Si prodigò in ogni modo dell'assistenza medica e sanitaria, collaborando con la dott.ssa di Villa Emma, Laura Cavaglione.

Un agricoltore di nome BARANI : fece miracoli nell'assicurare i rifornimenti alimentari del gruppo, specialmente nei primi tempi, collaborando attivamente coll'avv. Gino Friedmann, di cui era, se ben ricordiamo, mezzadro. Nei giorni festivi volle avere ospiti in casa sua, per tutti i 14 mesi, qualcuno dei ragazzi.-

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La famiglia di contadini residente nel territorio di Villa Emma : collaborò attivamente coi dirigenti della villa, si prestò di buon grado ad organizzare turni di attività agricola per i ragazzi che lo desideravano, insegnando loro tutte le attività inerenti all'agricoltura. Fece in sostanza possibile una specie di hachschara a Villa Emma.- Moltissimi dei ragazzi di Villa Emma che emigrarono, dopo la fine dell'internamento in Svizzera, in Israele devono la loro preparazione agricola a questa famiglia di contadini.-

Gentile Signorina, sebbene con un pò di ritardo, ho mantenuto la mia promessa e Le ho riferito tutto quanto ho potuto ricostruire sulla storia degli ospiti di Villa Emma. Se mi perverrà altro materiale, sarà mia cura trasmetterlo.-

La ringrazio, a Suo criterio, tutto ciò che Le può essere utile per l'opera che si propone. Da parte mia, ben lieto di averLe portato la mia modesta collaborazione, desidero rinnovarLe il mio saluto ed i miei sentimenti di solidarietà.-

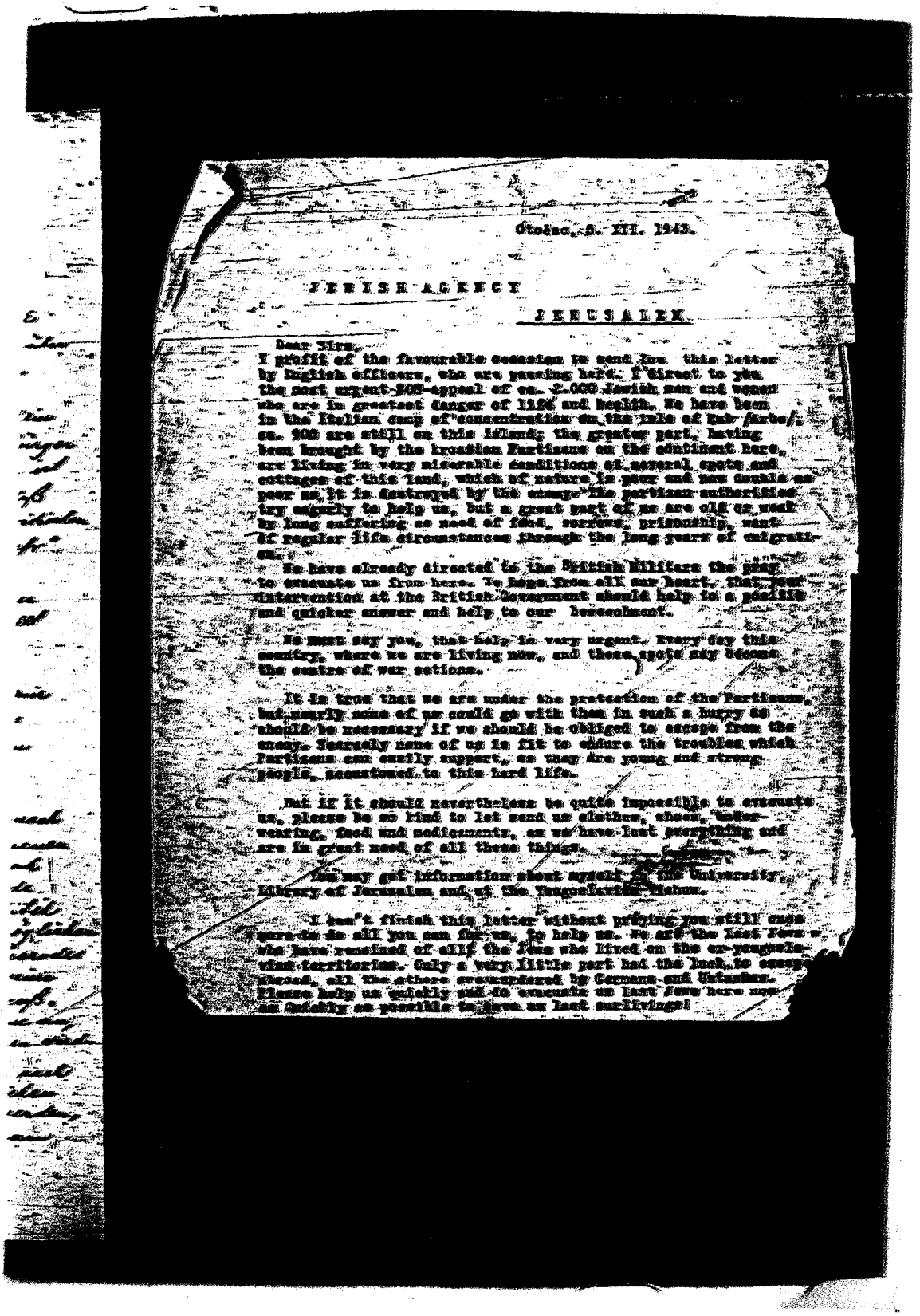
Voglia pure i miei cordiali e deferenti saluti.-

f.to Le Vite Elle

P.S. Accludo alcune fotografie che mi ha favorito il sig. Berl Grossar, Vice Segretario della Delasem. Poichè non ne abbiamo altre, Le sarò grato se potrà restituirmele non appena riprodotte (se Ella lo riterrà opportuno).
Per Suo orientamento Le dirò che le 4 fotografie piccole sono state scattate a Nonantola : le tre persone sedute sulla panchina sono (da sinistra a destra) il dott. Umberto Jacchia, la dott. Laura Cavaglione ed il sig. Berl Grossar.
Nella fotografia più grande, scattata in uno dei miei incontri col gruppo di Lesmo Erdo, io sono al centro in basso; così Lei può fare la mia personale conoscenza !

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Appendix 8.1.0: Hinko Gottlieb who was nominated spokesman for Jewish affairs in the freed territories came in contact with most Jewish and Joint humanitarian organizations requesting financial, material and humanitarian assistance. (Sample)(Yad Vashem Archive-Yugoslavia)



Otočac, 3. XII. 1943.

JEWISH AGENCY

JERUSALEM

Dear Sirs,

I profit of the favourable occasion to send You this letter by English officers, who are passing here. I direct to you the most urgent SOS-appeal of ca. 2.000 Jewish men and women who are in greatest danger of life and health. We have been in the Italian camp of concentration on the isle of Rab /Arbe/, ca. 900 are still on this island; the greater part, having been brought by the Croatian Partisans on the continent here, are living in very miserable conditions of several spots and cottages of this land, which of nature is poor and now double so poor as it is destroyed by the enemy. The partisan authorities try eagerly to help us, but a great part of us are old or weak by long suffering as need of food, sorrows, privations, want of regular life circumstances through the long years of emigration.

We have already directed to the British Military the pray to evacuate us from here. To hope from all our heart, that your intervention at the British Government should help to a quicker and quicker answer and help to our besieachment.

We must say you, that help is very urgent. Every day this country, where we are living now, and these spots may become the centre of war actions.

It is true that we are under the protection of the Partisans, but nearly none of us could go with them in such a hurry as should be necessary if we should be obliged to escape from the enemy. Generally none of us is fit to endure the troubles which Partisans can easily support, as they are young and strong people, accustomed to this hard life.

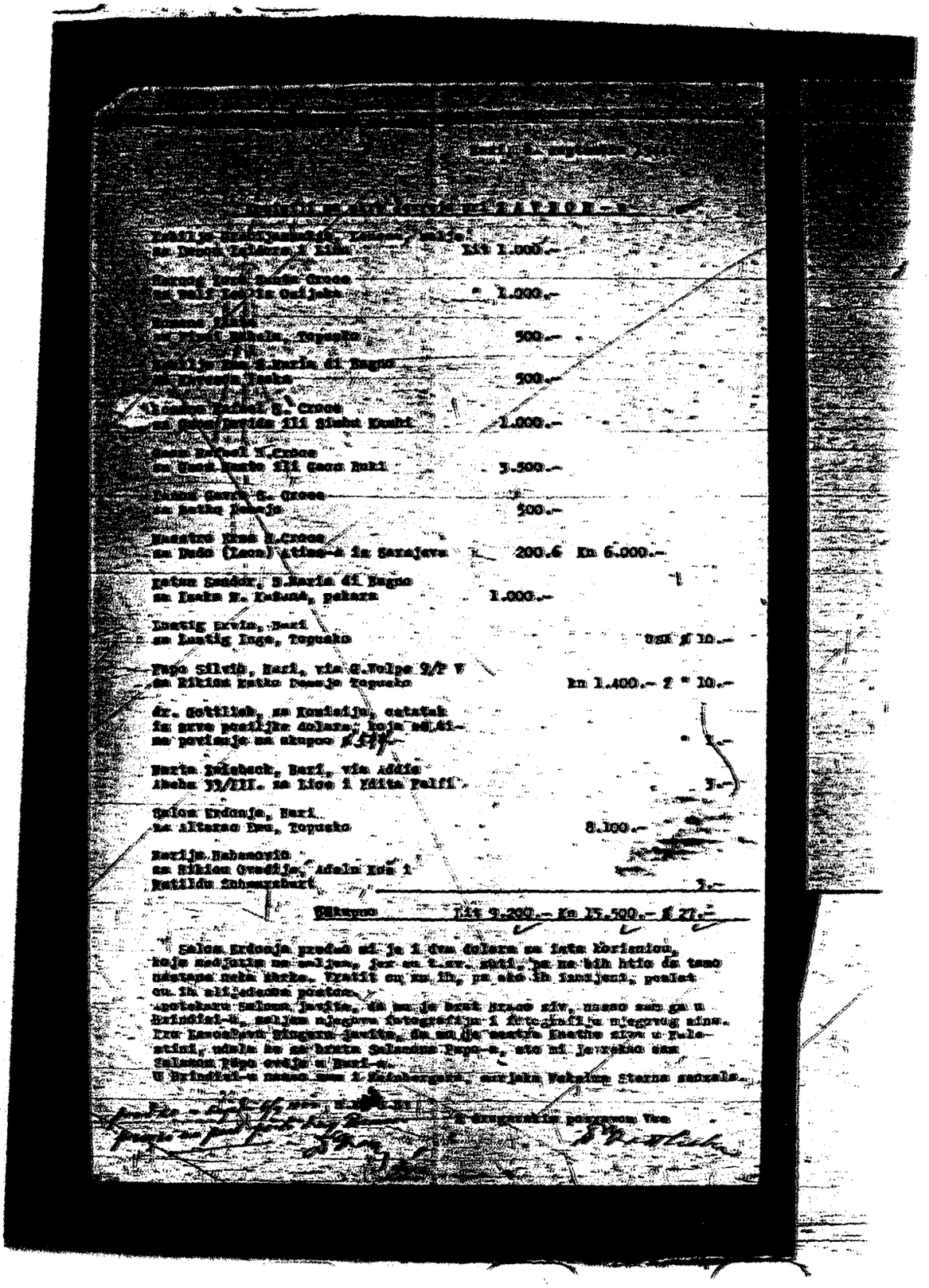
But if it should nevertheless be quite impossible to evacuate us, please be so kind to let send us clothes, shoes, underwearing, food and medicaments, as we have lost everything and are in great need of all these things.

You may get information about myself at the University Library of Jerusalem, and at the Yugoslavian Consulate.

I can't finish this letter without praying you still once more to do all you can for us, to help us. We are the last Jews of the Jews remained of all the Jews who lived on the ex-yugoslavian territories. Only a very little part had the luck to escape abroad, all the others exterminated by Germans and Ustashes. Please help us quickly and do evacuate us last Jews here as quickly as possible to save us last survivings!

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Appendix 8.1.1: Jewish refugees from the territories of NDH who managed to reach southern Italy saved money from their allocations and sent donations to friends and family stranded in the territories freed by the partisans.(Yad Vashem Archive-Yugoslavia)



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INTERVIEWS

RESCUERS and SURVIVORS 2002/2003

Name:	Date of interview	place of interview
1. Papo Lotika	08. 11. 2003	Sarajevo
2. Papo Laura	08. 11. 2003	Sarajevo
3. Koen- Finci Ela	08. 12. 2003	Sarajevo
4. Debenic-Kaveson, Erna	08. 13. 2003	Sarajevo
5. Nikolic Danilo	08. 14. 2003	Sarajevo
6. Albahari Moric	08. 13. 2003	Sarajevo
7. Papo Sueda Dada	08. 10. 2003	Sarajevo
8. Danon Jakica	08. 14. 2003	Sarajevo
9. Ferusic Greta	08. 11. 2003	Sarajevo
10.Kamhi David	09. 05. 2001	Sarajevo
1. Nahir Panic, Eva	10. 06. 2003	Israel
2. Dr. Shomrony Amiel (Emil Schwarz)	10. 11. 2003	Israel
3. Romano, Zlata	10. 04. 2003	Israel
4. Hadas- Kaveson, Eliezer	10. 06. 2003	Israel
5. Stern- Kaveson, Sharika	09. 27. 2003	Israel
6. Novak- Steiner, Zdenka	10. 14. 2003	Israel
7. Dr. Freundlich, Emil (witten test.)	11. 20. 2003	Israel
8. Kahana-Kabiljo, Luna	10. 14. 2003	Israel
1. Gaon, Erna		
2. Montiljo (Miso) Michael	09. 11. 2002	Zagreb
3. Dr. Oberiter Vera	11. 21. 2002	Zagreb
4. Tolnauer, Mihajlo	11. 11. 2002	Zagreb
5. Radinger, Mari	11. 27. 2002	Zagreb
6. Binenfeld, Jasa	12. 05. 2002	Zagreb
7. Dr. Steiner, Stjepan	01. 10. 2003	Zagreb
8. Dr. Gruner, Teodor	01. 16. 2003	Zagreb
9. Neumann, Olga	01. 16. 2003	Zagreb
10. Grgec, Nada	01. 06. 2003	Zagreb
11. Sternberg, Zdenko	01. 01. 2003	Zagreb
12. Dr. Gruner, Matilda (Taped-testimony)	05. 12. 2003	Zagreb
13. Kalodera, Jaska	01. 23. 2003	Zagreb
14. Jelinek, Zuzi	01. 18. 2003	Zagreb
15. Dr. Fischer, Darko (Osijek)	01. 23. 2003	Osijek
16. Auslander, Blanka (Taped-testimony)	04. 06. 2003	Zagreb
17. Grlic-Izrael, Eva	06. 15. 2003	Zagreb

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18. Papo Nada, (writen testimony)	03. 30. 1995	Zagreb
19. Caldarivc, Mladen	10. 20. 2003	Zagreb
20. Rajic, Ljerka	09. 28. 2003	Zagreb
21. Benyovsky, Lucja	07. 10. 2003	Zagreb
22. Goldstein, Slavko	09. 19. 2003	Zagreb
23. Kovac, Vlasta	02. 06. 2003	Zagreb
24. Dr. Stern, Zarko	02. 06. 2003	Zagreb
25. Dirnbach, Zora	02. 06. 2003	Zagreb
26. Kamhi, Regina	10. 10. 2002	Zagreb
27. Glik Zlatko	02. 11. 2003	Zagreb
28. Auferber, Ljerka	02. 20. 2003	Zagreb
29. Dr. Antunac, Ivan	02. 12. 2003	Zagreb
30. Kabiljo, (Alfi), Alfonso	02. 20. 2003	Zagreb
31. Polic, Branko	02. 22. 2003	Zagreb
32. Dr Fulgozi, Ante	03. 03. 2003	Zagreb
33. Berger, Tukovic, Branka	03. 03. 2003	Zagreb
34. Berger, Tukovic, Lea	03. 03. 2003	Zagreb
35. Dr. Velebit, Vladimir	04. 02. 2003	Zagreb
36. Ercegovic, Misliv	05. 28. 2003	Zagreb
37. Domani-Hardi, Vesna	08. 03. 2003	Zagreb
38. Kraus, Lili	02. 27. 2003	Zagreb

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

I. Hrvatski Drzavni Arhiv (HDA), Croatian National Archive.

1. Archive Hans Helm box 34:

Material za lica koja su kids Helma evidentirana kao Zidovima. (In Hans Helm Archive, stored in the Croatian National Archive HDA are found in 107 pages of Jewish names whom Helm considered to be Jewish, although the majority was either converts to Catholicism or involved in mixed marriages with Catholics. The list includes also names of Germans and Ustashe agents who were actively involved in solving the "Jewish Question". Among the non-Jewish names the name of Archbishop Stepinac is mentioned five times all regarding his unrealities effort in saving the Jews of mixed marriages. See pages 22, 31, 63, 77, and 87.)

It also includes Jewish activists who were transporting Jews outside Croatia and also transferring information to the Partisans and British forces. Also the following pages other than listing 130, 136, 137, 189, 192, 207, 208, 261, 262, 300, 361x5, 375, 414, 467,476, 481, 488, 521x 3, 525, 541, 544, 546x 3, 550, 562, 611.

Book XIV Archive Hans Helm, German Attaché (Nazi Police) stationed in the German Offices in Zagreb. After the liberation of Croatia Hans Helm submitted to the Forces of Liberation Box 36 code 341-IV/14 the entries are from April 1, 1941 although all the serious writing was done from 1943 through 1944. Content: Activities of Chetniks in NDH, Activities of NOP, Partisans in NDH, Problem of Jews and Others.

Hans Helm's notebook commenced with a list of couples in mixed marriages that occupied a certain position of importance. (Approx. 840 names among them on p. 114 was Ante Pavelic) Pages: 222-228, 233, 235, 236, 237-242, 245, 249-255, 256-260, 266-267 (Stepinac) 269-173, 277-280, 281-287, 288-293, 294-297, 298, 301, 302, 303, 305-307, 309-313, 318-320, 324, 328-329, 339, 344, 346-348, 350-352, 354-357, 358-362.

2. Ustasha Surveillance Services (UNS), Jewish Section Administration of the Detention center – Zagreb (1941-1943); 1941-1943: 5 boxes, approx.5,000 pages.

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3. UNS – Ustasha Surveillance Service Directorate of the Ustasha Constabulary Constabulary – Jewish Section – Zagreb941-1942); 1941-1942: 10 boxes, 13,500 items.

4. Branch-Office of the Ustasha Intelligence Service in Zagreb – Jewish Section 1941-1942); 1941-1942: 8 boxes, 4,220.

5. Ministry of the Interior of the Independent State of Croatia Directorate For Public Order and Security – Jewish Section (MUP NDH) Zagreb (1942-1945); 2 boxes, 1,950 pages.

6. Ministry of Health and Social Services. Directorate for Social Service and Welfare (MU) – Zagreb (1941-1945); 24 boxes, about 23,000 pages. (Approx. 5% of this material relates to Jewish issues).

7. Ministry of State Treasury. Department of State Property, Misappropriations and Debts Office for Nationalized Property (PONOVA) Zagreb (1941-1945); 751 shelves, about 720.000 pages. (Approx. 50 % of the material relates to Jewish issues).

8. National Committee for Investigation of the Crimes Committed by the Occupying Forces and Their Collaborators in People's Republic of Croatia – Zagreb (ZKRZ) (1944-1947); 9 boxes relating exclusively to the Jews and 9 boxes of lists of victims arranged according to the site of crime (including the Jews): approx. 18,000 pages. District, municipal and town committees were subordinate to the State Committee.

Dr. Samuel Pinto, Sarajevo, Zlocini, Okupatora i Njihovih Pomagaca Izverseni Nad Jevrejima u Bosni i Herzegovini, 1946.

9. Ministry of the Interior of the People's Republic of Croatia (MUP NRH) Zagreb (1945- 1953); 4 boxes, 2,500 pages.

10. Public Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Croatia – Zagreb (1945-1953); 8 boxes, Indictments: Pavelic-Artukovic.

11. Collection of the Archival Material on the History of the Workers' Movement In Zagreb (Zb. PRP) (1945-1950); 24 boxes, approx. 17.500 pages. (Approx. 45% of the archival material relates to the Jews).

12. Documents compiled by the anti-Fascist Partisan Movement, the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia (ZAVNOH).

13. WII victims by name and family name (DOTRSCINA) 6,537 Zagreb Jews .

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12. Ivo Politeo; Indictments of Archbishop Stepinac 1946.

II. Drzavni Arhiv u Zagrebu: State Archive Zagreb

Gradsko poglavarstvo Stambeni ured u Zagrebu (GPSUZ.)

III. Arhiv Instituta za suvremenu povjest, Zagreb

Jareb, Jere, *Drzavno Gospodarstvo Povjerenstvo, Nezavisna Drzave Hrvatske od Kolovoza 1941 do Trvnja 1945 Dokument prikaz*,Dom i Svijet, Zagreb, 2001.

Kristo, Jure, *Katolicka Crkva i Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska 1941-1945, Dokumenti 1941-1945, Dokumenti,* Hrvatski Institut za Povjest, Dom i Svijet, Zagreb, 1998

IV. Arhiv Z0Z, Archives of the Jewish Community in Zagreb

WWII Victims of the Holocaust in Croatia, Zagreb 1946.
Convets to other Religion 1941, Two volumes of al the names of converts to Catholicim and Islam.
Book of Contributions (Book of the so-called voluntary contributions)
Book of Hevra Kadisa (Burrial Society).

V. Jevrejski istorijski muzej (JIM) Beograd. (Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade).

Jewish Community of Zagreb. (Jewish Community Zagreb)
Files of the inernees in Korcula and Vela Luka 4559 K.24-4 B-5, 4560 K.24-4B-52.

VI. Sarajevo Jewish Community, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina
File cards recorded by the survivors upon their return to Sarajevo, 1945-1952.
File, Sarajevo Osijek correspondence prepared by Drs. Pinto Avram and. Pinto David.

VII. Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, Israel

1. Italian Foreign Ministry in Croatia: JM0.10 file 1222, 218642. Verax, (Roberto Ducci), "Italiani ed ebrei in Jugoslavia", Politica Estera, I 1944), 21-29.
2. Lelio Vittorio Valobra, Head of DELASEM Genova. On February 1960 the archive sent 8 page summary to Ilva Vaccari regarding the rescue of the children known as the "Villa Emma Children". (See Appendix 7.5)
3. Dalmatia: M.70/107-109:
4. Dubrovnik: JM/1197 Jewish Assets: 0.10/24-25; 83; 130-149;14; 70/11;53;97;109.

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5. DELASM: 0.10/87; 69; 71.

VIII. The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem,

s25/242

IX. CIA Operational Files

1. CIA Files—document count: 31(Internet link www.pavelicpapers)
For a general overview of the US Army files, including files from the '45-'48 CIC mission, see Top Secret: The Pavelic Army File. Most of the files dating from 1959-1960 are from a dossier referred to as the "Verona Reports"; they are summarized in The Return of the Golden Priest: The Verona Reports and the Second Recruitment of Krunoslav Draganovic, 1959.

The above files include all documents which are currently in the possession of the Central Intelligence Agency, including those which were in the agency's possession from the Rome Counter-Intelligence Corps mission which tracked Ustashe fugitives in Italy from 1945-1948. They also include several documents which were originally the possession of the Office of Strategic Services' Overseas Branch, a group which worked sometimes in tandem but often at odds with Allied military intelligence (as the Allied armies were then an occupation force in Italy and Austria) and particularly the Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC), based in Rome. Ante Pavelic's CIA files from his exile in Argentina and Spain have never been located or released.

1. CIA File: Organization of the Ustashe Abroad October 1946: Intelligence report listing names of Ustashe cells throughout Italy and Austria with their area of expertise US Treasury: The Bigelow Memo October 21, 1946: Report from Emerson Bigelow on the fate of the wartime Ustashe treasury. Official Dispatch, November 24, 1950, "Ivan Mestrovic, Branimir Jelic, General Stjepan Pericic."

2. CIA File: The Do Marius Report May 6, 1947: A bizarre tale of a meeting with the Poglavnik

3. CIA File: The "Alter Ego" of Ante Pavelic November 26, 1947: Intelligence report on Fr. Krunoslav Draganovic

4. CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (I)June 14, 1948: CIA report on the organization and internal dynamics of the Krizari

5. CIA File: The Croatian Resistance Movement (II) c. 1948: CIA report on leaders of the Croatian Resistance Movement, including the missing leader of the terror unit Crna Legija or Black Legion, Rafael Boban

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X. News Papers and Magazines

Hrvatska Ggruda, Zagreb 1936, 1940-1945.
Hrvatska straza, tjednik za katolicki dom, Zagreb 1933-1943.
Hrvatski dnevnik, Zagreb 1936-1941.
Hrvatski list, 1920-1945.
Hrvatski narod, glasilo hrvatskog ustaskog pokreta, Zagreb 1939-1945.
Hrvatski radnik, Zagreb 1936-1945.
Katolicki list, Zagreb 1849-1945.
Narodne novine, Zagreb 1941-1945
Zidov, (Jew) 1917-1941
Jevrejski Glas, (Jewish Voice) 1928-1941
Jevrejski List. Zagreb, 1934.
Narodna ZidOvska Svijest. (National Jewish Conscience.) Weekly. Sarajevo, 1924-28.

XI. Israeli News Papers (Palestine 1943-1945)

1. Davar
2. Ha-Aretz
3. Jewish Agency Report (s)

XII. Public Records Office – London

1. FO 371, 369, 536 (Foreign Office).
2. WO 202, 204, 170 (War Office)

XIII. National Archives of the United States of America, Department of State, Washington, D.C. (Internet)

NA microfilm M 1203, roll 16: Diplomats 1941: Morris-Berlin, Phillips-Rome.

IXV. Ciano Galeazzo, Count, *The Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943,* Italian Foreign Minister 1936-1943, Simon Publication, 2001.

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