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U Drugome svjetskome ratu hrvatski narod se našao u procjepu između dviju suprotnih političkih opcija: Pavelićeve NDH koja je trebala Hrvatskoj osigurati nezavisnost, oslanjajući se pritom na nacionalsocijalističku Njemačku i fašističku Italiju te antifašističke opcije koja svoj izraz dobiva u partizanskom pokretu i u osnivanju zasebne vlade, kao dijela antifašističke koalicije.

Antisemitizam je bio jedna od sastavnica politike Pavelićeve NDH. On ju je prihvatio kao dio svoga savezništva s Njemačkom, unatoč tome što do tada u Hrvatskoj antisemitizam praktički nije bio poznat. Prema podacima hrvatskoga demografa Vladimira Žerjavića, u Drugome svjetskom ratu na području NDH, to će reći na današnjem području Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine te Srijema, tijekom Drugoga svjetskoga rata bilo je 19.800 židovskih žrtava, od toga u Hrvatskoj 9.900, u BiH 8.900 i Srijemu 1.000. Prema istom izvoru u zloglasnom logoru Jasenovac nastradalo je 13.000 Židova.

¹ Prošireno i bilješkama popraćeno predavanje održano u Parizu, 26. studenoga 1996. na Europskom susretu istraživačkih zavoda o arhivskome gradivu holokausta (*Rencontre Européenne des centres de recherches sur les archives de la Shoah*), što ga je organizirao *Centre de documentation juive contemporaine – Paris*.

Ti brojevi svjedočanstvo su o stravičnom zločinu za koji nema nikakva opravdanja. Premda je većina hrvatskoga naroda bila protivna tim zločinima, počinili su ga pojedinci iz toga naroda i to je potrebno jasno ustvrditi. S druge strane, izvori govore da hrvatski narod kao cjelina nikada nije prihvatio represivnu ustašku politiku prema Židovima.

Postoji nekoliko kategorija izvora za proučavanje holokausta u Hrvatskoj.

Prvu i najvažniju skupinu čine službeni dokumenti (zakoni, odredbe, arhivi ustaške administracije) nastali radom Paveličeve NDH. Oni su sačuvani najviše u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu (u daljem tekstu HDA), nadležnome za građivo središnjih ustanova Hrvatske, ali i u regionalnim arhivima. Dio toga građiva danas se nalazi i izvan Hrvatske – u Beogradu. Ova skupina, koja je opsegom najveća, sadrži popise Židova, podatke o logorima i stradanjima, postupak prema Židovima u javnom životu, popise židovske imovine i konfiskacije te imovine.

Drugu skupinu tvori dokumentacija nastala djelovanjem antifašističkoga partizanskoga pokreta, posebno ZAVNOH-a. To su podaci o zalaganju antifašista za pomoć Židovima.

Treću skupinu predstavljaju dokumenti nastali nakon 1944. godine radom komisijâ za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača Narodne Republike Hrvatske. To je Zemaljska komisija koja se čuva u HDA, zatim okružne, općinske i gradske koje se čuvaju u regionalnim arhivima. Ova dokumentacija sadrži detaljne podatke o žrtvama i zločinima po logorima i mjestima u Hrvatskoj.

Četvrtu skupinu čini građivo nastalo radom Službe državne sigurnosti u istražnim procesima koji su se nakon 1945. godine vodili protiv optuženih za zločine u Drugome svjetskom ratu. Ova dokumentacija, koju je HDA dobio nakon 1990, sažetak je podataka o stradanjima Židova.

Konačno, petu skupinu predstavljaju različite zbirke tiskovina, fotografija, memoara, arhiva židovskih općina i privatnih arhiva.

Najznačajniji dio arhivskoga građiva o holokaustu nalazi se u Hrvatskome državnome arhivu, i po svojoj naravi u mnogočemu rezimira i građivo drugih nižih upravnih organa.

Dokumentaciju o Židovima koja se danas čuva u Hrvatskom povijesnom muzeju prikupio je Muzej revolucije naroda Hrvatske osnovan 1945. godine, a 1991. pripojen Hrvatskome povijesnom muzeju.

U Hrvatskome državnom arhivu u sljedećim arhivskim fondovima i zbirkama čuva se arhivsko građivo o stradanju Židova u Drugome svjetskom ratu:

1. USTAŠKA NADZORNA SLUŽBA (UNS). ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK. UPRAVA LOGORA – ZAGREB (1941-1943); 1941/1943: 5 kut; oko 5.000 listova.

2. UNS – RAVNATELJSTVO USTAŠKOGA (ZAŠTITNOG) REDARSTVA. ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK – ZAGREB (1941-1943); 1941/1942: 10 kut.

3. ISPOSTAVA USTAŠKOG REDARSTVENOG POVJERENIŠTVA U ZAGREBU. ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK. – ZAGREB (1941-1942); 1941-1942: 8 kut.

4. UNS – USTAŠKO POVJERENIŠTVO ZA GRAD I KOTAR KOPRIVNICU – KOPRIVNICA (1941-1943); 1941; 1 kut.

5. MINISTARSTVO UNUTARNJIH POSLOVA NDH – GLAVNO RAVNATELJSTVO ZA JAVNI RED I SIGURNOST. ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK (MUP NDH) – ZAGREB (1942-1945); 1942: 2 kut.

6. MINISTARSTVO ZDRAVSTVA I UDRUŽBE. GLAVNO RAVNATELJSTVO ZA UDRUŽBU I DRUŠTVENU SKRB (MU) – ZAGREB (1941-1945); 1941-1945; 24 kut.

7. MINISTARSTVO DRŽAVNE RIZNICE. ODJEL ZA DRŽAVNU IMOVINU, NAVJERE I DUGOVE. URED ZA PODRŽAVLJENI IMETAK (PONOVA) – ZAGREB (1941-1945); 1941-1945; 751 svežanj.

8. ZEMALJSKA KOMISIJA ZA UTVRĐIVANJE ZLOČINA OKUPATORA I NJIHOVIH POMAGAČA NARODNE REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE (ZKRZ) – ZAGREB (1944-1947); 1944-1947.

Zemaljskoj komisiji bile su podređene okružne, općinske i gradske komisije.

9. MINISTARSTVO UNUTRAŠNJIH POSLOVA NARODNE REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE (MUP NRH) – ZAGREB (1945-1953); 1941-1953: 4 kut: Dokumentacija Službe državne sigurnosti o stradanjima Židova u NDH od 1941-1945.

10. JAVNO TUŽILAŠTVO NRH – ZAGREB (1945-1953); 1941-1953: 8 kut: Optužnica PavelićArtuković.

11. ZBIRKA GRAĐE ZA POVIJEST RADNIČKOG POKRETA ZAGREBA (Zb.PRP): 1945-1950; 24 kut.

12. ZBIRKA TISKOVINA: 1941-1945; oko 200 kom.

U povijesnim arhivima također se u manjim količinama nalazi arhivsko gradivo nastalo radom u vrijeme NDH. Fragmenti toga gradiva čuvaju se i u pojedinim muzejima.

U Povijesnom arhivu u Splitu u fondu "Jevrejska vjeroispovjedna općina Split" (1861-1943), 8 kutija, nalazi se i korespondencija "Delasse" iz Genove o zbrinjavanju i pomoći Židovima za vrijeme Drugoga svjetskoga rata.

Autor ističe kako se na području bivše Jugoslavije često manipuliralo podacima o žrtvama Drugoga svjetskoga rata, te naglašava potrebu da se istraže sve žrtve toga

rata imenom i prezimenom. Pokušaj takvoga istraživanja je i projekt "Dotršćina", kojemu je bio cilj istražiti sve žrtve fašističkoga terora i antifašiste koji su na bilo koji način povezani sa Zagrebom, a poginuli su ili nastradali tijekom Drugoga svjetskoga rata u koncentracijskim logorima i zatvorima ili su poginuli na strani antifašista u razdoblju od 10. travnja 1941. do 15. svibnja 1945. U tom projektu osobita pozornost posvećena je istraživanju Židova, koje u nekome smislu možemo, prema spomenutom kriteriju, nazvati "Zagrepčanima".

Na temelju prikupljenih podataka i provjere izrađen je matični list za svaku osobu s osnovnim podacima o životu, radu te o mjestu i načinu pogibije. Na kraju, navedeni su svi korišteni arhivski izvori i literatura. U 105 strojem pisanih knjiga izrađene su biografije 40.000 žrtava. Među tim žrtvama evidentirano je i obrađeno 6.537 Židova, od kojih je njih 86 poginulo u partizanskim jedinicama.

Istraživanje se ne smije zaustaviti isključivo na tome. Na temelju izvorne dokumentacije potrebno je istražiti i povijesni kontekst holokausta, kako bi se u svjetlu povijesne istine osvijetlila "geneza zločina", sam zločin i njegove posljedice.

U tom pogledu potrebno je istraživati i drugu stranu medalje toga strašnoga doba. Uz ideologiju zla, koja svoje oličenje nalazi u fašizmu i rasizmu, postojala je i velikodušna odvažnost i humanost brojnih pojedinaca koji su uz vlastitu žrtvu ili uz opasnost takve žrtve pomagali spašavanju Židova. *Yad Vashem* je šezdesetorici Hrvata priznao počasni naslov "pravednika među narodima", jer su uz opasnost za vlastite živote pomagali Židovima.

Konačno, autor naglašava kako je potrebno da svaki narod istraži holokaust u svojoj sredini.

In World War II the Croatian people were caught between two opposing political options: Pavelić's Independent State of Croatia (NDH) which was to ensure Croatian independence relying on nationalsocialist Germany and fascist Italy, and the antifascist option which manifested itself in the Partisan Movement and the establishment of a separate government that was a part of the Antifascist Coalition formed by the USA, Soviet Russia, Great Britain and De Gaulle's government in exile.

1. *Anti-Semitism of the Independence State of Croatia (NDH) and the Croatian people*

Anti-Semitism was a constituent part of Pavelić's state policy, which he accepted as a part of his alliance with Germany. We cannot, however, speak about any significant anti-Semitism in Croatia until that period².

² Although there were signs of anti-Semitism in Croatia, as stated in article 11 of the Principles of the Ustasha Movement where "Croatian blood" is mentioned, we still cannot speak about anti-Semitism in

Pavelić's policy was primarily manifested in anti-Semite laws and provisions brought between April 30, 1941 and October 30, 1942.³ The objective responsibility of the then ruling state officials cannot be justified, even by the later statement of minister Mile Budak saying that the government was not consulted on racial laws but that "all laws concerning non-Aryans were made by a special committee supervised by Pavelić himself, and that the government did not discuss those laws"⁴. Only the Catholic episcopate, through the mediation of bishop Janko Šimrak, attempted to prevent the passing of such laws⁵.

According to the figures given by Croatian demograph V. Žerjavić, the consequences of those provisions and crimes committed by the Ustashas were as follows: during World War II on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, which included today's territory of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sirmium, there were 19,800 Jewish victims; 9,900 in Croatia, 8,900 in Bosnia and Herzegovina and

Croatia before April 10. Not even the newspaper Croatian People, founded by Mile Budak in 1939 published anti-Semitic articles; moreover, the newspaper was printed in a printing house owned by a Jew. Compare: Croatian State Archive (HDA), Dossier Budak 013.0.133. Ante Pavelić brought Judaism in line with economic power. In his book, *The Croatian issue* (1936) in chapter 4 entitled *The Enemies of the Croatian Movement*, Pavelić says that "all financial business and all trade" are in Jewish hands and that Communism and Judaism "work together against the national liberation of Croatia".

³ Provision of the law on racial identity, *Narodne Novine* no. 16, dated April 30, 1941; Provision of the law on protection of the Aryan blood and the honour of the Croatian people, NN no. 16, dated April 30, 1941; Decree on the prohibition of employment of women in non-Aryan households, NN no. 20, dated May 6, 1941; Amendment to the decree on prohibition of employment of Aryans in non-Aryan households, NN no. 32, dated May 20, 1941; Provision of the law on protection of the national and Aryan culture of the Croatian people, NN no. 43, dated June 4, 1941; Decree on the establishment and operation of the committee for racial and political issues, NN no. 43, dated June 4, 1941; Decree on the alteration of Jewish surnames and designating of Jews and Jewish companies, NN no. 43, dated June 4, 1941; Provision of the law on prohibition of hiding Jewish properties, NN no. 44, dated June 5, 1941; Provision of the law on an obligatory registration of Jewish properties and Jewish companies, NN no. 44, dated June 5, 1941; Executive decree of the provision of the law on the obligatory registration of Jewish properties and companies, No. CL-348-Z.p., NN no. 44, dated June 5, 1941; Decree on the determination of racial identity of state officials, self-managing companies and individuals involved in free academic professions, NN no. 44, June 5, 1941; Provision on the administration of Jewish residential buildings and properties, NN no. 115, August 30, 1941; Provision of the law on nationalization of Jewish properties and companies, NN no. 149, dated October 10, 1941; Provision of the law on directing undesirable and dangerous individuals to compulsory residence in assembly and labour camps, NN no. 188, November 26, 1941; Provision of the law on jurisdiction over the Jewish issue, NN no. 15, January 15-19, 1942; Provision of the law on nationalization of Jewish properties, NN no. 264, October 30, 1942.

⁴ HDA, Ministry of the Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia (MUP) 013.0/52. Dossier Budak, 16.

⁵ HDA, MUP, Dossier Kvaternik, 320. Mario Maričić's testimony dated February 16, 1947. Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac decisively stood up against racial laws in his sermons.

1,000 in Sirmium. According to the same source from there 19,800 Jewish victims, 13,000 Jews were executed in Jasenovac⁶.

These horrifying figures are testimony to crimes which cannot be justified. Although the majority of the Croatian people were opposed to these crimes, they were, nonetheless, committed by individuals from this nation and it is necessary to point that out.

Historical documents assists us in uncovering the causes of such crimes in a more objective manner. Slavko Kvaternik, who proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) on April 10, 1941 and was a Minister of Croatian Home Guard until 1942, says in one of his memoranda that Pavelić enacted racial laws primarily to show his loyalty to nationalsocialist Germany, although his wife was half-Jewish⁷.

Such an explanation can be found in a report written by Eugenio Coselschi, the envoy of the Fascist Party in Zagreb, who on July 31, 1941 sent a report to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on racial laws in Croatia⁸.

Pavelić's persecution of Jews cannot, however, be justified by such an interpretation. Moreover, according to the sources, economic interests as well as personal benefits were some of the motives for the persecution of Jews, because it was widely believed that Judaism was synonymous to financial power⁹.

⁶ 13,500 Jews were killed in Serbia and 100 in Macedonia. A total of 33,000 Jews were killed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Vladimir Žerjavić, Demografski pokazatelji o stradanju Židova u NDH, in: *Antisemitizam, holokaust, antisfaizam*. Studia Iudaico-Croatia, Židovska općina Zagreb, the Jewish Community in Zagreb, 1966, 133-138. In other studies different figures are quoted. Ivo Goldstein, *The Genocide of the Jews in: Voice of the Jewish Communities in Croatia*, Zagreb, Spring 1966, 35: "before the war, about 38-39,000 Jews lived on the territory of the ISC, and only about 9,000 lived to see the end of the war. The figures according to region are basically the same: out of 14,000 Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina only 4,000, i. e. nearly 30% survived, and out of 25,000 Jews in northern Croatia, Slavonia and Sirmium, only about 5,000 or about 20% were saved". * Ivo Goldstein in: *Antisemitizam ustaškog pokreta, Spomenica Ljube Bohana*, Zagreb, 1966, page 321, claims that in 1941 there were 40,000 Jews on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) and only about 8,000 survived. Obviously, the figures of the Jewish population killed in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) range from 19,800 (according to Žerjavić), to 30-32,000 (according to Goldstein). Similar figures are quoted by Slavko Goldstein, *Fighting the Evil. The Jews of Croatia in the Anti-fascist Resistance*, *Voice of the Jewish Communities*, 36.

⁷ HDA, Ministry of the Internal Affairs, Dossier Kvaternik: Manuscript, Pavelić i NDH; HDA, Ostavština Teodora Božidara Alberta: Denkschrift über die Lage in Kroatien nach der Kapitulation der deutschen Armeen in Europa und dem Einmarsch der bolschewistischen Truppen Titos in Westkroatien, Chapter Judenfrage und Judenverfolgung.

⁸ Roman, Archivio storico del Ministero degli affari esteri (ASAE), AG Croazia, 4: il provvedimento è stato generalmente riprovato. E non piace nemmeno al Poglavnik. Ma non si fa mistero che è stato imposto dai tedeschi colla giustificazione di volere, essi, con questo segno distintivo, riconoscere quegli ebrei che dalla Germania si erano rifugiati in Croazia.

⁹ Coselschi's report: il sistema piu pratico sembra quello di colpire questa gente nella borsa e di liberare il Paese dalla loro piovra economica. Non già pero col sistema iniziata da certi gruppi di ustasci di

On the other hand, documents show that the Croatian people as a whole never accepted the repressive Ustasha policy directed against the Jews. The above mentioned Coselschi claimed in his report that the majority of the Croatian people was against the wearing of the Star of David. Similarly, Giustiniani marchese Raimondo, First Secretary of the Italian embassy in Zagreb, in his report on the Jewish issue in Croatia dated 1942, stated: "The general public in Croatia feels great distrust toward the new regime and is adversely affected by repeated illegal activities of the unscrupulous Ustasha officials. The Croatian people are reacting very negatively to the anti-Jewish measures and are very skeptical about the further course of events"¹⁰. Finally, even the high-ranking Ustasha official Slavko Kvaternik, who had to resign at the end of 1942, claimed: "The Croatian people shall never forgive Pavelić the cruel persecution of Jews, and the whole nation is accusing him of inhumanity"¹¹.

According to confidential Ustasha files, Pavelić's regime was not supported by the Croatian general public at the end of 1942, primarily because of its persecution of the Jews and Serbs. Such politics accounted the enthusiasm with which a large number of people joined the resistance movement led by the Communists.

Here we have a short summary of the attitude of the Croatian people as a whole, toward the Holocaust, and not just Croatian anti-Fascists. However, further elaboration is needed.

2. Documentation about the Holocaust in Croatia

Documentation about the Holocaust in Croatia can be divided into several different groups.

The first and the most important group consists of official documents (laws, provisions and archives of the Ustasha administration) of the government of the Independent State of Croatia. They are stored for the most part in the Croatian State

andare nelle loro case a portar via, senza controllo e senza disciplina, quello che capita, come pare che abbiano fatto in un primo tempo.

¹⁰ Roma, ASAE, AG Croazia 35: Condizione degli ebrei in Croazia VI. 1941 – V. 1943. "L'opinione pubblica croata non sufficientemente preparata ad una campagna razziale ed ancora diffidente verso il nuovo Regime ma soprattutto impressionata da un continuo susseguirsi di atti illegali compiuti da fuzionari ustasci senza scrupoli, reagi piuttosto negativamente contro queste misure antiebraiche, osservando con molto scetticismo lo svolgersi degli avvenimenti."

¹¹ HDA, Ostavština Theodora Božidara Alberta, "Aber niemals hat das Kroatische Volk die Forderung nach Erbringung von Rassengesetzen verlangt und noch viel weniger etwa grausame und brutale Judenverfolgung gebilligt. Ganz im Gegenteil, – in seinem prononziertem Gefühl für Recht und Nächstenliebe, hat das Volk sogleich stellung für das Judentum genommen ... Das kroatische Volk hat die grausame Judenverfolgung dem Pavelić nie verziehen und steht in seiner Gesamtheit als Anklager dieser Unmenschlichkeit".

Archive which is in charge of the documents of the central government institutions, as well as in regional archives. A part of these archives is also to be found outside Croatia – in Belgrade. This group, which is the largest, contains lists of the Jews, figures about camps and victims, treatment of the Jews in public life, lists of Jewish properties and confiscation of these properties.

The second group consists of documents on the activities of the Anti-Fascist Partisan Movement, especially the ZAVNOH (Antifascist Council for the Liberation of Croatia). They provide details about the efforts of anti-Fascists in assisting the Jews.

The third group consists of documents which came out after 1944 as a result of the activities of the committees of the People's Republic of Croatia, whose task was to establish the facts about the crimes committed by the occupying forces and their supporters. These are stored in the State Committee File in the Croatian State Archive, as well as in district, community and city files in regional archives. All these contain detailed figures about victims and crimes committed in camps and various sites in Croatia.

The fourth group consists of documents produced after 1945 as a result of legal proceedings conducted by the State Security Office against those accused of crimes committed in World War II. This documentation which was received after 1990 by the Croatian State Archive, provides an account of the atrocities against the Jews.

Finally, the fifth group consists of various press-clippings, photos, memoirs, archives of the Jewish communities, and private archives.

The most significant part of the archival material is stored in the Croatian State Archive¹², and by its nature, summarizes the archival materials of other lower bodies kept in regional archives. Therefore, this presentation will focus primarily on the holdings of the Croatian State Archive and the materials about atrocities against the Jews that are stored in the Croatian Historical Museum.

2.1. CROATIAN STATE ARCHIVE ZAGREB

2.1.1. USTASHA SUPERVISORY OFFICE (UNS) – ZAGREB (1941-1943); 1941-1943: 5 boxes, app. 5,000 pages

The Ustasha Supervisory Office was founded on August 16, 1941, with a task on preventing activities that were jeopardizing the security and interests of the Independent State of Croatia. The Jewish Section and Camp Administration were

¹² Zahvaljujem gospođi Slavici Pleše, voditeljici Odsjeka za novije arhivsko gradivo HDA, na prikupljenim podacima o arhivskim fondovima u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu o gradivu za povijest holokausta.

within its competence. The Ustasha Supervisory Office operated upon the entire territory of the Independent State of Croatia, where it had its committees, directorates and branch-offices. It was abolished by a legislative decree on January 21, 1943. All police, intelligence and defence affairs were transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Chief Directorate for Public Order and Safety.

These archival materials contain lists of the Jews in Zagreb and figures about the Jews held in the Kupari, Đakovo and Lohor-Grad camps.

2.1.2. USTASHA SUPERVISORY OFFICE – DIRECTORATE OF THE USTASHA PROTECTIVE OFFICE – JEWISH SECTION – ZAGREB (1941-1943); 1941/1942: 10 boxes, 13,500 pages

This was actually Office I of the Ustasha Supervisory Office. It began operating in December 1941, and from April 30, 1942 was called the Protective Office, having the function of a political body for the entire state. It was abolished on January 21, 1943 and its jurisdiction was taken over by the Chief Directorate for the Public Order and Safety of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Archival materials contain applications for the recognition of Aryan rights, application for exemption from wearing the Star of David, as well as lists of the Jews sent to collection camps.

2.1.3. BRANCH-OFFICE OF THE USTASHA INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN ZAGREB – JEWISH SECTION (1941-1942); 1941-1942: 8 boxes, 4,220 items. This was Office II of the Ustasha Supervisory Office, which performed intelligence related work, as well as arrests and interrogation. A special Section VI was established for the Jews. The documentation is very detailed: archival materials contain 3,000 pages of questionnaires about the Jews with the following details: name, surname, date and place of birth, citizenship, profession, employment, information about children, country of refuge, as well as information about properties and memberships in various societies.

2.1.4. USTASHA SUPERVISORY OFFICE FOR THE CITY AND THE DISTRICT OF KOPRIVNICA (1941-1943); 1941; 1 box, 989 pages. Regional body of the Ustasha Supervisory Office for the City and District of Koprivnica.

Materials contain instructions about the restriction of movement for the Jews, disconnecting telephone lines, information about the delivery of Jewish badges to the Danica camp in Koprivnica, lists of the Jews held in the camp Danica, applications for release from the camp, and lists of shops and crafts run by the Jews.

2.1.5. MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA – CHIEF DIRECTORATE FOR PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY – JEWISH SECTION (MUP NDH) – ZAGREB (1942-1945); 2 boxes, 1,950 pages. Partially preserved.

According to a Decree of April 30, 1941, a Racial and Political Directorate was established within the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP NDH) with a task of preparing proposals and drafts of law and collecting opinions regarding racial policy. In 1942, the Department of Racial Policy worked within the newly established Chief Directorate for the Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On January 21, 1943, the Ustasha Supervisory Office was finally abolished and the Chief Directorate for Public Order and Safety took over the duties of the Protection Office, intelligence and defence. The Jewish Section and Department of Camp Administration were established within the Directorate at the end of 1942.

The material contains records of applications for recognition of Aryan rights, requests to be released from the obligatory wearing of Jewish identification, requests for permission of marriages between Aryans and non Aryans, issuance of work permits. Records on Jews in a camp on the island of Rab in 1943.

2.1.6. MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES. THE HEAD DIRECTORATE FOR SOCIAL SERVICES AND SOCIAL WELFARE (MU) – ZAGREB (1941-1945); 1941-1945: 24 boxes, about 23,000 pages. App. 5 per cent of the material relates to the Jewish issue.

The Ministry of Health and Social Services was founded on June 24, 1941. The Head Directorate had within its jurisdiction, among other things, the supervision of work and workers institutions and mediation between employers and workers and in official disputes.

The material contains records on issuance of work permits to Jewish officials in Našice factory, ceding of Jewish buildings to workers in Ilok, regulation of Jewish pension rights.

2.1.7. MINISTRY OF STATE TREASURY. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE PROPERTY, MISAPPROPRIATIONS AND DEBTS. THE OFFICE FOR NATIONALIZED PROPERTY (REVISION) – ZAGREB (1941-1945): 1941-1945: 751 sheaves, about 720,000 pages. App. 50 per cent of the material relates to the Jewish issue.

The Ministry of State Treasury was founded on June 24, 1941. The office for nationalized property was founded on January 14, 1942. Within its jurisdiction were various activities concerning appropriation and administration of residential buildings, estates and other Jewish properties.

The documentation on Jewish property is divided into five series.

The First Series, or General Documents, contains documents of confiscation of Jewish property in 1941. 1941-1945: 21 sheaves of separated material regarding Jewish property, 298 sheaves of material including other citizens of the Independent State of Croatia.

The Second Series contains files of confiscation of movable and immovable Jewish property with forms for obligatory registration of these possessions. In addition to the files (for the years 1941 to 1945, 4,235 files or 228 sheaves), there are files with personal records of the Jews for the city and district of Zagreb and other cities on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia.

The Third Series contains files of records on the real estate of Jews who left the territory of the ISC (files marked "N"), and those who moved out (files marked "I"): 1941-1945: 45 sheaves.

The Fourth Series consists of documentation on the entry of nationalized Jewish property, written receipts: 1943-1945: 51 sheaves.

The Fifth Series (marked "P") are forms I and II which the Jews in all cities were obligated to complete and include personal records and information about their property: 1941-1945: 69 sheaves.

The Sixth Series consists of sale contracts on the purchase of Jewish property through the Hrvatski Radiša: 1941-1945: 18 sheaves.

2.1.8. STATE COMMISSION FOR THE DETERMINATION OF THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY THE OCCUPIERS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CROATIA (ZKRZ) – ZAGREB (1944-1947): 1944-1947: There are 9 boxes relating exclusively to the Jews and 9 boxes of lists of victims arranged according to the site of crime (including Jews): app. 18,000 pages.

ZKRZ was founded on May 18, 1944 by decision of the presidency of the State Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia (ZAVNOH). Within jurisdiction of the Commission were activities such as collecting information and evidence about the execution, type of execution, time, scene, and the manner in which a crime was committed, as well as the responsibility of committers and their supporters. The punishment was determined by authorized courts after preliminary trial procedures were completed. It was dissolved on October 31, 1947. The investigative Department of the Public Prosecutor's Office of Croatia continued the Commission's work, and it completed already initiated cases.

Regional, municipal and city commissions were subordinate to the State Commission.

In the 9 boxes relating exclusively to the Jews: surveys on persecution and execution of the Jews with the original documentation of the Jewish casualties. Copies of the legal regulations from 1941 to 1945. Lists of the Jews executed in the following state camps: Jadovo, Jasenovac, Kraljevica, Lobar-Grad, Pag, Rab, Stara Gradiška. Jews from Croatia executed in Auschwitz and Ravensbruck. Records of the deaths on the territory of Croatia. Lists and statistical data of the victims by districts. Records of Jewish children. Jewish property.

The other 9 boxes: Denunciations of crimes, statements of concentration-camp survivors and witnesses, minutes of the interrogation of witnesses, lists of victims by site of crimes, lists of victims by districts (places of residence), statistical data of the victims by districts, decisions on the determination of the crimes based on the evidentiary material. Material regarding the Jews is not separated out, but is together with other materials.

2.1.9. MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CROATIA (MUP NRH) – ZAGREB (1945-1953): 1941-1953: 4 boxes, about 2,500 pages.

Documentation of the National Security Service on Jewish casualties between 1941 and 1945. The majority of the documents are copies of the documents of the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia, German military institutions, the archive of the German police reporter Hans Helm in Zagreb. The German documents are preserved in Croatian translation, and it is assumed that the originals are kept in Belgrade.

This material, which is in the form of a collection, is by its contents an extremely valuable source for research on the persecution of Jews in Pavelić's NDH. It contains orders for the changing of Jewish surnames and obligatory designation of Jews and Jewish companies, for prohibition of employment of women in non-Aryan households, public notices on prohibition of a presence of Jews in public places, on the obligatory registration of Jewish properties, on the purchase of the Jewish properties, on compulsory labour in camps for all Jews aged between 18 and 60 years, lists of Jews apprehended in 1942 in the district of Daruvar; collective survey use of Jews for public needs in 1941, records of the camp in Kraljevica in 1942, reports on the emigration of the Jews from Croatia to Palestine in 1943, deprivation of civil rights of Jews and half-Jews in 1943, a report on Jews in Dubrovnik in 1943, a register of Jews in Zagreb in 1943, lists of Jewish shops in Rijeka and Opatija, brief biographical data in alphabetical order on Jews who disappeared made after the war, based on documentation of Hans Helm and so on.

2.1.10. PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CROATIA – ZAGREB (1945-1953); 1941-1953: 8 boxes.

Bill of Indictment asking for extradition of Pavelić and Artuković. In addition to provisions of the law from Pavelić's NDH, this Bill of Indictment contains a list of the detained and executed in Đakovo, Jasenovac, Lobar-Grad and Slavonski Brod camps¹³.

¹³ On Jewish victims in the camps see: Narcisa Lengel Krizman, Logori za Židove u NDH, in: *Antisemitizam, holokaust, antifašizam*, 91-103; Mihael Sobolevski, Židovi u kompleksu koncentracijskog logora Jasenovac, in: *Antisemitizam, holokaust, antifašizam*, 104-119; Duško Kečkemet, Židovski sabirni logori na području pod talijanskom okupacijom, in: *Antisemitizam, holokaust, antifašizam*, 120-132;

Now stored in the Croatian State Archive (the former Archive of the Institute for the History of the Labour Movement); Fragments of the archival materials for the camps in Đakovo and Lobar-Grad for the years 1941-1944, 4 boxes, are stored as separate entities.

2.1.11. COLLECTION OF THE ARCHIVAL MATERIALS ON THE HISTORY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT OF ZAGREB (Zb. PRP): 1945-1950; 24 boxes, app. 17,500 pages. App. 45% of the archival material relates to the Jews.

The materials contain questionnaires and files of the deceased, missing and executed citizens of Zagreb from April 6, 1941 until the end of the war.

2.1.12. COLLECTION OF PRINTED MATERIAL: 1941-1945; 7,000 pieces of which approximately 200 relate to the Jews.

Collection of printed material dated 1941-1945: State Archive's collection of obligatorily stored items. Contains advertisements, posters, leaflets, booklets etc.

For research on the Holocaust: regulations on prohibition for the Jews to appear in public places, at events, in city parks or public baths, requiring Jews to wear the obligatory Star of David on the left sleeve, calling on the Jews to move to the ghettos and to register their properties, as well as prohibitions against miscegenation etc.

2.2. CROATIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM

Documentation concerning the Jews stored today in the Croatian Historical Museum was collected by the Museum of the Revolution of the People of Croatia founded in 1945. In 1991, this museum became a part of the Croatian Historical Museum¹⁴. This material is very diverse: a minor part consists of official records brought to the museum, and the larger part consists of the collections of printed material, books, memoirs and private archives (diaries, letters, photos). Although all is stored in only 3 boxes it is a very thorough and important documentation for Holocaust research.

The minor part concerns Jewish history until 1933 and consists mainly of advertisements and magazines. From 1933 until the beginning of World War II, there were considerable contributions from the Jews to the Syndicalists and the Communist Movement, as recorded in memoirs and police files of individual Jewish Com-

Lucija Benyovsky, Fašistički logor Kampor na Rabu prema sačuvanim bilješkama Elvire Kohn, in: *Antisemitizam, holokaust, antifašizam*, 214-223.103. Most of these works are researches on the Jasenovac camp. Based on the latest researches and documentation that has recently become accessible, it is now the historians to write the history of that camp and what really happened there.

¹⁴ A detailed presentation by Lucija Benyovsky, Dokumentarna građa o Židovima, available in the Croatian Historical Museum from the period of 1918-1945, *Antisemitizam, holokaust, antifašizam*, 234-245.

munists. On the history of Holocaust and anti-Semitism the following should be given special consideration:

Printed material (booklets and books) printed in Belgrade from 1941 to 1943 on anti-Semitism in Serbia during the rule of general Nedić, 1941-1943.

Printed material and press-clippings from the newspaper The Independent State of Croatia, from 1941-1945 on the subject of anti-Semitism in Pavelić's NDH. Consider also individual archival documents of the administrative government of the Independent State of Croatia, such as proclamations on the restriction of movement for the Jews, documents about arrests and lists of Jews kept in police offices.

The larger part of the collection consists of documents from the camps and about the camps where the Jews were detained. The following should be taken into consideration: records of the workers, prisoner identity cards, prisoner correspondence, interventions of the Italian Red Cross and the International Secretariate for Persons and Information. Materials about Jasenovac camp is stored in a separate file. Special emphasis should be given to statements by the survivors, photos and documents of the Commission on War Crimes as they regard Jasenovac. Memoirs about life in Jasenovac (those of Adolf Friedrich from Zagreb, Egon Berger and Josip Korošec) are also valuable. Finally, the handwritten record of Hrvoje Macanović, survivor of Mauthausen, contains a part of the Mauthausen and Ebensee camps archives. These include lists of the prisoners, maps of the camps, camp files, lists of the underaged prisoners, statistics about the prisoners, death reports etc. This record contains about 700 documents.

The third group consists of documents of the Jewish Community in Zagreb – "Camp Care" and contains information about assistance to the detainees.

The fourth group consists of ZAVNOH documents. ZAVNOH was a central legislative and representative body and, due to its sections, partly also an executive body of the anti-Fascists Croatia. Its Social Department kept documents about the evacuation of Jews from the island of Rab, and a list of the Jews evacuated in Bari in 1944. The anti-Fascist Milivoj Jambrišak's diaries (1942-1943) about the Jews in the Resistance should also be added to this group.

Apart from the written documentation there is also a large collection of propaganda photos and negatives about the Jasenovac camp.

2.3. In HISTORICAL ARCHIVES there are also materials which were stored during the Independent State of Croatia. Fragments of these are kept in specific museums as well.

Documentation kept by the Jewish communities is also another valuable source for Holocaust research. The Historical Museum in Split maintains a file on the Jewish

religious community in Split which contains 8 boxes of archival material for the period of 1861-1943. This includes correspondence with DELASE from Genoa about assistance and aid to the Jews during World War II.

Documentation about Jewish casualties kept in the Croatian State Archive and other archives and institutions is available for research. Croatian State Archive is taking all measures necessary to preserve, protect and analyse all the documentation about Jewish casualties.

In November 1990, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia provided copies of the documentation about Jewish casualties not thus far available to the public to experts from the Yad Vashem, memorial museum in Jerusalem.

3. THE "DOTRŠČINA" PROJECT: The citizens of Zagreb-Revolutionaries, Anti-Fascists and victims of Fascist terror 1941-1945. An attempt to work up biographies of the Jews killed in that period.

On the territory of the former Yugoslavia there have often been manipulations with the data regarding the victims of World War II. As an example we mention the number of victims allegedly killed in the notorious Ustasha camp Jasenovac¹⁵. The number of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies killed in Jasenovac, found regularly in all the literature, was given as more than 700,000. Any contradiction to such an assertion was at the same time punishable and politically condemned¹⁶. Only recently has Vladimir Žerjavić, shown, using a demographic method and on the basis of the sources kept in the Croatian State Archive, that the maximum possible number of Serbs killed in Jasenovac could have been 50,000. Together with 12,000 Croats and Muslims, 13,000 Jews and 10,000 Gypsies, the total number of victims killed in Jasenovac totalled 85,000 at the most¹⁷.

The manipulation began when the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia reported to the International Reparation Commission in Paris that the estimate of war

¹⁵ See: Dr. Radimir Bulatović, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac, s posebnim osvrtom na Gradinu*. Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1990. Dr. Bulatović claims that 1,110,929 people were killed in Jasenovac, the majority of them Serbs. In a TV show "Porota", shown November 13, 1989, in Belgrade, were among other guests, dr. Milan Bulajić spoke, the film *Jasenovac*, directed by Lordan Zafranović, was shown, and dr. Srbojub Živanović stated that at least 700,000 people were killed in Jasenovac.

¹⁶ This was one piece of evidence in the proceeding against dr. Franjo Tuđman. The *Encyclopedia of the Croatian History and Culture*, published by Školska knjiga, Zagreb, was prohibited because it showed realistic figures of the Jasenovac victims.

¹⁷ See: Vladimir Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga*. Published by Globus, Zagreb 1992; same author, *Manipulacije žrtvama drugog svjetskog rata 1941-1945*, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb 24(3), Zagreb, 1992, 149-163.

losses on the territory of Yugoslavia was 1,706,000 human victims¹⁸. That number was protected by the state authorities until the death of Marshal Tito in 1980. He was the first to announce publicly in a speech in Ljubljana in May, 1945. The research of the Serb dr. Bogoljub Kočović¹⁹ and Croat Vladimir Žerjavić²⁰ showed that the real demographic losses on the entire territory of former Yugoslavia were actually half of those estimated. The total number of victims on the entire territory of Yugoslavia was not larger than 501,000. The Austrian magazine "Osthefte" mentioned in 1995 that the number of Serbian victims was 500,000²¹. According to the latest research, the number of Serbs who were killed, executed or died in the Independent State of Croatia is estimated to be around 322,000 at the most. According to the estimates, 78,000²² people were killed in pits, prisons and other camps (including Jasenovac).

Every human being is very precious and every victim represents a crime; therefore, the manipulation with the number of victims is desecration of all the victims.

Undoubtedly the most competent person to determine demographic losses in World War II on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, dr. Vladimir Žerjavić, discovered that certain data were misused in order to prove that a large number of Serbs was executed in Jasenovac, "with the purpose not only to emphasize the Ustasha crimes, but to 'prove' that the entire Croatian nation was genocidal and supported Ustasha policy"²³.

In his research, Žerjavić used the archival material, but he based his conclusions on the demographic method. The Croatian State Archive realized a pilot program based only on the archive sources and data published in the media of that time. The program was implemented between 1980 and 1985 and was called "Dotrščina". Its

¹⁸ Ljudske i materijalne žrtve Jugoslavije u ratnom naporu 1941-1945. The publication of Reparaciona komisija pri vladi FNRJ.

¹⁹ Dr. Bogoljub Kočović, *Žrtve drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji*, published by Naše delo, London, 1985.

²⁰ See: Vladimir Žerjavić, *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u drugom svjetskom ratu*, published by Jugoslavensko viktimoško društvo (Yugoslav Victimological Society), Zagreb, 1989.

²¹ Holm Sundhaussen, *Der Ustascha-Staat: Anatomie eines Herrschaft-s systems: OSTHEFTE, Sonderband 13. Oesterreichisches Ost- und Sudosteuropa-Institut. Kroatien, Landeskunde-Geschichte-Kultur-Politik-Wirtschaft-Recht. Bohlau Verlag, 1995, 283-287. Ph. Bourrinet in his work ANTE CILIGA (1898-1992). "Itineraire d'un communiste de Croatie au pays du grand mensonge". BARBARIE NATIONALISTE OU REVOLUTION MONDIALE. L'ENJEU DU SIECLE ... Imprimerie speciale, Paris 1992. Describing the Ustasha regime he says: "Le resultat fut une terreur sans nom: 600,000 Serbes masacrés directement ou dans des camps de la mort; 30,000 Juifs exterminés ... Ces massacres vont durer jusqu'à l'été 42, avec la benediction de l'Eglise catholique".*

²² See: Vladimir Žerjavić, *Manipulacije žrtvama drugog svjetskog rata 1941-1945*, Časopis za suvremenu povijest, Zagreb 24(3), Zagreb 1992, 160-161.

²³ There: 156.

main aim was to research all the victims of fascist terror and anti-Fascists who were connected to Zagreb in any way (who were born, worked or lived in Zagreb for a certain period) and who were killed or injured during World War II in concentration camps or prisons or in fighting the anti-Fascists between April 10, 1941 and May 15, 1945.

Special attention is paid in this research to the Jews from Zagreb. The aim of the research was to identify the victims by their names and surnames. All relevant archival material from the HDA was analysed, as well as material stored in other institutions in Zagreb and Belgrade. Namely, all important files of the former Archive of the Institute for the History of the Labour Movement in Zagreb (today stored in the HDA), Museum of the Revolution (today in the Croatian Historical Museum), Zagreb Town Museum, History Archive in Zagreb, Institute of the Forensic Medicine in Zagreb, Archive of the Military Historical Institute in Belgrade, Archive of Yugoslavia in Belgrade and the Institute for the military medicine documentation in Belgrade. In addition to research of the original archival material, all other references were used, as well as the documents between 1941-1945.

To illustrate what is involved, consider the following: 7,027 boxes of archival material were analysed, together with 67 boxes of files, 1,200 leaflets, posters and advertisements and all press material from the Independent State of Croatia period, as well as 97 books.

Based on the data collected, a file was made for each person containing basic data on the person's life, work, place and manner in which he lost his life. A list of all archival material and other documents and literature used is provided at the end of the research.

This research has become a very valuable source of information about the "Zagreb" victims and it contains victims names and surnames. Biographies of 40,000 victims were made in 105 typewritten books. 6,537 Jews, of whom 86 died in Partisan units, are registered among the 40,000.

This is one aspect of the Holocaust research concentrated on individuals. We consider this approach necessary to do everything in order to name the victims of the Holocaust. This is our best debt to history and the only way to show our respect to the innocent victims, to those who lost their lives because of religion, political opinion, nationality or race.

However, the future research should go beyond what has already been done. The research on the Holocaust in Croatia has not expanded further than establishing the number of victims. In our opinion it is necessary to analyse the historical context of the Holocaust in each country, using source material, in order to get to the truth, to the "genesis of the crime", the crime itself and the consequences of the crime. Sources provide brand possibilities researching the Holocaust in all its complexity, and

should be used more, in both analytical and synthetical research done by the historians.

In this respect, we should also take into consideration the other side of the coin when speaking of those horrible times. In addition to the ideology of evil-Fascism and racism we must also mention the generosity and courage of many individuals who risked their lives to help the Jews, sometimes becoming victims themselves as a result.

Yad Vashem bestowed the honorary title of "righteous among nations" to 60 Croats who risked their lives to help the Jews. After the capitulation of Italy, Croatian partisans evacuated 3,500 Jews from the island of Rab in the Adriatic to the free territory of ZAVNOH. Jewish children together with Croatian women and children, were taken to the refugees camp El-Shat in Egypt. During the war and the German presence in Zagreb, a young and courageous archbishop in Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, condemned and spoke out against racism and anti-Semitism, as the French consul Mr. Georges Gueyraud reported to the Government in Vichy on November 1942 from Zagreb.

Finally, I would like to point out that it is necessary for every nation to research the Holocaust in its own country. There should be no attempts to justify the evil and crimes committed by one's own nation by accusing other nations of evil and crimes. An evil committed should be condemned, but one must know to forgive and ask for forgiveness. To place the blame on somebody else is to blame oneself.

This is one of the reasons why the HDA accepted an invitation from the U.S. Memorial Holocaust Museum in Washington to sign an Accord on May 22, 1995, on cooperation on Holocaust research in Croatia. As a sign of good will, at the beginning of September 1995, we gave to the ten rolls of microfilms to the Museum with data on the mentioned 6,573 Jews executed or killed in World War II in Croatia.

This is why we willingly accepted the invitation of Centre de documentation Juive contemporaine in Paris to participate in this conference and to present the documentation stored in the archives of Croatia.

The Croatian State Archive will continue to do its best to give support to research aimed at uncovering the truth about the victims of World War II. Unfortunately, archive experts cannot do that alone, because there are not many of them. However, they will continue to support and help the researches, as they have always done.