

BALKAN JEWS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS BEFORE,
DURING AND SINCE THE HOLOCAUST

by

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BALKAN JEWS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS BEFORE, DURING AND SINCE THE HOLOCAUST

A Study in Ethno-Religious (and Ideological) Relations

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ABSTRACT

This article describes the enormous tragedy of Balkan Jews during the Holocaust in historical perspective and within the context of the horrendous experiences of their non-Jewish fellow-sufferers at the hands of the same enemies of civilization and common decency. Besides a brief survey of some of the most flagrant examples of man's inhumanity to man before as well as since the Holocaust, the author discusses the martyrdom of the Jews and their neighbors in Nazi-occupied Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia between 1940 and 1945. His purpose is to show that no human group is immune against the danger of producing crazed fanatics capable of such limiting examples of cruelty and misbehavior; that none consists exclusively of angels or devils; that one must not engage in collective praising or collective blaming; that no suffering of any human group in the past, however great and unmerited, entitles its survivors and descendants to perpetual exemption from routine moral judgments of their subsequent treatment of others and that the repetition of such outrages against anyone in an ideologically divided but technologically united world might well endanger the very survival of the human species.

This work is my personal tribute to the martyrs of every enormity, millions of innocent men and women, adults and children, Jews and Gentiles, Gypsies and others, murdered not only by the Nazis and their Quisling followers in every European country invaded by the preachers and practitioners of Hitler's genocidal doctrine, but in all other instances of man's inhumanity to man.

INTRODUCTION

One of our specifically human shortcomings is our general tendency to treat our own sufferings and the sufferings of those physically and emotionally close to us—relatives, friends and other members of our racial, ethnolinguistic or religious community—as somehow more real than the sufferings of other human beings, particularly those geographically and psychologically distant and physically and/or culturally different from us. Our misfortunes and pains are real and concrete. Those endured by others are more or less unreal and abstract. Most of us never experience the sense of true empathy which we passionately insist we are capable of imagining.

Besides, greater suffering does not necessarily lead to greater and more universal compassion. This is why, in the words of Nietzsche, "Whoever battles with monsters had better see that it does not turn him into a monster. And if you gaze long into an abyss, the abyss will gaze back into you." Nor does the suffering of any human group in the past, however great and unmerited, entitle its survivors and descendants to perpetual immunity and exemption from routine moral judgments of their subsequent treatment of others. Alas, excessive, prolonged and traumatic suffering frequently leads not only to unforgiving revengefulness, but also to extreme callousness and other psychic malformations whose successful treatment is beyond the present therapeutic reach of individual as well as group psychiatry.

Hence, if we are to avoid the charge of selective sensitivity, partiality, hypocrisy and cynicism, our concern for human rights and their frequent and widespread violations has to be even-handed and universal and free from all prejudice—ethnobiological, chronological, sexual, socio-cultural, religious or ideological. No human group, however based and defined, consists exclusively of angels or devils, and all of them contain their share of our common human capacity for both good and evil. This is why my purpose is not to engage in collective praising or collective blaming, but to shed light on the potential range of human behavior under extraordinary and abnormal conditions.

In the fall of 1941, as a fourteen-year-old boy, I spent six weeks in the concentration camp of Caprag (Sisak), Croatia, because my Serbian Orthodox family, settled in a nearby area for more than four hundred years, was unwilling to accept forcible conversion to Roman Catholicism. This act of apostasy was demanded, for political reasons, by the Ustashe, local Nazi collaborators then in control of the Croatian part of the dismembered Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Because the normally Orthodox Serbs and the normally Catholic Croats speak the same Serbo-Croatian language, conversion from either denomination to the other amounts to a change in national identity. Inspired by

the Nazi obsession to make Germany "Juderein" (free from Jews), their Ustashe disciples set out to make Croatia "Serbenrein" (free from Serbs). My family's refusal was certainly not motivated by anti-Catholicism (every form of bigotry was repugnant to us) but by our sense of violated personal dignity, integrity, group loyalty, and solidarity. Against all odds and thanks to our expulsion to Serbia (another part of the Nazi-occupied country), all of my immediate family managed to survive. Alas, many others did not, including several close relatives on my father's side.

In discussing the Holocaust of the 1940's, normal human language is put to the most strenuous test of trying to express the inexpressible, communicate the incommunicable and describe the indescribable. But, if this is so, why bother to remember, why not try to forget this most degrading and distasteful episode in human history, this dreadful and amorphous evil, this mind-boggling nightmare from our not so distant past? My answer is this: we should undoubtedly try to forgive, but we must not forget; we must solemnly remember and purposefully recall, in order that our periodic commemoration of these blameless human victims of man at his worst might strengthen the emerging conscience of our species as a potential restrainer and inhibitor of its awesomely demonstrated capacity for boundless wickedness.

The conduct of the Nazis and their collaborators—as distinct from the relatively decent majority of the peoples to which they belonged—was not "beyond good and evil," as Nietzsche might put it, but "below good and evil," as suggested by Professor Janko Lavrin. It was a major throwback in man's slow development, the very limit of possible human deviation from the main line of ethical evolution and progress. Consequently, Nazism cannot be regarded simply as a matter of rather disturbing, but still rationally debatable, political ideology, any more than it can adequately be explained in terms of zoology and animal psychology.

From the long and wretched annals of his steep ascent toward humanity, let us recall only a few of the most flagrant examples of man's inhumanity to man which should enable us to put the horrendous phenomenon of the Holocaust in a proper historical perspective:

The anguish of the Jews under the Pharaohs; the deportations and mass killings of conquered peoples by the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians; the sadistic maiming of early Christians in the Roman arenas; the pillage and carnage of the Mediterranean world by several waves of Barbarians during the great migrations; the wholesale slaughter of the Jews and others by a number of Byzantine emperors from the sixth to the eleventh century; the widespread slaying of so-called Infidels in the Holy Wars of early Islam and Moslem and Christian brutalities in the course of the Crusades; the large-scale martyrization of

Christians and Jews by the 11th-century Fatimid Caliph Hakim, justly dubbed the Egyptian Nero; the recurrent anti-Jewish and anti-Gypsy restrictions and persecutions in all parts of Christendom during the Middle Ages and later centuries; the murderous devastation of East Central Europe by the 13th-century Tartars and their heavy yoke over Russia and the Ukraine; the rape of Constantinople by the Western Crusaders in 1204 and its repressive and proselytizing occupation till 1261; the bloodbath of the Sicilian Vespers; the merciless measures against the Bogumil, Albigensian and other "heretics" of 13th-century Bosnia and Southern France under Innocent III; the nightmares of the Inquisition, especially against the Jews and Moriscos in 15th-century Spain and Portugal and the expulsion of the Sephardic (Hebrew word for Spanish) Jews to southeastern Europe and other areas; the bloody fall of the Byzantine capital in 1453 and five hundred years of oppression and forced Islamization of both Orthodox and Catholic Christians of the Balkans by the Ottoman Turks; the mass impalements of his bullied subjects by the 15th-century Rumanian ruler Vlad Tepes, whose perverse ferocity gave rise to the macabre legends of Dracula; the bestialities of the Spanish Army against the Dutch and Belgian burghers of the 16th century; the savageries of the so-called Peasant Wars and of the Reformation and Counterreformation; the grisly tortures of the Jesuits and other Catholics in Tudor England and centuries of Christian fratricide in occupied and divided Ireland; the extermination of the Parisian Huguenots in 1572 by the henchmen of Catherine de Medici; the exchanges of ghoulish cruelties between the Protestants and the Catholics in Northern and Central Europe in the course of the Thirty-years' War; the dispossession and decimation of the American Indians by the European conquerors of the New World; the unspeakable horrors of Black Slavery inflicted on the Africans by both their Islamic and Judeo-Christian captors and slave-dealers; the persecution of the Jews and Jesuits by the Cossack Hetman Khmelnitsky in the 17th-century; the repression and forcible conversion of the Orthodox Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians by the conquering Catholic Poles and Lithuanians and of the Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian Catholics by the conquering Orthodox Russians from the 16th to the 19th century; the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution; the ghastly pogroms of Russian and Ukrainian Jews in the 1880's, 1890's and 1900's and rampant discrimination against the Catholics, Protestants, Old-Believers and Dukhobors under the Romanoffs; the 19th-century massacres of Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian civilians by the Ottoman Army and the public hanging of the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory V, in 1822; the little-known enormities of various Western colonialists in the former Belgian Congo around the turn of the century; the ruthless vengeance of the victorious Christians against the defeated Turks and other Moslems during

the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913; the Forty Days of Mussa Dagh, the great slaughter of about two million Armenians by the Ottoman Turkish officials in 1915; the Red and White atrocities of the Bolshevik Revolution; the unbridled crimes against innocent millions during Stalin's drive to collectivize agriculture in the Ukraine and his monster trials of the 1930's; the cowardly murder (probably by the Soviets) of over 13,000 Polish Army officers in the Katyn Forest shortly after the outbreak of World War II; and mass deportations and dispersals of Baltic and other peoples of the Soviet Union through central Asia and Siberia. This exhausting list is far from being exhaustive.

But even against such a staggering background of historically accumulated evil, the Holocaust of the 1940's stands out as a limiting case, overshadowing and exceeding in sheer size and horror all its enumerated precedents.

Although I intend to focus on the immense tragedy of Balkan Jews, I cannot neglect the anguish of their non-Jewish fellow sufferers who shared their martyrdom at the hands of the same enemies of civilization and common decency. Alas, for reasons of geography and space, I will not be able to deal with the cataclysmic events in Hungary and Rumania which swallowed more than half a million Jews, as shown in *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, by Randolph L. Barnum and *The Green Shirts and the Others—A History of Fascism in Hungary and Rumania*, by Nicholas Nagy-Talavera. Instead, without any claim to originality and within the limits of my documentation, I shall briefly review the events in occupied Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia, i.e., those Balkan lands which lie predominantly south of the Danube and the Sava and which, for some reason, have received far less direct publicity than other parts of Nazi-devastated Europe.

The pre-war (mainly Sephardic) Jewish population of these four countries amounted to about 200,000. The reasons for varying degrees of anti-Semitism in various regions are too intricate and complex to pinpoint in so short a study. It would seem, however, that the intensity, openness and venomousness of anti-Semitism tended to increase with the number and percentage of Jews per total population of a particular country and that anti-Jewish feelings and attitudes were stronger north of the great rivers, in formerly Habsburg domains (predominantly Ashkenazic), than in the southern provinces, once under the Turkish Sultan.

Balkan Jews: A Brief Sketch of Their History and Culture

In order to give these events and processes a meaningful background, it is necessary to present at least a sketch of the history of the Jews of this region

from ancient to modern times.¹ The oldest clusters of Jewish immigrants appeared in the Mediterranean ports of the Balkans long before their mass dispersal from their ancient homeland.² The earliest Jewish settlements on what is today Yugoslav soil were established in Macedonia in 332 B.C. that is, during the reign of Alexander the Great. Still earlier Jewish groups and individuals lived among the ancient Greeks.³ The first Jewish communities in Northern Dalmatia date from the first century, and in Croatia, Slavonia and Serbia proper from the second century A.D.⁴ Many Jews left their native land as a result of uprisings put down by the Emperor Titus, around the middle of the first century A.D., and many others left between 130-135 A.D., in the wake of Bar-Kokba's insurrection and its suppression by Hadrian.⁵

In the early Middle Ages periodic expulsions dispersed the Jews, but they returned soon thereafter in seemingly larger numbers. Medieval Yugoslav documents refer to local Jews in Ljubljana (Leibach) in 1213; in Zadar (Zara) in 1309; in Rijeka (Fiume) in 1346; in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in 1354; in Zagreb (Agram) in 1355; and in Split (Spalato) in 1397. With the exception of Ljubljana and Zagreb, all of these cities are seaports. These ancient and medieval Jews were the original, pre-Sephardic substratum, which was later to merge and fuse with their co-religionists expelled from Spain and Portugal.⁷ Written sources indicate that the first Sephardic Jews came to Dalmatia, Bosnia and Serbia from Spain in 1492, from Portugal in 1496 and from Turkey in 1521.⁸ Their once thriving community in Sarajevo is mentioned as early as 1541.⁹ Far more numerous and of unquestionably more sophisticated culture, the Sephardim strongly influenced and eventually absorbed the native Jewish stock.¹⁰

Dating back to the second century A.D., the Jewish population of Bulgaria is composed of Jews from many countries, but the Sephardic element predominates in every respect.¹¹ The Byzantine conquest of the first Bulgarian Empire in the tenth century brought a considerable number of Greek Jews to the city of Serdica, which was later to develop into modern Sofia.¹² When the Bulgarians overthrew the Byzantine overlordship in the thirteenth century, a large Jewish community developed at Trnovo, then the country's capital. Unfortunately, however, this congregation was exterminated and an Orthodox Church council meeting in that city in 1350 condemned the Jewish religion.¹³

In the second half of the fourteenth century, persecuted by Hungary's King Louis the Great, many Hungarian Jews came to Bulgaria and settled in several cities. In 1396, Bulgaria was conquered by the Ottoman Turks. Shortly thereafter, as a result of a lively trade with Venice and Genoa, an influx of Italian and French Jews entered the country. At the end of the fifteenth century, in the wake of their expulsion from the Iberian peninsula, the entire complexion of the Jewish community in Bulgaria was changed by the arrival of

Sephardic Jews, led by the renowned Joseph Caro, the great codifier of the *Shulchan Aruch*.¹⁴

This massive immigration marked the beginning of a decisive process of Sephardization, which could not be stopped even by the appearance in Bulgaria of a new Ashkenazic group, expelled from Bavaria by Duke Ludwig the Rich.¹⁵

The exact number of Jews who entered the Balkans from Spain and Portugal during the Inquisition is still a matter of dispute, but they must have been sufficiently numerous to impose their language and culture on the old-timers found in their new countries of refuge.¹⁶ Early 16th-century documents in the State Archives of Dubrovnik (and other Adriatic ports of Yugoslavia) indicate the presence of Jewish immigrants from Spain and Portugal who came to the Balkans by way of Italy and gradually penetrated the interior.¹⁷

Eventually, important centers of Jewish scholarship developed throughout the Ottoman-dominated Balkan peninsula, but especially in Vidin and Plovdiv (Bulgaria), Belgrade, Bitola and Sarajevo (Yugoslavia) and Salonika (Greece).¹⁸

The Jews of Southeastern Europe, particularly those of Spanish and Portuguese extraction, excelled in the knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin, as well as astronomy, medicine, philosophy, theology and music. They were also active in commerce and various arts and crafts. Their Castillian-based Judeo-Spanish literary language, Ladino, which borrowed extensively from Hebrew and local tongues, flourished until the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

The eventual decay of this language, starting with the end of the eighteenth century, coincided with the general decline of Sephardic Jewish scholarship and culture. In the 1800's the local rabbis were no longer endowed with the once almost universal erudition of their ancestors who came from Spain and Portugal. These later leaders, engaged chiefly in the multiplication of Talmudic works, theological commentaries and "books of consolation," aimed almost exclusively at the fortification of religious sentiments and deliberate resistance to assimilation.²⁰

In the second half of the nineteenth century, as one Balkan country after another began to regain its national independence from the disintegrating Turkish empire, pressures on the Jews to assimilate became far more pervasive and subtle. Particularly strong and difficult to resist were the pressures from the West, exemplified by the introduction of French as the language of public instruction for all Balkan Jews. The first French-based school, organized by the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, was opened in Salonika in 1848.²¹

Besides, the overall renewal of sovereign national life and culture among the newly liberated peoples of the Balkans opened up entirely new professional opportunities and presented new and almost insurmountable temptations for

the Jews of the entire area to assimilate.²²

The Jews of what is now Yugoslavia formally acquired complete social equality and full civil rights in Dalmatia and Slovenia in 1848; in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1856; in Vojvodina and Medjumurje in 1868; in Croatia and Slavonia in 1873; in Serbia proper in 1888 and in Macedonia, after its incorporation into Serbia, in 1913.²³

Fully emancipated by new constitutional and legal guarantees from all the limitations formerly imposed on their socio-economic, cultural and political participation, Jews began to enter every sphere of public life. In the armed struggle for national liberation of every Balkan country from the Ottoman yoke, Jews played an honorable and prominent part, contributing everywhere long lists of names to the roll-calls of fallen national heroes. The best proof of this would be a visit to any older military cemetery in any Balkan country.²⁴

Having shared the national destiny of their non-Jewish fellow-countrymen, and finding themselves in socio-cultural settings almost completely free from anti-Semitism (this was especially true of Serbia and, for the most part, also of Bulgaria), the local Sephardic Jews began to intermarry and blend with their fellow citizens of non-Jewish origin. To a somewhat lesser extent the same social trend emerged among the Ashkenazic Jews in the formerly Austro-Hungarian parts of Yugoslavia.²⁵

Sensing a hidden danger to their collective identity in this very spirit of tolerance and almost total absence of explicit anti-Semitism, the Sephardic community of Belgrade decided to publish a popular journal, *EL AMIGO DE PUEVLO* (Friend of the People), which prospered from 1888 to 1892. After that year, it lost the necessary support and interest of its readers and eventually disappeared. Another Ladino paper was published in Sarajevo, in the Austrian-held province of Bosnia, through 1901 and 1902.²⁶ In the 1930's, as a result of growing assimilation, the local Jewish newspaper in Belgrade (*JEVREJSKE NOVINE*) was published in Serbo-Croatian.²⁷

In 1925, the World Sephardic Organization dedicated itself to the systematic and deliberate cultivation and preservation of the Sephardic language and its rich and beautiful folk tales, romances and proverbs, which are of great interest to anthropologists, folklorists as well as historians of literature.²⁸ Unfortunately, most of these worthy efforts, under the leadership of Dr. Kalmi Baruch and other Sephardic scholars, were thwarted and brutally terminated by the Holocaust and its aftermath.²⁹ In every country under discussion, however, the local Jews made outstanding contributions to national (and even international) culture in every field of human creativity and endeavor.

Let us now see what happened to Jews (and other ethno-religious groups) in each of these countries in the early 1940's and since that time. The countries will

be discussed in alphabetical order.

Albania

Although very ancient, the Jewish community of Albania (almost wholly Sephardic) has always been small, never amounting even to a thousand persons. Until Italy surrendered to the Allies in the summer of 1943, Albanian Jews were relatively safe. Their position drastically deteriorated in the fall of 1943 when Germany replaced Italy as the occupying power. After the change to German control, dozens of Jewish families were deported to concentration camps in Germany and Poland. Some three hundred Albanian Jews seem to have survived by joining the anti-Nazi guerrilla.³⁰

According to the Jewish press service of Dusseldorf, Germany, there has been no official news about and no communication with the Albanian Jews since 1946. Under the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha, the only permissible "religion" in Albania is his own rigid and arbitrary interpretation of Marxism.³¹

Apparently, about 150 Jews live in Tirana and 60 in Valona, while the rest are scattered throughout the country. In 1952, fifty Jewish families were given permission to emigrate to Israel. They never got there. A year later, several Albanian Jews tried to cross the border into Greece. They are said to have been shot.³²

Bulgaria

As in adjacent Serbia, anti-Semitism in Bulgaria never became a major social force. There were some serious anti-Semitic excesses in several Bulgarian cities as early as 1895, 1903 and 1904, some in connection with preposterous accusations of ritual murder. (One of the most viciously morbid and socially pernicious fantasies of anti-Jewish folklore in most Christian countries was the pathological charge that rabbis slaughter Christian children as substitutes for sacrificial animals.) However, the first explicitly anti-Semitic law was passed, to placate the Nazis, several months before their final occupation of the country, that is, in December, 1940.³³ Jews were barred from citizenship, public office, army service, ownership of rural property, newspapers and film production, participation in commerce and industry and the professions. Jewish property had to be registered. A *numerus clausus* was introduced, limiting Jewish admission to educational institutions, and intermarriage was outlawed. Employment

of non-Jewish domestic servants was forbidden. Jews were forced to leave the capital city of Sofia, and about 15,000 were sent to forced labor.³⁴

It is important to add, however, that these anti-Jewish measures were imposed on Bulgaria by the Nazis against the will and sentiments of the majority of the Bulgarian people. Equally important is the fact that most of Bulgaria's 45,000 to 50,000 Jews survived the four years of Nazi oppression.³⁵ In his effort to protect them from Nazi destruction, the late Czar of Bulgaria, Boris Coburg, played a decent and honorable role. Nevertheless, more than 11,000 Jews from Macedonia and Thrace (annexed from Yugoslavia and Greece, respectively) were sent to Treblinka and other death camps.³⁶

Greece

About 70,000 Jews lived in prewar Greece. Most of them, over 50,000 people, lived in Salonika and Athens. They were predominantly merchants, craftsmen and professionals of mainly Sephardic extraction.³⁷ In addition to these metropolitan Jews, thousands of others were dispersed throughout a number of smaller cities in the interior, including the islands.³⁸ In Greece anti-Semitism, though at times clearly manifest (especially between 1924 and 1935),³⁹ never became a mass phenomenon and was, in any event, incomparably milder than, for example, in Hungary or Rumania.

After the collapse of its long and heroic resistance to Mussolini and Hitler, most of Greece was occupied by the Italians. This meant that some of its Jews at least were largely unmolested until 1943, but not those of Salonika and Athens, both of which were occupied by the Nazis. In 1941, when the Nazis tried to deport several thousand Jews from Salonika, "the most eminent Sephardic settlement in Europe,"⁴⁰ the latter complained to the Spanish consul and claimed that they were of Spanish origin. A small number received timely protection as a result of Franco's diplomatic intervention with Hitler. Moreover, after the war, some 367 of them found temporary refuge in Spain, from which they ultimately reached Palestine.⁴¹

Unfortunately, the Jews of Athens and Rhodes, and, after 1943, the Jews of Salonika (45,000)⁴² and the rest of Greece, were deported to Auschwitz and almost completely annihilated. More than 60,000 Greek Jews perished in the Holocaust.⁴³

Almost 13,000 of them fought in the Royal Greek Army when Mussolini and Hitler invaded the country.⁴⁴ No less outstanding was the Jewish record in the Greek Resistance.⁴⁵

Yugoslavia

In the words of Jan Munzer, "anti-Semitism in Yugoslavia, almost entirely Nazi-inspired and of a recent date, had little influence upon the democratically minded people."⁴⁶ In any case, with regard to anti-Semitism, Yugoslavia can be divided into two parts, i.e., districts formerly Austro-Hungarian, where this feeling was at least latent, and Serbia and other formerly Ottoman Turkish territories where anti-Semitism never became a social problem.

According to Lucy S. Dawidowicz,

Jews enjoyed full civic and religious rights in Yugoslavia. Anti-Semitism had had no tradition in Serbia, but during the 1930's it began to seep in from Croatia, which had long been virulently anti-Semitic. . . . In October 1940 two anti-Jewish laws were adopted, one limiting the access of Jews to secondary and higher education, the other halting the issuance of licenses for Jewish businesses and restricting the renewal of others. Though not widely enforced by local authorities, no serious opposition was offered to their enactment.⁴⁷

It should be pointed out, however, that anti-Semitism was clearly inspired by Nazi pressure and was

obnoxious to most government leaders and to the general public, especially when it became evident that an anti-Jewish policy would not preserve the independence of the country. . . . these anti-Jewish laws were revoked.⁴⁸

The suicidally defiant and Serbian-led coup d'état of March 27, 1941, which toppled the Regency and brought to the throne the popular teenage King Peter II, was openly and dramatically anti-Nazi. The Belgrade street throngs were chanting, "Rather war than the Pact; rather death than slavery!"; they publicly insulted the German envoy, smashed the German and Italian information offices, and carried British, American and Soviet flags. As a result, Hitler angrily decided to crush Yugoslavia militarily and dismember it as a national unit.⁴⁹

Surrounded by the Nazis and their more than half-willing satellites on almost all sides, the recklessly brave little country that had dared to defy Hitler "at the moment of his greatest power," was brutally smashed in less than two weeks.⁵⁰

Following the Nazi air raids, on April 6, 1941, which killed at least 25,000 civilians in the open capital city of Belgrade, Yugoslavia was divided by the Nazis and their allies into eleven parts.⁵¹

Serbia proper, one of these parts, was drastically reduced to its narrowest boundaries which existed before 1912. It was subjected to outright German military occupation and the control of the Gestapo; forced to bear the financial cost of maintaining the Nazi troops on the whole territory of the former (much larger) Kingdom of Yugoslavia; exposed to the influx of hundreds of thousands of homeless Serbian and Slovenian refugees who had been expelled from other regions; and mercilessly ravaged by murderous and destructive punitive expeditions triggered by popular resistance which never stopped.⁵² The Nazi quota, in retaliating against constant guerrilla attacks on the Wehrmacht, was the execution of one hundred Serbian civilians for each German soldier killed and fifty for each German soldier wounded. Needless to say, since the local Jews were also Serbs, but to the Nazis first of all Jews, they were the first to go.⁵³

In occupied Serbia, the Nazis organized three main concentration camps (not exclusively for Jews), in Belgrade, Nis and Sabac.⁵⁴

Because the death camps were not yet ready,

the Germans undertook to shoot the interned Jews en masse and by mid-November had murdered about five thousand male Jews. In December they interned women and children and then shot them. The few hundred surviving Jews in hiding were hunted down by Serbian collaborators and turned over to the Germans. By mid-1942 the Germans in Serbia had succeeded in 'solving' the Jewish question.⁵⁵

One of the eleven parts into which the prewar Kingdom of Yugoslavia had been divided was recognized as a Nazi-Fascist ally under the name of the Independent State of Croatia. This puppet creation joined the Tripartite Pact (Germany, Italy and Japan) and, in due course, declared war on the Allies.⁵⁶

In addition to a Catholic and Moslem majority of Croats, this "State" also contained a very large minority of Orthodox Serbs, as well as many of Yugoslavia's 76,654 Jews. More than thirty thousand Jews (mostly Ashkenazim) lived in Croatia proper and about ten thousand (mostly Sephardim) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, also within the borders of the Croat State.⁵⁷

This "State," was headed by the Nazi-installed Quisling, Dr. Ante Pavelic and his ultra-nationalist, chauvinist and terrorist Ustashe. A number of scholars have described the character of this "State." After detailing the appalling conditions in other parts of occupied Yugoslavia, Professor Robert Lee Wolff, in his book, *The Balkans in Our Time*, turns his attention to Croatia:

Even more savage were the ghastly Ustasha massacres of Jews and Serbs in 'Croatia.' The Jews of Zagreb and Sarajevo were

killed or sent to concentration camps or deported to Poland for extermination. Ustasha gangs also slaughtered tens of thousands of Serbs. . . . In the mixed Serb-Croat villages, incredible scenes of violence took place, whole populations often being herded into Orthodox churches and burned alive. In this bloody work the Ustasha had the assistance of many of the Muslim population, who were from the first treated with special favors by the Pavelic authorities. . . . and who were eventually recruited into a special SS division of their own which later in the war was reviewed and inspected by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

It must also be recorded as a historic fact that certain members of the Croat Catholic hierarchy, notably Archbishop Sharich of Sarajevo, endorsed this butchery, and some members of the Franciscan order took an active part in the forced conversion of the Serbs and also in the massacres.⁵⁸

In the words of Professor Phyllis Auty, of the University of London:

Pavelic enforced his rule with Ustase troops and German and Italian arms. He introduced a reign of terror with atrocities as vile as anything that happened anywhere in the Second World War. Jews, Serbs and anyone who refused to accept the new state were liquidated in great numbers and by horrifying methods. Orthodox Christians were converted to Catholicism or murdered. Many Croats who had wanted independence were shocked to receive it in this form The Catholic Church in Croatia was in a difficult position, and many priests, like Archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb, adopted an ambivalent attitude, sometimes identifying themselves with the new state and blessing its troops as they went about their grizzly terrorism, at other times denouncing the slaughter and enforced conversion.⁵⁹

According to Professor L. S. Stavrianos, of Northwestern University:

The worst situation prevailed in Croatia . . . there was no room for Serbians in the new Croatian State. The *Ustashi* . . . set out to exterminate one portion of the Serbian population and to force the remainder to become Croatians. There followed a series of St. Bartholomew's Nights against the Orthodox Serbians and also against the Jews. Some members of the Croatian Catholic hierarchy endorsed the butchery and participated in the forcible conversion of Serbians to Catholicism. The Moslems joined in the massacres, so that Yugoslavia was rent by a virtual religious war with Catholics and Moslems allied

against the Orthodox and the Jews. . . . Serbians, needless to say, retaliated wherever they could, and they exacted bloody vengeance, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the neighboring Sanjak In the industrial town of Kragujevac (in Serbia proper) the Nazis shot eight thousand people, including several hundred school children.⁶⁰

In his *Escape to Adventure*, Fitzroy MacLean, a British general once attached to Marshall Tito's Headquarters, writes:

Pavelic's accession to power had been followed by a reign of terror unprecedented even in the Balkans There were widespread massacres and atrocities: Serbs, first of all . . . then, to please his Nazi masters, Jews; and, finally, where he could catch them, Communists and Communist sympathizers. Racial and political persecution was accompanied by equally ferocious religious persecution. The Ustashe were fervent Roman Catholics . . . they set about liquidating the . . . Orthodox Church in their domain. Orthodox villages were sacked and pillaged and their inhabitants massacred; old and young, men, women and children alike Orthodox churches were desecrated and destroyed, or burned down with the screaming congregation inside them (an Ustashe specialty, this). The Bosnian Moslems, equally fanatical and organized in special units by Pavelic and the Germans, helped by the Mufti of Jerusalem, joined in with gusto and a refined cruelty all of their own, delighted at the opportunity of massacring Christians of whatever ~~demonation~~ ^{demonation}.⁶¹

It must be emphasized, however, that the above charges do not apply to the honest majority of Yugoslav Moslems, regardless of their ethnic and political orientation.

Unfortunately, none of the authors cited mentions the sad fact that Serbs and Jews were joined in their martyrdom by the country's Gypsies, many thousands of whom (along with many prominent Masons) perished at the hands of the Nazis and their local collaborators.⁶²

It must be especially emphasized that, while the Serbs in Croatia could, at least theoretically, save their lives by accepting forcible conversion to Roman Catholicism, the Jews were denied this opportunity on would-be racial grounds.

According to Circular Letter No. 46468/1941, dated Zagreb, July 30, 1941:

. . . 9. The Government is aware of the fact that many Jews are applying for conversion to Catholicism, but conversion to Catholicism can have no influence on the position of these persons in their relationship

to the State in view of the existing Law concerning non-Aryans. (Legal Decree on racial affiliation of April 30, 1941).

For the Ministry of Justice and Worship: Dr. Mirko Puk, M.P.; For the Ministry of Internal Affairs: Dr. Artukovic, M.P.; For the Ustashi Headquarters: Lorkovic, M.P.; For the State Secretariat for Economic Recovery: Curic, M.P.⁶³

The official Roman Catholic press of Croatia, under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Zagreb, took a violently anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi attitude. On May 25, 1941, the Roman Catholic weekly *Katolicki Tjednik* devoted a special feature to the persecution of the Jews under the title of "Why are the Jews Being Persecuted?" The author of the article was the Rev. Father Franjo Kralik. This is his answer:

The descendants of those who hated Jesus, who condemned him to death, who crucified him and immediately persecuted his apostles, are guilty of even greater excesses than those of their forefathers. Greed is growing among them. The Jews who pushed Europe and the whole world into disaster—a world disaster, moral, cultural and economic—developed an appetite which nothing less than the world as a whole could satisfy.⁶⁴

It is not hard to imagine the sort of leadership such utterly irresponsible and inflammatory writing gave its readers at a time when millions of completely innocent Jews (and others) were dying in the concentration camps and death chambers of Hitler's Europe, including enslaved Yugoslavia itself.

For the sake of truth and simple fairness, it must be pointed out that Bishop Misic of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Mostar condemned the forcible conversions and all the massacres.

It should also be noted that thousands of decent and compassionate anti-Nazi Croats, Catholic as well as Moslem, shared the tragic fate of their persecuted non-Croat brothers and fellow citizens.⁶⁵

At the same time, the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Dr. Gavriilo Dozic and Bishop Dr. Nikolai Velimirovic, were imprisoned in Dachau. Three Serbian Bishops and hundreds of priests and their families, along with several hundred thousand other Serbs, were slaughtered by the Ustashe. Similar massacres of Serbs, Jews and others took place in Kosovo (occupied by Italian-supported Albanians) and in Vojvodina (occupied by the Hungarians). Six Roman Catholic priests who were expelled by the Nazis from their native Slovenia were murdered by the Ustashe in the death camp of Jasenovac.⁶⁶

Some were saved. For example, the Chief Rabbi of Yugoslavia, Dr. Isak Alkalai,

was saved from the Gestapo, being smuggled out of Serbia from monastery to monastery by the Serbian clergy. He was handed over by one Serbian church to another, by one Serbian priest to another, until he was passed on to Bulgarian territory. There, with the assistance of the Orthodox Bulgarian clergy, some of whom were his personal friends, he arrived at the Turkish frontier.⁶⁷

In summary, of the 76,654 Yugoslav Jews, more than sixty thousand were destroyed by the Nazis and their collaborators, especially in the so-called "state" of Croatia. About ten thousand survivors left for Israel and the remainder (about seven thousand) are still in Yugoslavia, sharing the lives of other Yugoslavs.⁶⁸

It must be granted that, unlike the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia is scrupulously free from all officially sanctioned anti-Semitism. However it must also be observed that, in its pursuit of non-alignment, its government is not entirely impartial and neutral in the tragic and complicated dispute between Israel and its Arab neighbors. This is so despite the fact that many Yugoslav Jews fought with distinction as soldiers and officers of the Communist-led Yugoslav Army of National Liberation and that some of them were even declared national heroes.⁶⁹ It must also be mentioned that a much smaller, but significant, number of Serbian Jews fought on the side of the Royalist General Draza Mihailovic.⁷⁰

The Postwar Period

The end of the war saw the beginning of the final assimilation of all those surviving Balkan Jews who either did not want, or were not allowed, to emigrate to Israel. Most of those who left, left in, or shortly after, 1948. Quite a few, especially the Sephardim, including eminent artists, scientists and scholars, emigrated to Latin America, the United States, Canada and other lands of the Western Hemisphere. Yet, Ladino and its culture did not entirely disappear, although they are struggling with increasingly unfavorable odds, despite the now almost universal illegality of overt discrimination.

In every Balkan country, those Jews who remained behind, except for a few dedicated Marxists supporting and serving the local regimes, live a culturally and religiously subdued life marked by extreme discretion and caution and a generally low profile. Any other attitude would expose them to the accusation of being in favor of Zionist "racism" and "imperialism." This danger is present, also, to some extent, not only in Communist-controlled areas but even in

the non-Communist (yet decidedly pro-Arab) Greece. In this context, one must distinguish between the ethno-religious and socio-cultural situation of the local Jews as (relatively unassimilated) Jews and their overall political and economic rights and opportunities as (culturally inconspicuous) fellow citizens of particular Balkan countries. In general, the worst is, probably, the overall situation of the tiny Jewish community of Albania. Like their non-Jewish fellow citizens, the Jews are politically the freest in pro-Arab Greece and pro-Arab Yugoslavia and appreciably less so in pro-Arab and pro-Soviet Bulgaria.

As for the neighboring countries of Hungary and Rumania (in adjacent Central and East Central Europe and, therefore, not embraced by this study), the former is politically and economically somewhat more liberal than the latter. However, the position of Rumanian Jews as Jews (and even as Zionists!) is considerably better than that of their otherwise slightly freer Hungarian brothers.

CONCLUSION

One of the possible reasons for the virtual absence of active anti-Semitism in Serbia and Bulgaria might be the comparative ease with which the relatively few local (mainly Sephardic) Jews blended into the rest of the population with which they long shared the status of "rayah" (cattle), conditionally tolerated second-class citizens of the Ottoman Empire, and fought side by side for national emancipation and liberation. Another (contributing) factor is probably the fact that Islam was, in most epochs, relatively more tolerant of religious heterodoxies than was Christianity. Related to this is the fact that the Serbian and Bulgarian Orthodox Churches, like the Jewish Synagogue, played for centuries a purely defensive and preservative role in which they were unable to engage in open theological disputes, let alone proselytizing. The general acceptance of the Jews by the Serbs and Bulgarians certainly cannot be explained as due to a stronger sense of human decency among them than is to be encountered among any other people. Nor can it be ascribed to the fact that Serbs and Bulgarians are Orthodox rather than Catholic or Protestant. Anti-Semitism has been traditionally no less evident in predominantly Orthodox Rumania, Russia and the Ukraine than in predominantly Catholic Hungary and Poland, not to mention the half-Protestant Germany and other countries.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that, despite profound tensions and antagonisms separating the Russians from the Poles, both of these peoples from the Ukrainians, and these three from the Germans, all four of them "agree" in their antipathy towards the Jews. Similarly, if the average Hungarian and Rumanian dislike anyone more than they tend to dislike each other, it is probably the unfortunate Jew in their midst.

The most significant single root of anti-Semitism, apart from the overall human tendency to distrust and resent the physically and/or behaviorally different and unfamiliar, lies, in all probability, in certain aspects of theology (especially Christian). This includes the outrageous anti-Jewish charges of deicide, and their malignant and pervasive socio-economic, social-psychological and political consequences.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that, in the wake of World War II, whoever may wish to deal with man as a value-motivated and ethically concerned being will have to take into consideration the dumbfounding axiological cataclysm of the Holocaust, which swallowed millions upon millions of innocent lives, Jewish as well as non-Jewish.

Alas, despite its singular scope and gruesomeness, the Holocaust did not mark the end of man's cruelty to man. Concurrently as well as thereafter, countless innocent civilians, in one war-torn nation after another, had to endure catastrophic consequences of terrorist air raids (e.g. Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, Coventry, Belgrade, Hamburg, Berlin, Leningrad, Kiev, Dresden, etc.) culminating in the ultimate atomic calamity that befell Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The latter occurred while cynical Japanese militarists were still conducting harrowing "scientific" experiments on unwilling Allied prisoners of war. Large-scale human suffering continued through a series of international and civil conflicts around the globe, including *inter alia*: the forcible repatriation by the Western Allies and mass liquidation by the Stalinists of *untried* legions of former war prisoners and thousands of other unwilling returnees, including ex-inmates of Nazi concentration camps and forced laborers not guilty of any crimes; the still unassessed human cost of the great Chinese Revolution; the wars in Korea and Southeast Asia; the slaughter of thousands of Marxists in Indonesia; the tragedy of the Ibos of Biafra; the lasting and cruel impasse between Israel and its Arab neighbors; the unceasing racist oppression in South Africa; the Tusi-Hutu carnage in Ruanda; the aberrant enormities of Idi Amin of Uganda and Pol Pot of Cambodia; the repressive excesses of the late Shah and his successor Khomeini; the ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland; the spread of international terrorism, highjacking and kidnapping in the name of every imaginable cause under the sun; the bloody birth of Bangladesh; the social upheavals and rebellions in East Germany (1953), Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Poland (1981-1982); the increasing Serbo-Albanian confrontation and bloodshed in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo; the human squalor and misery in troubled Central and South America; the absurd and senseless War of the Falklands; the desperate struggle between Iran and Iraq; the unending resistance of Afghan tribesmen to Soviet intervention; the continuing extermination by the

advancing Brazilian settlers of the almost defenseless Amazonian Indians; the unresolved warfare in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Angola and elsewhere; the appalling Beirut massacre of Moslem Palestinian and Lebanese civilians by the fanatical and revengeful right-wing Christian Phalangists; and so on and on.

In the words of John F. Kennedy, despite all our differences, we must learn to live together or face the prospect of perishing together. Yet, is our technologically united but ideologically divided species capable of meeting the challenge to its existence of its own tortuously hostile, deeply troubled and highly ambivalent nature or is it doomed to extinction in an unguarded moment of fatal nuclear indiscretion? The answer may lie in a not too distant future.

NOTES AND SELECTED REFERENCES

1. See Dr. Kalmi Baruch: "Jevreji na Balkanu i njihov jezik," in *Knjiga o Balkanu*, Izdanje Balkanskog Instituta, Beograd, 1936, p. 280. See also M. J. (Martha Jelenko), Staff of the American Jewish Committee: "Jews" (Bulgaria-Historical Background), in *Slavonic Encyclopaedia*, edited by Joseph S. Roucek, Ph.D., Philosophical Library, New York, 1949, p. 542, and J. M. (Jan Munzer), "Jews" (Yugoslavia), *Slavonic Enc.*, p. 558. For a more general overview of the history of the Jews of Southeastern Europe, see: L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, New York, Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1959, pp. 10, 11, 12, 89, 90, 97, 484-85, 488-90, 698, 705; Robert Lee Wolff, *The Balkans in Our Time*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, pp. 48, 116-117, 195, 235-236, 243; Ljubomir St. Kosier, *Historija Jevreja u Jugoslaviji (Geschichte der Juden in Jugoslawien)*, Zagreb, Beograd, Ljubljana, 1929; Lj. St. Kosier, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji i Bugarskoj*, Zagreb, Tipografija d.d., 1930; Lj. St. Kosier, *Jevreji u trgovini Jugoslavije i Bugarske*, Zagreb, Tipografija d.d., 1930; E. B. Gajic, *Jugoslavija i "Jevrejski Problem"*, Stamparija Drag. Gregorica, Beograd, 1938; Mica Dimitri-javic & Vojislav Stojanovic, Editors, *Nasi Jevreji (Our Jews)*, Beograd, 1940, and Harriet Pass Freidenreich, *The Jews of Yugoslavia, A Quest for Community*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 5740-1979.
2. See Dr. K. Baruch, *Op. cit.*, *Loc. cit.*
3. See "Jevreji" (especially "Jevreji n Jugoslaviji"), in *Mala Enciklopedija Prosveta*, "Prosveta," Beograd, 1959, p. 570.
4. Ibidem. See also J. M. in *Slavonic Encyclopaedia*, "Jews" (Yugoslavia), p. 558.

5. See *Mala Enciklopedija Prosveta*, "Jevreji," "Poreklo, etnografski pregled, ime, statisticki podaci," pp. 568-569.
6. See *Mala Enciklopedija Prosveta*, p. 570. See also *Slavonic Encyclopaedia*, p. 558.
7. See Dr. Kalmi Baruch, *Op. cit.*, pp. 281-282.
8. See J. M. (Jan Munzer), "Jews" (Yugoslavia, Historical Background), in *Slavonic Encyclopaedia*, p. 558.
9. See *Mala Enciklopedija Prosveta*, p. 570.
10. See Dr. Kalmi Baruch: *Op. cit.*, p. 283. See also J. M. (Jan Munzer), *Op. cit.*, p. 558 and Dr. Kalmi Baruch, *Op. cit.*, p. 283 *et passim*.
11. See Martha Jelenko (M.J.): "Jews" (Bulgaria, Historical Background), in *Op. cit.*, p. 542. See also Dr. Kalmi Baruch, *Op. cit.*, p. 280 *et passim*.
12. Revealing their country of origin, their synagogue is called "Kal de los Gregos" and even today Bulgarian Jewish patronymics include such unmistakably Greek last names as Kalo, Parasko, Pizanti and Yavani. See Dr. Kalmi Baruch, *Op. cit.*, p. 280. See also M. J., *Op. cit.* p. 542.
13. See M. J. (Martha Jelenko), *Op. cit.* p. 542.
14. See *Loc. cit.*
15. *Ibidem.*
16. See Dr. Kalmi Baruch, *Op. cit.*, p. 281.
17. In the State Archives of Ragusa, Dubrovnik one can examine a document dated June 7, 1502, which refers to *Honorabilis vir Isaach Alfandaria hebraeus de Hispania* as well as *Honorabiles viri Isaach Latone hobotator Paduae et Lope Mazardo habitator Venetiarum, portugalenses*. Another document, of March 20, 1503, mentions a Jewish lady as *Stella hebraea uxor Solomonis hebraei de Hispania*. As one can see, these Jews, living in Italian cities and trading with Dubrovnik, were still fully aware of their Iberian extraction. See Dr. Kalmi Baruch, *Op. cit.*, pp. 281-282.

18. Rabbi Shalom of Nitra established the first rabbinical school at Vidin in 1370. He was followed by Rabbi Dosa Yevani, famous for his commentary on Rashi.

In the Balkans, immigrant synagogues were always organized according to their regions of origin. In Salonika, which once had more than 30, the local tradition still preserves their names: Castilla, Portugal, Evora, Lisboa, Zaragoza, etc. Besides, the Jews of Bitola (Bitolj) call one of their synagogues "Aragonian" and the other "Portuguese," and the Jews of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) refer to their synagogue as "Kal Kados Aragon."

During the Second World War, the splendid Hagada of Sarajevo, an illuminated medieval manuscript created by the ancestors of the contemporary Balkan Sephardim in fourteenth-century Spain and now in the Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, was fortunately saved from destruction by being secretly buried in the mountains. See Martha Jelenko, *Op. cit.*, p. 542, Dr. Kalmi Baruch, *Op. cit.*, p. 281-282, and *Leksikon Minerva*, Minerva, Zagreb, 1936, Hagada, p. 506.

19. This was the so-called pre-classical Spanish, of the late fifteenth century, with all those phonetic elements whose evolution in the course of the subsequent century will mark the linguistic boundary between medieval and modern Spanish. This is why Ladino is of inestimable value and interest to all historically oriented linguists and Hispanologists. In 1515, Don Yehuda Gedalia of Lisbon founded a printing press and publishing house in Salonika. From that period we have many works of great erudition, both religious and secular. One of the most illustrious examples of these, written in the purest Castillian, is *The Conduct of Life*, (*Regimientto de la vida*) by Moses Almonino. Two very significant dates in the intellectual History of Sephardic Jews are the translations into Spanish of *The Five Books of Moses* (Istanbul, 1547) and of the entire *Torah*. (Ferrara, 1553). These translations served as a model for all the others undertaken in various Balkan centers and as the main source of instruction in all Sephardic religious schools. Dr. Kalmi Baruch, *Op. cit.*, pp. 282-284.
20. *Ibidem*, p. 284.
21. Dr. K. Baruch, *Op. cit.*, p. 286.

22. *Ibidem*. See also M. B. Petrovich, *A History of Modern Serbia*, Vol. I, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1976, p. 175.
23. See *Mala Enciklopedija Prosveta*, p. 570.
24. Personal visits to a number of military cemeteries in Serbia, Bulgaria and Rumania as well as the *List of the Fallen* in the main *Aula* of the Old University of Belgrade (Kapetan Misino Zdanje). See also Dr. K. Baruch, *Op. cit.*, p. 286.
25. Personal recollections of friends and acquaintances.
26. See "Sefardski jezik (ladino, jedeoespanol, jeideo espagnol, judesmo)," in *Leksikon Minerva*, Minerva Nakladna Knjizara, Zagreb, 1936, p. 1254. The Sarajevo paper was called *La alborado*.
27. See Zora Stankovic, "Bibliografija Ksenije Atanasijevic," in *Filozofske Studije*, Beograd, 1970, p. 65.
28. Between 1837 and 1872 many Sephardic books were printed in the Printing Press of the Principality of Serbia. See *Minerva*, p. 1254.
29. See *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Bosnia*, by Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman, Editors, with the collaboration of Biljana Sljivic-Simsic, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.
30. See Alice Siegert: "Jews of Albania - lost in silence," in the *Chicago Tribune*, Monday, Nov. 3, 1975.
31. *Ibidem*.
32. *Loc. cit.*
33. *Op. cit.*, pp. 543-544. See also Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1975, p. 388.
34. *Op. cit.*, p. 544. See also L. S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, p. 388.
35. See Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, "Bulgaria," pp. 386-390; particularly pp. 389-90.

36. *Op. cit.*, p. 389. Confirmed by private sources. See also Robert Lee Wolf, *The Balkans in Our Time*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956, p. 243 as well as Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, p. 560.
37. L. S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, p. 393.
38. See Nora Levin, *The Holocaust, The Destruction of European Jewry 1933-1945*, Schocken Books, New York, (1968) 1973, pp. 523-524.
39. See L. S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, p. 393.
40. *Ibidem.*
41. See Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, p. 522.
42. *Op. cit.*, p. 520. See also L. S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, p. 394.
43. See Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, p. 394.
44. *Op. cit.*, p. 393.
45. See Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 525-526.
46. See Jan Munzer, "Jews" (Yugoslavia: Anti-Semitism), in *Slavonic Encyclopaedia*, edited by J. S. Roucek, Ph.D., Philosophical Library, New York, 1949, p. 559.
47. See Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, p. 391. See also Ruth Mitchell, *The Serbs Choose War*, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1943, pp. 261-265, especially p. 261.
48. See Jan Munzer, *Op. cit.*, p. 559.
49. See Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 509-510. See also L. S. Stavrianos, *Op. cit.*, pp. 771-772.
50. See Winston Churchill, *The Grand Alliance* (Vol. III of the Second World War), pp. 156-163. See also Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, p. 509.
51. See Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, p. 509; L. S. Stavrianos, *Op. cit.*, pp. 771-772;

and especially Dr. Ferdo Culinovic, *Okupatorska podjela Jugoslavije*, Vojnoizdavacki zavod, Beograd, 1970, pp. 480-481 and especially pp. 76-78.

52. See Dr. Ferdo Culinovic, *Op. cit.*, pp. 499-522. See also L. S. Dawidowicz. *Op. cit.*, p. 390, and Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 509-517.
53. See Nora Levin, *Op. cit.* p. 511.
54. See L. S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, p. 391 and Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 511-512.
55. See L. S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, pp. 391-392.
56. See *This is Artukovic*, a collection of documents, Box 2313, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N.Y., 1958(?), pp. 18-19. See also L. S. Stavrianos, *Op. cit.*; pp. 772-774. R. L. Wolf, *Op. cit.*, p. 205 and Sime Balen, *Pavelic*, Zagreb, 1952, pp. 47-52.
57. See Jan Munzer, *Op. cit.*, pp. 558-560. See also *Mala Enciklopedija Prosveta*, "Prosveta," Beograd, 1959, p. 570, and L. S. Dawidowicz, *Op. cit.*, pp. 391-392.
58. See R. L. Wolff, *Op. cit.*, p. 205.
59. See Phyllis Auty, *Yugoslavia*, Walker and Company, New York, 1965, p. 87. See also Sherwood Eddy, "Stepinac's Red Hat is Blood Red," in *The Christian Century*, Jan. 14, 1953, pp. 42-43.
60. See L. S. Stavrianos, *Op. cit.*, pp. 772-774.
61. Fitzroy Maclean, *Escape to Adventure*, Little, Brown & Company, New York, 1951, p. 247.
62. See Dr. Ferdo Culinovic, *Op. cit.*, p. 514. See also Nora Levin, *Op. cit.*, p. 512, and Djordje Milisa, *U mucilistu-paklu-Jasenovac*, Zagreb, MCMLV, pp. 149-151 *et passim.*
63. The original can be examined in the Archives of the Yugoslav Commission for the Determination of the Crimes of the Occupier and

His Collaborators. See also Sima Simic, *Prekrstavanje Srba za vreme Drugog svetskog rata*, Graficki zavod, Titograd, 1958, pp. 60-61.

64. See "Catholic Church and the Jews" in *Yugoslavia - The Church and the State*, Information Office, Embassy of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, London, 1953, pp. 49-50.
65. See, *inter alia*, even Richard Pattee, *The Case of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac*, The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wis., 1953, p. 126. See also Carlo Falconi, *Le Silence de Pie XII, 1939-1945*, Editions du Rocher, Monaco, 1965, pp. 281-282.
66. See "Patriarch in Dachau," in *Yugoslavia, the Church and the State*, Information Office, Emb. of the F.P.R. Yugoslavia, London, 1953, pp. 47-48. See also Djordje Milisa, *U. Mucilistu-Paklu-Jasenovac*, Zagreb, MCMLV, pp. 149-151; Carlo Falconi, *Le Silence de Pie XII 1939-1945*, Essai fonde sur des documents d'archives recueillis par l'auteur en Pologne et en Yougoslavie, Editions du Rocher 28, rue Comte-Felix-Gastaldi, Monaco, 1965, especially *Le Cas de la Croatie* (Troisieme Partie), pp. 251-383; and, by the same author (Falconi), "Werde Katolisch-oder stirb," in *Stern (Magazine)*, Heft Nr. 42, Hamburg, October 17, 1965, Ausgabe E: C80 44C, pp. 80-86. Cf. also *Magnum Crimen*, by Viktor Novak, Zagreb, MCMXLVIII.
67. Ruth Mitchell, *Op. cit.*, pp. 260-265, especially p. 264.
68. See *Mala Enciklopedija Prosveta*, "Prosveta," Beograd, 1959, p. 570.
69. See, for instance, "Vajner, Slavisa-Cica (1903-1942), National Hero..." in *Mala Enciklopedija Prosveta*, p. 207. See also *Zbornik 2 - Studije i gradiva o ucescu Jevreja u Narodnooslobodilackomratu (Studies and Materials on the Participation of Jews in the Struggle for National Liberation)*, Jevrejski istorijski muzej, Beograd, 1973.
70. See Jan Munzer, "Jews" (Yugoslavia-Under Nazi Rule), in *Slavonic Encyclopaedija*, p. 560.