

ŠOA - SPOMINJAJMO SE 2017  
SHOAH - LET US REMEMBER 2017

MEDNARODNO ZNANSTVENO SREČANJE  
INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC MEETING

*Vsako leto  
eno ime  
Each Year  
One Name*

IVAN  
BRESKVAR

UNIVERZITETNA KNJIŽNICA MARIBOR,  
GLAZERJEVA DVORANA  
UNIVERSITY OF MARIBOR LIBRARY,  
GLAZERJEVA HALL

*27. januar 2017*

712710 SINAGOGA MARIBOR  
CENTER JUDOVSKO KULTURNE DEDIŠČINE SINAGOGA MARIBOR

*Vsako leto  
eno ime  
Each Year  
One Name*

**IVAN  
BRESKVAR**

## Kazalo | Content

4	<b>DOLNJELEDAVSKO JUDOVSTVO IN HOLOKAVST</b> <i>Dejan Süč</i>
5	<b>THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF DOLNJA LENDAVA AND THE HOLOCAUST</b> <i>Dejan Süč</i>
6	<b>KAKO SMO ŽIVELI IN NAPOSLED PREŽIVELI: PRIČEVANJA NEKATERIH PREŽIVELIH TABORIŠČNIKOV</b> <i>Mag. Franc Kuzmič</i>
7	<b>HOW WE LIVED AND IN THE END SURVIVED: THE TESTIMONIES OF SOME SURVIVING CONCENTRATION CAMP PRISONERS</b> <i>Franc Kuzmič MPhil</i>
8	<b>„ALI SI ČLOVEK, ALI PA NISI. TRETJEGA NI.“ SLOVENSKI PRAVIČNIK IVAN BRESKVAR IN HOLOKAVST V SEVEROZAHODNEM DELU HRVAŠKE</b> <i>Boris Hajdinjak</i>
11	<b>“YOU EITHER ARE A HUMAN OR NOT. THERE IS NO THIRD OPTION.” SLOVENIAN RIGHTEOUS IVAN BRESKVAR AND THE HOLOCAUST IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PART OF CROATIA</b> <i>Boris Hajdinjak</i>
14	<b>JOSEF SCHLEICH - KRIMINALEC ALI PRAVIČNIK MED NARODI?</b> <i>Dr. Gerald Lamprecht</i>
15	<b>JOSEF SCHLEICH - A CRIMINAL OR RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS?</b> <i>Dr. Gerald Lamprecht</i>
16	<b>HRVAŠKI PRAVIČNIKI - „KDOR REŠI ENO SAMO ŽIVLJENJE, REŠI VES SVET“</b> <i>Dr. Ilijana Dobroušak</i>
17	<b>CROATIAN RIGHTEOUS - “WHOSOEVER SAVES A SINGLE LIFE, SAVES AN ENTIRE UNIVERSE”</b> <i>Dr. Ilijana Dobroušak</i>
18	<b>ENAKI ALI PODOBNI: PRIMERJAVA NACISTIČNE IN FAŠISTIČNE PROTIJUDOVSKO ZAKONODAJE</b> <i>Dr. Renato Podbersič ml.</i>
20	<b>IDENTICAL OR SIMILAR: COMPARISON BETWEEN NAZI AND FASCIST ANTI-JEWISH LEGISLATION</b> <i>Dr. Renato Podbersič Jr.</i>
22	<b>HOLOKAVST IN NJEGOVE ŽRTVE V KOMUNISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI</b> <i>Dr. Anna Maria Grünfelder</i>
24	<b>HOLOCAUST AND ITS VICTIMS IN COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA</b> <i>Dr. Anna Maria Grünfelder</i>

# DOLNJELENDAVSKO JUDOVSTVO IN HOLOKAVST

*Dejan Süč*

V Lendavi oziroma Dolnji Lendavi, kot se je kraj imenoval vse do petdesetih let 20. stoletja, je vse do začetka druge svetovne vojne živela ena najpomembnejših judovskih skupnosti na območju današnje Slovenije. Judovska skupnost je v času svoje 250-letne prisotnosti na tem območju korenito spremenila predvsem gospodarsko in kulturno sfero vsakdanjega življenja in mesto v tem obdobju preobrazila iz relativno manj pomembnega naselja na zahodu tedanje Zalske županije v cvetoče regionalno središče tedanje Kraljevine Madžarske.

Danes o nekdanj pomembnem sloju trgovcev, tiskarjev in obrtnikov pričajo le še stare meščanske stavbe na Glavni ulici, lendavska sinagoga in dolgovaško judovsko pokopališče, na katerem je dolnjelendavska judovska skupnost pokopavala svoje člane. Resnica je, da se je nekoč premožen judovski sloj ohranil v spominu nekaterih, predvsem starejših prebivalcev Lendave in tako iz dneva dan tone globlje in globlje v pozabo zlasti pri mlajših generacijah, ki se z zgodbo nekdanjih meščanov le še stežka identificirajo.

Namen predavanja je tako predvsem ponovna obuditev spomina na dolnjelendavske Jude, njihove zgodbe in nenazadnje tudi na njihovo usodo. Če je Trianonska pogodba, s katero je ozemlje celotnega Prekmurja pripadlo novonastali Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, zelo močno zarezala v zgodovinski razvoj judovstva na območju Lendave, od česar si skupnost nikoli ni zares opomogla, pa holokavst in z njim povezane deportacije v zadnjih dneh aprila 1944 pomenijo fizično eksterminacijo judovske skupnosti ter z njo povezane visoke ravni kulturnega življenja in gospodarske prosperitete. Iz taborišč nacistične Nemčije se je tako vrnilo le 23 dolnjelendavskih Judov, ki so večinoma že v naslednjih nekaj letih zaradi pritiskov komunistične oblasti zapustili Federativno ljudsko republiko Jugoslavijo ter se preselili v tujino, predvsem na Madžarsko in v Izrael, nekateri pa so odšli tudi v Kanado, Avstralijo, Veliko Britanijo in Italijo.

# THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF DOLNJA LENDAVA AND THE HOLOCAUST

*Dejan Süč*

In the town of Lendava, or Dolnja Lendava, as the town was named until the 1950s, there lived one of the most important Jewish communities in the territory of the present Slovenia. The Jewish community which in the 250 years of its presence in the area, significantly changed especially the economic and cultural sphere of everyday life, transformed the town from a relatively unimportant settlement in the western part of the Zala County into a flourishing regional centre of the then Kingdom of Hungary.

Today only the old bourgeois buildings in Main Street (Glavna ulica), the synagogue in Lendava and the Dolga vas Jewish cemetery where the Jewish community of Dolnja Lendava buried their members, are testament to the important class of merchants, printers and craftsmen. The truth is that the once wealthy Jewish class was preserved in the memory of some, especially older, inhabitants of Lendava and is thus falling into oblivion from day to day, especially with younger generations which hardly identify with the stories of the former city inhabitants.

The aim of the lecture is thus mainly to revive the memory of the Jews of Dolnja Lendava, their stories, and last but not least, their fate. If the Treaty of Trianon which assigned the territory of the whole Prekmurje region to the newly emerged Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, cut deeply into the historical development of Judaism in the territory of Lendava, from which the community never truly recovered, the Holocaust and the deportations connected to it in the last days of April 1944, caused the extermination of the Jewish community and with it the high level of cultural life and economic prosperity. As a result only 23 Jews of Dolnja Lendava returned from the camps of the Nazi Germany and they, in the majority of cases, left the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia due to pressures from the communist authorities in the following years and emigrated abroad, especially to Hungary and Israel, while some of them left for Canada, Australia, Great Britain and Italy.

# KAKO SMO ŽIVELI IN NAPOSLED PREŽIVELI: PRIČEVANJA NEKATERIH PREŽIVELIH TABORIŠČNIKOV

*Mag. Franc Kuzmič*

V prispevku je obravnavano življenje prekmurskih judovskih internirancev v taboriščih med drugo svetovno vojno. Nekateri med njimi so bili aretirani že leta 1941 kot jugoslovanski oficirji, drugi so bili sprva mobilizirani v delovne bataljone in potem odpeljani v taborišča. Večina pa jih je morala kar nepričakovano v taborišča aprila 1944, ko se je na Madžarskem zamenjala oblast, kajti Prekmurje je v času okupacije v drugi svetovni vojni ponovno spadalo k Madžarski. Preostale so odpeljali v koncentracijska taborišča novembra istega leta.

Največ jih je umrlo v taborišču v Auschwitzu, potem v Mauthausnu, Buchenwaldu, Bergen-Belsnu, Flossenbürgu, Jasenovcu. Za nekatere se ne ve, kje so dejansko končali svoje življenje, nekateri med njimi celo na poti domov, tudi za posledicami internacije. Poudariti velja, da tudi še tako dobro vodeni sezname niso povsem točni. Od 387 uradno popisanih žrtev holokavsta iz Prekmurja v taboriščih med drugo svetovno vojno jih je bilo pozneje nekaj še dodatno registriranih, tako da je zdaj znanih 391 žrtev. Od teh je taborišča preživelo 49 taboriščnikov, med njimi 26 soboških in 23 lendavskih Judov, ali 79,79 %. V Sloveniji je v programu „dokončne rešitve“ (nem. *Endlösung*) življenje izgubilo 86,6 % Judov.

A gorja še ni bilo konec. „Preživeli so v bistvu samo še ostanki, ki pa so po letu 1945 dobili nov udarec. Tolikšnega, da danes resnično lahko govorimo samo še o ostankih ostankov, izrinjenih povsem na rob javnega, socialnega in zgodovinskega spomina,“ navaja dr. Marjan Toš. Preživeli seveda niso mogli govoriti o plinskih celicah in krematorijih, ker tega niso videli od blizu, le slišali so, zato so tudi preživeli. Bili pa so priče groznemu mučenju in drugačnemu ubijanju.

V pričujočem prispevku so zbrana pričevanja oziroma spomini nekaterih prekmurskih Judov. Med njimi so: Marija Koch, Šarolta Heimer, Josip Kiraly, Josip Nadai, Erika Fürst, Mirko Hirschl, Ladislav Vajs, Elizabeta Deutsch, Tamas Berthold Schwarz, Ilana Fried, Theresa Pollak, Ludvik Blau, Šarika Hahn in Pavla Pavlin, žena Juda Ebenspangerja. Med temi štirinajstimi so pričevanja nekaterih objavljena prvič.

# HOW WE LIVED AND IN THE END SURVIVED: THE TESTIMONIES OF SOME SURVIVING CONCENTRATION CAMP PRISONERS

*Franc Kuzmič MPhil*

The paper discusses the life of the Prekmurje Jewish internees of the concentration camps during the Second World War. Some of them were arrested as early as 1941 as Yugoslav officers, others were at first mobilized in labour battalions and then transferred to the camps. The majority of them, however, had to unexpectedly leave to the camps in April 1944, when the authority changed in Hungary, as Prekmurje was at a time of occupation during the Second World War once again under Hungary. The remainder were transferred to concentration camps in November of the same year.

The majority of them died in the Auschwitz concentration camp, followed by Mauthausen, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Flossenbürg, and Jasenovac. For some of them, it is not known, where they actually died, some of them even died whilst returning home as a consequence of their experiences. It is also worth stressing, that no matter how well the records were kept, they were not fully accurate. Beside 387 officially listed victims of the Holocaust from Prekmurje in camps during the Second World War, four were later additionally registered, which means the final number was 391. Of these, 49 concentration camp prisoners survived the camps, 26 of which were Jews from Murska Sobota and 23 were from Lendava, or 79.79 per cent. In Slovenia 86.6 per cent of Jews lost their lives in the “Endlösung” programme.

However, the agony was not yet finished. “Survivors were scarce, and after 1945 they received a new blow. It was such a blow that today one can truly speak only about the remains of the remains, forced completely to the edge of public, social and historical memory,” as Dr Marjan Toš quotes. The survivors, of course, could not speak about gas chambers and crematoria, because they did not see them from up close, they only heard about it, which is why they survived. But they were the witnesses of dreadful torture and a massacre of a different kind.

In the paper, the testimonies or memories of some Jews of Prekmurje are collected, the authors being: Marija Koch, Šarolta Heimer, Josip Kiraly, Josip Nadai, Erika Fürst, Mirko Hirschl, Ladislav Vajs, Elizabeta Deutsch, Tamas Berthold Schwarz, Ilana Fried, Theresa Pollak, Ludvik Blau, Šarika Hahn and Pavla Pavlin, the wife of the Jew Ebenspanger. Some of these fourteen testimonies are published here for the first time.

# „ALI SI ČLOVEK, ALI PA NISI. TRETJEGA NI.“ SLOVENSKI PRAVIČNIK IVAN BRESKVAR IN HOLOKAVST V SEVEROZAHODNEM DELU HRVAŠKE

*Boris Hajdinjak*

V drugi svetovni vojni je bila ogromna večina ljudi v nacistični Nemčiji in v tistih delih Evrope, ki jih je ta nadzorovala, postavljena v vlogo nemočne žrtve, poslušnega storilca ali brezbržnega opazovalca največjega, okoli šest milijonov žrtev obsegajočega genocida, ki ga danes imenujemo holokavst oziroma – kot je z judovskega vidika ustrezneje – šoa. V tem nečloveškem obdobju je bila najmanj številna skupina ljudi, ki niso bili Judje, a so Judom kljub možnosti zelo resnih posledic, če ne celo smrtne kazni, pomagali preživeti, ne da bi za to pričakovali ali zahtevali plačilo. Od leta 1963 Yad Vashem v Jeruzalemu, največja ustanova, posvečena spominu na holokavst, takšnim ljudem podeljuje naziv pravičnikov med narodi [v strokovni literaturi se uporablja tudi izraz pravični med narodi, op. ur.]. Eden izmed njih, Ivan Breskvar (1905, Ljubljana – 1986, Varaždin) iz Varaždina, je bistvo svojega medvojnega junaštva zajel z v naslovu citirano izjavo.

Breskvar je živel v Varaždinu od leta 1931, ko se je kot tekstilni inženir zaposlil v tovarni Varaždinska industrija svile (VIS). V VIS je postal vodja oddelka za pletenje svile. Poročil se je z domačinko Josipo in v zakonu so se rodili trije otroci. Njegov sodelavec v VIS je bil slovenski Jud Milan Blass (1914, Cirkulane – 2003, Varaždin). Blass je živel v Varaždinu od leta 1925, ko je postal dijak varaždinske realne gimnazije. Po končani gimnaziji leta 1933 se je takoj zaposlil v VIS in napredoval od navadnega delavca do tekstilnega inženirja kemijske smeri in s tem strokovnjaka za barvanje svile. V letih 1937 in 1938 je študiral na Dunaju, zato je neposredno videl ne samo anšlus, pač pa tudi preganjanje Judov na Dunaju. Po vrnitvi z Dunaja je Blass živel pri najmlajši sestri svoje matere, teti Zdenki, roj. Stern (1912, Mali Bukovec – 1942, Stara Gradiška), in njenem možu, trgovcu Teodorju Haryju (1911, Varaždin – pred 22. aprilom 1945, Jasenovac). V Varaždinu, kjer je leta 1940 živelo 515 Judov, je imel Blass še več sorodnikov, obiskoval pa je tudi družino sestre Renate, roj. Blass (1918, Cirkulane – 1942, Stara Gradiška), ki je živela v Malem Bukovcu pri Ludbregu z možem, pekomo Brankom Rosnerjem (1910, Velika Gorica – 1944, Jasenovac) in sinom Arturjem (1938, Mali Bukovec).



V naslovu citirana Breskvarjeva izjava velja še toliko bolj, ker se je izvedba holokavsta na območju 10. aprila 1941 ustanovljene kvizlinške Neodvisne države Hrvaške (NDH) precej razlikovala od območja do območja. Ustaši so bili sicer pri preganjanju okoli 40.000 Judov na območju NDH precej površni učenci nacistične Nemčije, pogosto pa celo bolj okrutni kot njihovi učitelji. Varaždinski Judje so lahko že 26. aprila 1941 v varaždinskem tedniku *Hrvatsko jedinstvo*, ki se je od tega datuma naprej imenoval tudi *Ustaško glasilo*, prebrali ne samo prve protijudovske ukrepe ustaških oblasti, pač pa tudi, kaj se jim še obeta v NDH. Iz tega časopisa lahko razberemo naslednje protijudovske ukrepe državnih in lokalnih oblasti, s katerimi so ustaši v samo nekaj tednih izvedli tisto, kar so nacisti počeli že od leta 1933. Ustaške oblasti so v nekaterih krajih uvedle nošenje „židovskog znaka“ že konec aprila, v Varaždinu pa 17. junija 1941. 13. julija 1941 so ustaši aretirali večino varaždinskih Judov. Vodja akcije je bil takratni poveljnik ustaške policije na območju Varaždina Božidar Grögl/Gregl (1893, Varaždin – po 1948, ?), po očetu folksdojčer, po materi Tereziji, roj. Schlesinger, pa Jud. Med aretiranimi sta bila tudi Teodor in Zdenka Hary, ne pa njun sostanovalec Milan Blass. Ker ni bil prijavljen v Varaždinu in ker ustaši niso prišli v stanovanje Haryjevih, se je aretaciji izognil, kmalu potem pa je pridobil tudi potrdilo, da je kot trenutno nenadomestljivi strokovnjak potreben za delovanje tovarne VIS.

Vse aretirane varaždinske Jude so zbrali v varaždinski „jašioni“. Od tam so jih odpeljali v Zagreb, kjer je bilo v zgradbah *Zagrebačkog zbora* (takrat sejemski prostor, danes *Studentski centar*), zbirno taborišče za Jude predvsem iz severozahodnega dela Hrvaške. Tukaj so nekatere aretirane Jude izpustili zaradi prejšnjih zaslug, mešanih zakonov, podkupnin ali preprosto zaradi poznanstva vplivnih ustašev. Preostale so poslali v taborišče Gospić, od tam pa so nekatere odpeljali v Jadovno na Velebitu ali v Slano in Metajno na Pagu ter jih tam ubili. Skupaj je bilo ubitih okoli 24.000 ljudi, od tega je bilo okoli 2.400 Judov. Preostalih okoli 4.000 taboriščnikov so odpeljali v različna taborišča. Moške, med njimi je bil tudi Teodor Hary, so poslali v novoustanovljeno taborišče Jasenovac, ženske in otroke, med njimi je bila tudi takrat že noseča Zdenka Hary, pa preko začasnih taborišč Jastrebarsko in Slavetić v novoustanovljeno taborišče Loborgrad. Pri nastanku slednjega je sodeloval že omenjeni varaždinski ustaš Gregl.

Milanu Blassu, ki je v tem času dalje delal v VIS, je uspelo vzpostaviti ponovni stik s Teodorjem in Zdenko Hary in tako je izvedel, da je Zdenka noseča. Zaradi poroda je bila iz Loborgrada premeščena v zagrebško porodnišnico v Petrovi ulici. 3. maja 1942 je rodila sina Vedrana. Blassu je s pomočjo enega zdravnika in dela osebja teto Zdenko in njenega sinčka uspelo rešiti iz porodnišnice. Tako ju je nevede obvaroval pred usodo drugih taboriščnikov Loborgrada, ki so umrli v Auschwitzu. Zdenka in Vedran Hary sta zatočišče našla pri Blassovi sestri Renati in njeni družini v Malem Bukovcu. Čeprav so do takrat odpeljali že veliko Judov z območja Ludbrega, so nekateri še ostali. Preostale Jude s tega območja so odpeljali šele 18. oktobra 1942. Okrajni predstojnik je dosegel izjemo za otroke do petih let starosti pod pogojem, da jih pride iskat kdo od sorodnikov. Na srečo je bil Blass pravočasno obveščen in tako mu je uspelo rešiti petmesečnega Vedrana Haryja in štiriletnega Arturja Rosnerja. Odpeljal ju je v Varaždin, a ker je bil samski, je pri sebi namestil samo Arturja. Ko je bil v službi, je zanj skrbela služkinja. Z Vedranom je bilo težje. S pomočjo Zore Blau je našel družino Besak, ki je malčka vzela v oskrbo. Ko so Besakovi po nekaj mesecih izvedeli, da je Jud, so sporočili, da se takšnemu tveganju ne morejo izpostavljati in ga zato ne morejo več varovati. Prav tedaj so bili namreč objavljeni novi predpisi, ki so strogo prepovedovali varovanje judovskih otrok in vsakršno pomoč Judom. Blass je za pomoč spet zaprosil Zoro Blau. To pot je pomagala njena služkinja Cilika Kumrić, ki je svoje starše Toma in Ivo Kumrić iz vasi Cerje Nebojse, od Varaždina oddaljeno 16 km, prepričala, da sprejmejo Vedrana. Kako otroka pripeljati v vas, ni bilo nevarno samo

zaradi novih predpisov, pač pa tudi zaradi tega, ker je bilo leta 1943 tudi v tem delu Hrvaške že opazno partizansko gibanje in zato je bil nadzor na cestah ostrejši kot prej. V tem ključnem trenutku je Blassu ponudil pomoč Ivan Breskvar. Na kolesu je v posebej prirejenem nahrbtniku spečega Vedrana ponoči odpeljal h Kumrićevim. Ker so se razmere v Varaždinu kmalu zatem še bolj zaostrile, je Breskvar spet ponoči na kolesu odpeljal v Cerje Nebojse tudi Arturja. Vedran in Artur, zdaj Francek in Slavek, sta kljub temu, da je cela vas vedela za njuno poreklo, dočakala konec vojne. Tega pa niso dočakali njuni starši: očeta sta umrla v taborišču Jasenovac, materi pa v Stari Gradiški, prav tako delu taborišča Jasenovac. V Jasenovcu je sicer med 23. avgustom 1941 in 22. aprilom 1945 umrlo več kot 83.000 ljudi, med njimi več kot 17.000 Judov.

Na predlog Milana Blassa ter na prošnjo Arturja Rosnerja in Yairja Palgija (tako se od preselitve v Izrael imenuje Vedran Hary) so bili leta 1998 Ivan Breskvar ter Iva in Tomo Kumrić imenovani za pravičnike med narodi.

# "YOU EITHER ARE A HUMAN OR NOT. THERE IS NO THIRD OPTION." SLOVENIAN RIGHTEOUS IVAN BRESKVAR AND THE HOLOCAUST IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PART OF CROATIA

*Boris Hajdinjak*

During the Second World War, the vast majority of people in Nazi Germany and in the parts of Europe controlled by Germany, was pushed in the role of a powerless victim, an obedient perpetrator or an indifferent observer of the biggest genocide of around six million victims which is today known as the Holocaust, or more appropriate from the Jewish point of view, the Shoah. The smallest group in this dehumanized period were people who were not of Jewish origin but helped the Jews survive despite the possibility of severe consequences, even the death penalty, not expecting or demanding a payment. Since 1963, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the largest institution devoted to the commemoration of the Holocaust, awards such people the title the Righteous Among the Nations. One of them is Ivan Breskvar (1905, Ljubljana - 1986, Varaždin) from Varaždin who captured the essence of his interwar heroism in his statement cited as the title.

Breskvar lived in Varaždin after 1931 when he started to work at the Varaždin Silk Factory as a textile engineer. He became the head of the Department for Silk Manufacture. He married Josipa who lived in Varaždin and they had three children. His colleague at the factory was a Slovenian Jew Milan Blass (1914, Cirkulane - 2003, Varaždin). Blass lived in Varaždin since 1925 when he started to attend the Varaždin grammar school.

After he graduated from the grammar school in 1933, he was employed at the Varaždin Silk Factory and was promoted from a common worker to chemical textile engineer and thus an expert in silk colouring. He studied in Vienna from 1937 to 1938.

Thus he saw not only the *Anschluss* but also the persecution of Jews in Vienna with his own eyes. After he returned from Vienna, Blass lived with his mother's youngest sister, aunt Zdenka, née Stern (1912, Mali Bukovec - 1942, Stara Gradiška) and her husband, a merchant Teodor Hary (1911, Varaždin - before 22 April 1945, Jasenovac). In Varaždin, where 515 Jews lived in 1940, he had several relatives and was a regular visitor of his sister Renata's family (Renata, née Blass, 1918, Cirkulane - 1942, Stara Gradiška) who lived in Mali Bukovec at Ludbreg with her husband Branko Rosner, a baker (1910, Velika Gorica - 1944, Jasenovac) and their son Artur (1938, Mali Bukovec).

Breskvar's statement cited in the title is even more true, since the execution of the Holocaust in the area of the quisling Independent State of Croatia (orig. *Nezavisna država Hrvatska* or NDH) founded on 10 April 1941 rather differed from one part to another. In the persecution of approximately 40 thousand Jews in the area of the NDH, the Ustashe were rather careless imitators of the Nazi Germans but were often even more cruel than their German teachers. As early as on 26 April 1941, the Jews of Varaždin could read not only the first anti-Jewish measures by the Ustashe authorities but also what is intended in the future in the NDH in the *Hrvatsko jedinstvo* weekly which title was changed into *Ustaško glasilo* on this date. The weekly reveals further anti-Jewish measures of the state and local authorities, with which the Ustashe achieved in only few weeks what the Nazis had done since 1933. The Ustashe authorities prescribed wearing of the Jewish sign as early as the end of April in some areas, while in Varaždin it was prescribed on 17 June 1941. On 13 July 1941 the Ustashe arrested the majority of the Jews of Varaždin. The head of the action was the then commander of the Ustashe police in the area of Varaždin, Božidar Grögl/Gregl (1893, Varaždin - after 1948, ?), a *Volksdeutscher* by his father and a Jew by his mother Terezija, née Schlesinger. Teodor and Zdenka Hary were arrested, as well, but their cohabitant Milan Blass was not. Since he was not a resident of Varaždin and since the Ustashe did not enter the flat of the Hary family, he managed to avoid being arrested. Soon after he gained attestation that he is crucial for the operation of the Silk Factory as a currently irreplaceable expert.

All the arrested Jews of Varaždin were gathered in "Jašiona" in Varaždin. From there, they were transferred to Zagreb where there was an assembly camp mainly for Jews from north-western part of Croatia at the premises of *Zagrebački zbor* (then a fairground, today a Student Centre). Some of the arrested Jews were let go due to their previous merits, mixed marriages, bribes or simply familiarity with some influential Ustashe. The rest of them were sent to the Gospić camp, from where some of them were transferred to Jadovno on Velebit or Slana and Metajna on the isle of Pag and executed there. Approximately 24 thousand people were killed, including around 2,400 Jews. The rest of around 4 thousand prisoners were transferred to different camps. Men, one of them being Teodor Hary, were sent to the newly established Jasenovac camp, while women and children, including Zdenka Hary who was with child, were sent to the newly established Loborgrad camp via temporary camps Jastrebarsko and Slavetić. In newly established Loborgrad camp, the abovementioned Ustashe Gregl participated.

Milan Blass, who meanwhile continued working at the Silk Factory, managed to re-established contact with Teodor and Zdenka Hary and thus he got to know that she was pregnant. Due to the labour, Zdenka was transferred from Loporgrad to the Zagreb maternity hospital in Peter's Street. On 3 May 1942, she gave birth to her son Vedran. With the assistance of a doctor and part of the staff, Blass managed to rescue aunt Zdenka and her son from the hospital. Thus he unknowingly saved them from the destiny of other prisoners of the Loporgrad who died in Auschwitz. Zdenka and Vedran Hary found shelter at Blass's sister Renata and her family in Mali Bukovec. Although by then many Jews were transferred from the area of Ludbreg, some still stayed. However, as late as 18 October 1942 the rest of Jews were transferred from the area as well. The district principal achieved an exception for children up to five on condition that one of the relatives takes them. Fortunately, Blass was notified in time and thus he managed to rescue the 5-month old Vedran Hary and the 4-year old Artur Rosner. He took them to Varaždin, but since he was single, he kept only Artur. When he was at work, his maid took care of him. It was more difficult to provide for Vedran. With help of Zora Blau, he found the Besak family who provided shelter for Vedran. When after a few months they found out that he was Jewish, they informed him that they could not be exposed to such risk and that they could not take care of him anymore. It was the time when the new legislation was issued which strictly prohibited taking care of Jewish children and any help to Jews. Blass again asked Zora Blau for help. This time her maid Cilika Kumrić rendered assistance who persuaded her parents Tomo and Iva Kumrić from the village

of Cerje Nebojse, 16 km from Varaždin, to accept Vedran. To transport a child to the village was not only dangerous due to new legislation but also due to the Partisan movement, which was already active in 1943 in this part of Croatia, as well, and the road controls were more strict than before. In this crucial moment, Blass was offered help by Ivan Breskvar.

On his bicycle, he took the sleeping Vedran at night in a specially adapted rucksack to the Kumrić family. Since the circumstances in Varaždin got worse soon after, at night Breskvar took Artur to Cerje Nebojse as well. Vedran and Artur, renamed as Francek and Slavek, lived to see the end of the war, despite the fact that all the villagers knew their origin. However, their parents did not: their fathers died at the Jasenovac camp and their mothers in Stara Gradiška, a part of the Jasenovac camp. Between 23 August 1941 and 22 April 1945, more than 83 thousand people died at the Jasenovac camp, including more than 17 thousand Jews.

On a proposal by Milan Blass and on the request by Artur Rosner and Yair Palgi (such is Vedran Hary's name after his settlement in Israel), Ivan Breskvar, as well as Iva and Tomo Kumrić were named Righteous Among the Nations in 1998.

# JOSEF SCHLEICH – KRIMINALEC ALI PRAVIČNIK MED NARODI?

*Dr. Gerald Lamprecht*

Takoj po priključitvi Avstrije nacistični Nemčiji so se avstrijski Judje soočili z diskriminacijo in preganjanjem. V prvem obdobju vladanja so jih nacisti skušali družbeno osamiti in jih oropati vsega premoženja. Po pogojih, ki jih je določil Adolf Eichmann, so jih prisilili, da so rajh zapustili brez vsakega premoženja.

Od leta 1938 pa so se begunci vse teže selili, kajti skoraj vse države po svetu so bodisi zaprle svoje meje bodisi so določile ovire za legalno priseljevanje. Neuspeh mednarodne diplomacije pri iskanju ustreznega humanitarnega odgovora na krizni položaj judovskih beguncev iz Nemčije in Avstrije, ki se je manifestiral na konferenci v Évianu julija 1938, je ljudi prisilil, da so iskali možnosti za ilegalno prestopanje mej. Podkupljivi uradniki, ki so prodajali emigracijske dokumente, in tihotapci so bili tako vse pomembnejši.

Eden izmed teh tihotapcev je bil tudi Josef Schleich, rojen v Gradcu leta 1902, ki si je tihotapske izkušnje, zaradi katerih je večkrat prišel navzkriž z zakonom, pridobival že v obdobju med obema vojnama. Marca 1938 je Schleich težaven položaj Judov v rajhu prepoznal kot poslovno priložnost. Še preden je začel judovske begunce tihotapiti čez zeleno mejo med avstrijsko Štajersko in Jugoslavijo, je tako organiziral prvi tečaj za prekvalifikacijo na področju poljedelstva za Jude. „Transporte“ je po posvetu z judovskimi organizacijami ter z vednostjo gestapa in Eichmannovega centralnega urada za izseljevanje Judov (nem. *Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung*) organiziral vse do začetka leta 1941, ko se je nacistična politika do Judov spremenila – namesto izгона sta bila predvidena deportacija in uničenje – in njegove storitve niso bile več potrebne.

V predavanju bom predstavil Josefa Schleicha in njegove aktivnosti na Štajerskem in na obmejnem območju. Ob tem pa želim razpravljati tudi o vprašanju, ali naj Josefa Schleicha dojemamo kot kriminalca, ki je izkoriščal nezavidljivi položaj judovskih beguncev, ali pa kot pomočnika pri pobegu, ki je rešil življenje na stotine ljudem.

## JOSEF SCHLEICH - A CRIMINAL OR RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS?

*Dr Gerald Lamprecht*

Immediately after the annexation of Austria to Nazi-Germany, the Austrian Jewish population faced discrimination and persecution. During the first time of their reign, the Nazis aimed to isolate the Jewish population socially and to rob them of all their properties: They forced the Jews – in terms of Adolf Eichmann – to leave the German Reich without any belongings.

Since 1938 migration became more and more difficult for the refugees, because almost all the countries in the world closed their borders or established obstacles for legal immigration. This collective failure of international diplomacy in finding an appropriate and humanitarian answer to the emergency situation of the Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria, was manifested by the conference of Évian in July 1938 and forced the people to search for illegal possibilities to cross borders. Thus, corrupt officials, which sold emigration documents, or smugglers became more important.

One of these smugglers was Josef Schleich, who was born in Graz in 1902, and gathered experiences as a smuggler already during the interwar period, which brought him into conflict with the law several times. In March 1938, Schleich discovered the emergency situation of the Jewish people in the German Reich as a business field and he organized first agricultural retraining for Jews before he then started to smuggle Jewish refugees across the green border from Styria to Yugoslavia. He ran his “transports” in consultation with the Jewish organizations as well as the Gestapo and Adolf Eichmann’s “*Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung*”, till the beginning of 1941, when the Nazis changed their policy toward the Jews from expulsion to deportation and extermination, and his services were not needed any longer.

In this talk I will introduce Josef Schleich and his activities in Styria and in the Styrian border region. Further, I also want to discuss the question if Josef Schleich has to be seen as a criminal, who exploited the emergency situation of Jewish refugees, or as an escape agent, who saved the lives of hundreds of people.

# HRVAŠKI PRAVIČNIKI - „KDOR REŠI ENO SAMO ŽIVLJENJE, REŠI VES SVET“

*Dr. Ljiljana Dobrovič*

Država Izrael že več desetletij podeljuje naziv „pravičnik med narodi“ vsakomur, ki je v času sistematičnega uničevanja judovskega naroda rešil vsaj enega Juda. Yad Vashem, izraelski muzej spomina na žrtve holokavsta in junake odpora, je leta 1963 ustanovil Komisijo za razglasitev pravičnikov med narodi. Komisiji predseduje sodnik vrhovnega sodišča. Za pravičnika je lahko imenovana le oseba nejudovskega porekla, ki je tvegala svoje življenje, svobodo in varnost, da bi rešila posameznika ali več ljudi judovskega porekla pred smrtjo ali deportacijo, za to pa ni ne prejela ne zahtevala denarne ali kakršne koli druge nagrade. Pobudo za razglasitev pravičnika lahko da kdor koli, postopek razglasitve pa temelji na izčrpnih dokumentaciji rešenih in prič. Dokumenti vsebujejo osebne podatke rešiteljev in preživelih ter podroben opis reševanja, nevarnosti in okoliščin. Doslej je bilo za pravičnike imenovanih 26.120 ljudi [po podatkih Yad Vashema z dne 1. 1. 2016, op. ur.]. Vsem pravičnikom podelijo tudi izraelsko častno državljanstvo, ki ga posameznik lahko tudi uveljavi. Prvotno je bilo predvideno, da bi na Gori spomina za vsakega pravičnika zasadili drevo, zaradi pomanjkanja prostora pa so imena pravičnikov zdaj zapisana na Zidu časti. Na tem spomeniku je ob imenu pravičnika zapisano tudi ime njegove države.

Do leta 2016 je bilo imenovanih 115 pravičnikov s Hrvaške, še nekaj pa jih je v postopku za prejem tega priznanja. Nekateri so naziv pravičnika dobili še za časa svojega življenja, številni pa šele posthumno, zato so medaljo pravičnika prejeli njihovi otroci in vnuki. Ker čas teče, je danes vse težje najti priče, ki bi potrdile okoliščine reševanja. Nekateri pogumni posamezniki bodo tako ostali brez uradnega priznanja, o njihovi požrtvovalnosti pa se še naprej govori v družinah preživelih Judov. Na seznamu hrvaških pravičnikov so moški in ženske iz vseh krajev Hrvaške (Zagreb, Đakovo, Zadar, Split, Makarska, Varaždin idr.), med njimi so redovnice (Jozica Jurin - sestra Cecilija in Marija Pirović - sestra Karitas), duhovniki (Dragutin Jesih), zdravniki, psihologi (Ante Fulgosi), sodniki, novinarji, športniki (Žarko in Boris Dolinar), ugledni leksikografi (Mate Ujević), industrialci, uradniki in navadni ljudje. V predavanju bo predavateljica v nekaj zgodbah o reševanju predstavila hrvaške pravičnike.



# CROATIAN RIGHTEOUS - "WHOSOEVER SAVES A SINGLE LIFE, SAVES AN ENTIRE UNIVERSE"

*Dr. Ilijana Dobrović*

The State of Israel presents the title of "Righteous Among the Nations" for several decades to everyone, who during the systematic destruction of the Jewish people saved at least one Jew. In 1963, Yad Vashem, the Israeli Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, founded the Commission for the Designation of the Righteous Among the Nations. The Commission is chaired by the Supreme Court Judge. For the Righteous, only persons of non-Jewish origin, who risked their lives, freedom and security to save an individual or more people of Jewish origin from death or deportation, for which they neither received nor demanded prize, money or any other reward, can be named. The initiative to proclaim a person for the Righteous can take anyone, while the procedure of the proclamation is based on comprehensive documentation of the saved and the witnesses. The documents include personal data of the saviours and the survivors and the detailed description of the rescuing, the dangers and the circumstances. To date, 26,120 people were named the Righteous [according to data by Yad Vashem of 1 January 2016, editor's note]. To all the Righteous, the Israeli honorary citizenship is bestowed, which can the individual also enforce. Originally it was planned that on the Mount of Remembrance for every Righteous a tree would be planted, but due to lack of space now the names of the Righteous are recorded on the Wall of Honour. On that monument, beside the name of the Righteous, there is also the name of his/her state.

By 2016, 115 Righteous from Croatia were named, and some additional ones are in the procedure for receipt of that recognition. Some received the title of the Righteous while they were still alive, many only posthumously, so their children and grandchildren received the Righteous Medal. Because time marches on, today it is increasingly more difficult to find witnesses, who would confirm the circumstances of the rescuing. Some brave individuals will be therefore left without the official recognition, but in the families of the surviving Jews they still talk about their selflessness. On the list of the Croatian Righteous are men and women from all places of Croatia (Zagreb, Đakovo, Zadar, Split, Makarska, Varaždin etc.), among them are nuns (Jozica Jurin - sister Cecilija and Marija Pirović - sister Karitas), priests (Dragutin Jesih), physicians, psychologists (Ante Fulgosi), judges, journalists, sportsmen (Žarko and Boris Dolinar), distinguished lexicographers (Mate Ujević), industrialists, officials and ordinary people. In the lecture, the lecturer will present the Croatian Righteous in a few stories about rescuing.

# ENAKI ALI PODOBNI: PRIMERJAVA NACISTIČNE IN FAŠISTIČNE PROTIJUDOVSKÉ ZAKONODAJE

*Dr. Renato Podbersič ml.*

Antisemitizem je v praksi dobil najhujšo obliko v nacistični ideologiji in politiki. Nazizem je antisemitizem sprejel za svoj in za eno glavnih sestavin svojega pogleda na svet. Prav tako je bil antisemitizem razglašen za uradno državno politiko. Hkrati so nacisti razglasili Jude za nižjo raso in jih postavili izven zakona. Že takoj po prihodu na oblast leta 1933 so jih začeli preganjati in ropati, kar je kasneje vodilo k nameri za uničenje vseh Judov. Holokavsta sicer ne moremo preprosto pripisati krščanstvu, saj je imel globoke protikrščanske poteze, dolga stoletja prisoten krščanski antisemitizem pa je vsekakor pomembno prispeval k temu razvoju in hkrati zagovarjal močno razširjeno nasprotovanje Judom ter tako posredno vplival na širjenje rasnega antisemitizma.

Nacisti so pri določanju „rasnih“ kriterijev za judovstvo imeli velike probleme že vse od svojega vstopa na politično prizorišče po koncu prve svetovne vojne. Njihova definicija pripadnosti judovstvu je zato izhajala iz podatkov o judovskem verskem izvoru prednikov pred dvema generacijama. Tudi prvi nacistični protijudovski zakoni, sprejeti po prevzemu oblasti leta 1933, niso natančno opredeljevali, kdo je Jud, temveč so govorili le o nearjcih in z njimi sorodstveno povezanih osebah. Šikaniranje Judov se je v Nemčiji sicer začelo že pred nacističnim prevzemom oblasti, ko so predvsem nacistični jurišni oddelki SA po večjih nemških mestih, predvsem v Berlinu, pretepali Jude in pozivali ljudi k bojkotu judovskih trgovin. Nemški Judje so bili od prihoda nacistov na oblast januarja 1933 žrtve diskriminacije in trpinčenja, vendar so večinoma menili, da je mogoče še vztrajati v Nemčiji, ki so jo upravičeno imeli za svojo domovino. Šlo je za rasni antisemitizem, ki so ga nacisti formulirali na podlagi že preživelih filozofsko-antropoloških teorij iz 19. stoletja.

Z nürnberškimi rasnimi zakoni iz leta 1935 je bila torej judovska pripadnost v nacistični Nemčiji zelo natančno definirana. Za „celega Juda“ (nem. *Volljude*) je veljala oseba s tremi ali štirimi starimi starši, ki so izpovedovali judovsko vero. Pri tem sploh ni bilo pomembno, ali so sami oziroma njihovi starši sploh še imeli judovsko vero. Tisti z dvema judovskima starima staršema so bili označeni za „mešance prve stopnje“ ali za „Poljude“ (nem. *Halbjude*).

Na drugi strani se je v Italiji ohranjal stari, srednjeveški, versko pogojeni antijudaizem, ki je bil precej daleč od antisemitizma. Malokdo je verjel temu, kar so rasni ideologi govorili in pisali o Judih, da bi upravičili in opravičili rasno zakonodajo. Obstajala je, seveda, bojazen pred različnostjo in drugačnostjo. Od vse rasne teorije t. i. znanstvenikov so nekateri Italijani sprejemali predvsem del, ki je govoril o njihovi večvrednosti, ker je upravičeval njihovo zagledanost vase. V glavnem pa niso razumeli, zakaj naj bi Judje predstavljali nevarnost za italijansko družbo in državo.

Po italijanskem napadu na Etiopijo leta 1935 in sankcijah, ki jih je proti državi napadalki uvedlo Društvo narodov, se je italijanska zunanja politika, ki jo je vodil Galeazzo Ciano, začela zbliževati z nacistično Nemčijo, ta pa je uzakonila biološki rasizem in vodila nepopustljivo protijudovsko politiko. Mussolini se je pač odločil, da je napočil pravi trenutek za izločitev Judov iz italijanske družbe. Močna antisemitska propaganda se je v italijanskem tisku začela spomladi 1937. Pri tem je prednjačil režimski *Regime fascista*, ki ga je urejal ekstremist Roberto Farinacci, v Julijski krajini mu je sledil prav tako protijudovski tržaški *Il Piccolo*. Večji del javnosti je temu tiho nasprotoval, antisemitsko nastrojena manjšina pa je kazala navdušenje.

Hkrati je Nemčija kot potrditev zavezništva z Italijo zahtevala njeno uskladitev z nacistično ideologijo. Rasel je vpliv Mussolinijevega kroga, v katerem je bilo veliko prepričanih zagovornikov popolnega sodelovanja z nacistično Nemčijo. T. i. italijanski državni antisemitizem, kot so si ga predstavljali fašistični veljaki, naj bi bil drugačen od nemškega, brez njihovega brutalnega preganjanja. Za cilj so si fašisti preprosto predstavljali odstranitev Judov iz države, vendar brez jasnih ciljev, kako to doseči. Dolgo časa so se v delu italijanskega zgodovinopisja pojavljala razmišljanja o fašističnem diktatorju Mussoliniju, ki naj bi se upiral uvajanju protijudovske zakonodaje. Vendar je danes ta teza popolnoma ovržena. Preveč ceneno bi bilo začetek protijudovske gonje v Italiji prevaliti na nemške zaveznike in hkrati pozabiti, da je ukaz prišel od samega dučēja, ki se je odločil za pregon na temelju biološkega rasizma.

Fašistična definicija Judov v Kraljevini Italiji je sicer podobno kot nacistična temeljila na rasni podlagi. Kot podlago za ugotavljanje judovstva posamezne osebe pa so fašisti vzeli judovstvo staršev, za razliko od nacistov, ki so to preverjali pri starih starših. V italijanskem fašističnem režimu je tako za Juda veljal, kdor je imel judovskega očeta in judovsko mater, ne glede na to, ali je tudi sam imel judovsko vero ali ne. Prav tako je bil za Juda označen tisti, ki je imel judovskega očeta in tujo mater ter kdor je imel judovsko mater in nepoznanega očeta. Pri tem so za Juda opredeljevali tudi tistega, ki je izviral iz mešanega zakona, v katerem je bil eden od staršev italijanski Jud, pri tem pa je tudi sam imel judovsko vero ali pa je kako drugače kazal privrženost judovstvu.

# IDENTICAL OR SIMILAR: COMPARISON BETWEEN NAZI AND FASCIST ANTI-JEWISH LEGISLATION

*Dr Renato Podbersiç Jr*

In practice, anti-Semitism manifested itself in its worst form in Nazi ideology and policy. Nazism accepted anti-Semitism as its own and as one of the main components of its view of the world. Further, anti-Semitism was declared the official state policy. At the same time, the Nazis declared the Jews an inferior race and set them outside the law. As early as at their accession to power, they began to persecute and rob them, which later led to their intention of destroying all Jews. The Holocaust cannot be simply attributed to Christianity, since it had deep anti-Christian traits. However Christian anti-Semitism, present for long centuries, did significantly contribute to the development and supported the widely spread opposition to Jews and thus indirectly influenced the spread of racial anti-Semitism.

When defining the “racial” criteria for Judaism, the Nazis had had great problems since their arrival in the political arena following the end of the First World War. Their definition of being a Jew thus originated from data on the Jewish religion of its ancestors two generations previously. The first Nazi anti-Jewish laws adopted after their assumption to power in 1933, did not define clearly who a Jew was, but mentioned only non-Aryans and people related to them. Victimization of the Jews, however, started even before Nazi assumption to power, when the Nazi *Sturmabteilungen* beat Jews and called for a boycott of the Jewish stores in large German cities, especially in Berlin. Since the assumption of the Nazis to power in January 1933, the German Jews were victims of discrimination and torture

but the majority of them considered that it was possible to continue living in Germany, which they reasonably regarded as their homeland. It was a racial anti-Semitism that the Nazis designed on the basis of the outmoded philosophical and anthropological theories from the 19th Century.

With the race laws from 1935, who a Jew was in the Nazi Germany became clearly defined. A person with three or four grandparents of Jewish religion was defined as a “Full Jew” (Germ. *Volljude*). In that, it was not important whether they or their parents were still enrolled with the Jewish congregation. People with two Jewish grandparents were classified as “Jewish Mischlings of the first degree” or “Half Jews” (Germ. *Halbjude*).

At the other hand, in Italy the old, medieval, religiously conditioned anti-Judaism was preserved, which differed significantly from anti-Semitism. Few believed what the racial ideologists spoke and wrote about the Jews to justify and excuse the racial legislation. A fear of otherness and difference, of course, existed. Out of all racial theory by the so-called scientists, some Italians accepted mainly that part which highlighted their superiority, since it justified their narcissism. However, the majority did not understand how the Jews would represent a danger to the Italian society and state.

After the Italian attack of Ethiopia in 1935 and the sanctions, which were issued against the attacking state by the League of Nations, Italian foreign policy lead by Galeazzo Ciano started to converge with Nazi Germany. The latter enacted biological racism and led tough anti-Jewish policy. Mussolini decided it was the right time to exclude Jews from Italian society. The strong anti-Semitic propaganda started in Spring 1937 in the Italian press, the regime's *Regime fascista*, edited by extremist Roberto Farinacci, being the most vigorous. In the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region, it was followed by another anti-Jewish journal *Il Piccolo*, published in Trieste. The majority of the public silently opposed to the propaganda but the anti-Semiticly disposed minority was enthusiastic.

At the same time, Germany, as a confirmation of their alliance, demanded that Italy harmonized with Nazi ideology. Where there were many convinced proponents of full cooperation with Nazi Germany, the influence of Mussolini's circle increased. The so-called Italian state anti-Semitism, as the Fascist magnates imagined, was supposed to be different from the German one, without its brutal persecution. As their goal, the Fascists imagined the removal of the Jews from the country, but without clear ideas how to achieve this. For a long time, considerations of the Fascist dictator Mussolini who resisted the adoption of the anti-Jewish legislation, appeared in a part of the Italian historical studies. However, today this theory has

been rebutted. It would be too simple to lay all the responsibility for the beginning of the anti-Jewish agitation to the German allies and at the same time forget that the order was issued by the Duce himself who decided to persecute Jews on the basis of biological racism.

The Fascist definition of Jews in the Kingdom of Italy was, similar to the Nazi one, based on racial origin. But as the criterion for the classification of Judaism of an individual, the Fascists considered the Judaism of the parents, unlike the Nazis, who checked it with the grandparents. In the Italian Fascist regime, people with a Jewish father and a Jewish mother were classified as Jews, regardless of whether they themselves practiced Jewish religion or not. Also, a person with a Jewish father and a foreign mother and a person with a Jewish mother and an unknown father was considered Jewish. In that, people from mixed marriages where one of the parents was an Italian Jew, being of Jewish religion or showing adherence to the Jewish religion, were also classified as Jews.

# HOLOKAVST IN NJEGOVE ŽRTVE V KOMUNISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI

*Dr. Anna Maria Grünfelder*

Partizanska oblast si je „ne zaradi maščevanja, temveč iz pietete do žrtev” (dr. Sloven Smodlaka, jugoslovanski delegat v Generalnem štabu zavezniške vojske za Evropo) kot eno od prioriternih nalog zadala poiskati Jugoslovane in tuje pripadnike sil osi, da bi jim sodila zaradi vojnih zločinov, storjenih na ozemlju okupirane Jugoslavije. Številne raziskave, objavljene v zadnjih letih, so se osredotočile na kritiko „partizanske pravice” (tj. „krivice”), ostala pa je potreba po ocenitvi izsledkov Državne komisije za ugotavljanje zločinov okupatorjev in njihovih pomagačev, dokumentiranih v zbirkah preiskovalnih poročil in sodnih obsodb, ki jih hranijo Hrvaški državni arhiv v Zagrebu, Državni arhiv na Reki in Arhiv Republike Slovenije. Pri raziskavi sem se osredotočila na kakovost opravljenih preiskav, ki sem jo štela za zanesljiv dokaz o odnosu novoustanovljene komunistične Jugoslavije do žrtev holokavsta in kulture spominjanja na holokavst. To vprašanje sem obravnavala v luči kritične drže Zahoda do „pravice zmagovalca” oziroma (rečeno ironično) „pravice partizanov” (ali natančno „krivice partizanov”) zaradi grozodejstev, ki so jih storili Titovi partizani tako vojakom sil osi kakor tudi domačim „sovražnikom ljudstva”. Arhivski viri so bili doslej predstavljeni kot dokaz za „značilno stalinistične” metode preiskovanja in obsojanja, ki temeljijo na odsotnosti osnovnih prvin zakona in pravice.

Po pregledu več kot 800 arhivskih enot v Hrvaškem državnem arhivu v Zagrebu – arhivska fonda, ki ju hranijo na Reki in v Ljubljani, sta manj obsežna – ugotavljam, da vsebujejo tako temeljite in zavestno izdelane protokole in obsodbe „lege artis” kakor tudi dokaze za neverjetno površno opravljeno delo v škodo mnogih arbitrarno obtoženih „sovražnikov ljudstva”.

Raziskovalci se vprašanju o legitimnosti jugoslovanski obsodb vojnih zločinov še niso posvetili. Ker so domnevni dokumenti, povezani s tem vprašanjem, shranjeni v arhivih nekdanjih zavezniških sil (na primer v Londonu in Washingtonu, verjetno pa tudi v Beogradu), sem morala svoje raziskovanje omejiti na skromno historiografsko literaturo. Pri tem so mi spomini jugoslovanskih diplomatov, kot sta bila Leo Mates in Vladimir Velebit, služili kot zanesljivi in informativni viri. Na osnovi nekaj izvirnih virov lahko sklepam, da je Jugoslavija prevzela obvezo za kaznovanje svojih vojnih zločincev ter vojakov okupatorskih vojsk in njihovih domačih pomagačev kot članica protihitlerjevske koalicije, tj. zveze 26 držav (med njimi so bile Norveška, Belgija, Luksemburg, Nizozemska, De Gaullova Francija, Grčija), žrtev Hitlerjeve agresije, v katerih so delovale domače odporniške skupine. Pobudo za ustanovitev zveze je dala Velika Britanija poleti leta 1941, ko so v svobodni svet prodrla prva šokantna poročila o nacističnih grozodejstvih na

okupiranih ozemljih Poljske, Ukrajine in Rusije. Zveza je zasnovala tudi temelje za vzpostavitev posebnega sodišča za vojne zločine. Jugoslovansko protifašistično gibanje in njegov operativni aparat (NOB) je zastopal Antifašistični svet narodne osvoboditve Jugoslavije (AVNOJ).

Sodišča so razpolagala z zadostnimi dokazi. Je bila zatorej pravica zagotovljena? So žrtve lahko pričakovale zadoščenje? S primerjanjem obravnave vojnih zločinov na jugoslovanskih sodiščih z vzorci v drugih komunističnih državah lahko ugotovim, da so jugoslovanska sodišča holokavst obravnavala kot edinstven fenomen. Plemenita ideja, da bi žrtvam zagotovili zadoščenje, pa se je kljub temu sprevrgla v neusmiljeno, krvavo maščevanje do obsojenih vojnih zločincev in arbitrarno obtoženih „sovražnikov ljudstva“. Iz spominov žrtev „ljudskih sodišč“ lahko razberemo, kaj je za posameznikovo življenje in obstoj pomenilo znajti se v primežu partizanskih sodišč. In tudi uradni dokumenti dajejo jasno sporočilo: nova država je ustvarila nove žrtve.

Žrtve holokavsta so se bile primorane soočiti z novo razveljavitvijo njihovih pravic in napornim pogajanjem za minimalno materialno preživetje: kot partizane jih je komunistična Jugoslavija sicer odlikovala in počastila, kot civilne žrtve pa podcenjevala in zapostavljala. O njihovem boju z brezbrizno in nevedno birokracijo pričajo tako dokumenti, hranjeni v fondu „*Sabor NRH*“ (Hrvaški državni arhiv, fonda št. 278 in 1078), kakor tudi dokumenti ministrstva za socialne zadeve. V tem smislu je toliko bolj pomembna tudi zbirka spominov preživelih žrtev, ki jo je zbrala Jasminka

Domaš, pričevanja Judov v Sloveniji pa so objavile Irena Šumi in Hannah Starman ter Meliha Fajić. Judovski zgodovinski muzej v Beogradu že vrsto let izdaja zbornike s pričevanji, biografijami in avtobiografijami preživelih žrtev z naslovom *Mi smo preživeli*.

Na osnovi gradiva, ki sem ga pregledala v navedenih arhivih, lahko povzamem, da je bil odnos Jugoslavije do holokavsta in njegovih žrtev oziroma preživelih precej ambivalenten. Jugoslovanski pravni sistem se je holokavstu posvečal predvsem kot pravnemu vprašanju, ali natančneje, z osredotočenostjo na krivdo, pravno odgovornost in kaznovanje, a holokavsta mu ni uspelo reflektirati kot moralni problem. Ugotavljam, da komunistična Jugoslavija problema moralnega in pravnega dojetja holokavsta ni prepoznala kot posebno obvezo in nalogo za prihodnost, za učenje iz zgodovine, in da ji, zlasti v mirovnih pogajanjih z državami, s katerimi se je bojevala v vojni, ni bilo mar za posamezne žrtve. Zato so žrtve holokavsta – v škodo kulture spominjanja – svoje spomine in doživete travme potisnile globoko v podzavest in potlačile svojo judovsko identiteto, da bi v novi Jugoslaviji lahko preživele in mirno živele. Holokavst je bil tako v Jugoslaviji profaniran in zreduciran na en spominski dan.

# HOLOCAUST AND ITS VICTIMS IN COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA

*Dr Anna Maria Grünfelder*

“Not for revenge, but as an act of piety towards the victims of the Nazi and Fascist Regimes” (Yugoslav representative to the Allied Headquarters in Europe, Dr Sloven Smodlaka), the authorities of communist Yugoslavia announced their decision to punish all war crimes committed on occupied Yugoslav territory. A remarkable amount of research published in recent years has focused on critics of the “Partisans’ justice” (i.e. “injustice”) in general. There remains a need to evaluate the results of the State Commission for investigation of the law crimes of the occupation forces and their domestic collaborators documented in the relative collections of investigative reports and court sentences, in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb and State Archives in Rijeka, as well as in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia. Thus I have decided to pay attention to the quality of these investigations, considering it as reliable testimony for the relationship of the newly-established communist Yugoslavia towards the victims of the Holocaust and the culture of Holocaust remembrance. This issue will be treated within the light of western critical attitude towards the “Victor’s justice” or (with irony quoted) the “Partisans’ justice” (more precisely “Partisans’ injustice”), because of atrocities committed by Tito’s Partisans against both the soldiers of the Axis’ armies and domestic “People’s enemies”. The archival has until now been presented as a testimony for “typical Stalinist” methods of investigation and sentences lacking the fundamental elements of Law and the rule of Right.

However, after a “tour d’horizon” through the more than 800 volumes in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb -- the archives in Rijeka and Ljubljana are less voluminous -- I can state that, it contains thoroughly and consciously elaborated protocols and sentences “lege artis”, as well as evidences for untenably sloppy work, to the detriment of many arbitrarily accused “People’s enemies”.

Researchers have not yet addressed the question of legitimacy of the Yugoslav war-crime-sentences. As the supposed documents are to be found in the archives of the former Allied forces (e.g. in London and/or Washington, perhaps also in Belgrade), I was forced to reduce my research of these issues to the more than scarcely historiographic literature. Memoirs of Yugoslav diplomats - like Leo Mates and general Vladimir Velebit, served me as reliable and informative sources. Therefore I will point out, on the basis of some few originals, the fact that Yugoslavia had assumed liability to punish her own war criminals, as well as foreign members of the Axis forces and civil servants of the occupation armies, as a member of the Anti-Hitler Coalition, an alliance of 26 countries (among them Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, De Gaulle’s France, Greece) - victims of Hitler’s aggression and with an autochthonous Resistance from the very beginning of the aggression. This association, conceived by the Government of Great Britain as early as in summer 1941, when the first shocking reports of German atrocities in the



occupied regions in Poland, Ukraine and Russia stirred the conscience of the free World, elaborated the principles for a further special tribunal for war crimes. It was AVNOJ to represent the Yugoslav antifascist movement and its operational instrument (NOV).

The courts of justice were furnished with sufficient quantities of evidence. So, justice was guaranteed? The victims could count on satisfaction? Comparing the approach of the Yugoslav courts towards war-crimes with patterns in other communist countries, I cannot but point out that it was only in Yugoslavia, where the Holocaust was handled as such a singular phenomenon. Disregarding this quality, the noble idea of rendering satisfaction to the victims became perverted into a merciless, bloody revenge to convicted war criminals and arbitrarily accused "Peoples' enemies". Memoirs of victims of the "Peoples' courts" are a testimony to what it meant for their lives and existence to find themselves in the jaws of the Partisans' courts. Also official documents represent plainspoken text: the new state provoked new victims.

Victims of Holocaust had to face with a new annihilation of their rights and with an exhausting haggle for a minimum of material sustainment: In communist Yugoslavia they were decorated and honoured as Partisans, but unappreciated and neglected as civil victims. The archival "*Sabor NRH*" (Croatian State Archives, volume Nr. 278 and Nr. 1078) as well as the documents of the Ministry for social politics testify to the struggles of the victims with an indifferent and ignorant bureaucracy. The more important are anthologies of the experiences

of survivors, like those of Jasminka Domaš (Croatia), and regarding Jews in Slovenia, published by Irena Šumi with Hannah Starman, or Meliha Fajić. The Jewish historical museum in Belgrade (orig. *Jevrejski istorijski muzej, Beograd*) have, for a long time, been collecting narratives, biographies and autobiographies, under the title *We have survived*.

Summarizing my insights in the mentioned archives, I must state that Yugoslavia's relation to Holocaust and its victims and survivors respectively, was pretty ambivalent. Yugoslavia's law system dealt with the legal problem of the Holocaust, precisely on one singular aspect: with guilt, legal responsibility and punishment - but it failed to reflect the Holocaust as a moral problem. I conclude that communist Yugoslavia did not recognize the problem of the moral and legal comprehension of the Holocaust as a specific commitment and a task for the future, for learning from history. Moreover, Yugoslavia, especially in the peace talks with the states, it fought with during the war, did not care for the individual victims. Therefore the victims of the Holocaust - to the detriment of the culture of remembrance - pushed their memories and experienced trauma deep into the subconscious and suppressed their Jewish identity in order to survive and live peacefully in the new Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia, the Holocaust was thus profaned and reduced to one annual day of commemoration.

VSako LETO ENO IME | EACH YEAR ONE NAME

# IVAN BRESKVAR

ORGANIZACIJA IN IZVEDBA MEDNARODNEGA ZNANSTVENEGA SREČANJA | ORGANIZATION AND REALIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC MEETING  
Center judovske kulturne dediščine Sinagoga Maribor

V SODELOVANJU Z | IN CO-OPERATION WITH  
Univerzitetno knjižnico Maribor

## AVTORJI PRISPEVKOV | AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES

Dejan Súč, Knjižnica – Kulturni center Lendava  
Franc Kuzmič, Murska Sobota  
Boris Hajdinjak, Prva gimnazija Maribor  
Gerald Lamprecht, Center za judovske študije, Univerza Karla in Franca v Gradcu  
Ljiljana Dobrovšak, Inštitut za družbene vede Ivo Pilar, Zagreb  
Renato Podbersič ml., Študijski center za narodno spravo, Ljubljana  
Anna Maria Grünfelder, Zagreb

UREDILA | EDITED BY  
Marjetka Bedrač

PREVOD | TRANSLATED BY  
Valerija Trojar, Marjetka Bedrač, Gerald Lamprecht, Anna Maria Grünfelder

JEZIKOVNI PREGLED | PROOFREAD BY  
Darja Gabrovšek Homšak, Stephen Mayland

OBLIKOVANJE | GRAPHIC DESIGN  
drugaOblika

TISK | PRINTED BY  
Design Studio

IZDAL | PUBLISHED BY  
Center judovske kulturne dediščine Sinagoga Maribor,  
zanj v. d. direktorice | as represented by acting director  
Marjetka Bedrač

MARIBOR, 2017  
150 izvodov | copies

Brezplačna publikacija | Free publication

© 2017, vse avtorske pravice pridržane | all rights reserved  
Za vsebino prispevkov odgovarjajo avtorji. | The contents of papers are the sole responsibility of the authors.

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji  
Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor

341.485(=411.16):929Breskvar I.(o82)  
94(497.4=411.16)"1941/1945"(o82)

MEDNARODNO znanstveno srečanje Vsako leto eno ime (2017 ;  
Maribor)

Ivan Breskvar / Mednarodno znanstveno srečanje Vsako leto eno ime, Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor, 27. januar 2017 = International Scientific Meeting Each Year One Name, University of Maribor Library, [27th January 2017] ; [avtorji prispevkov Dejan Súč ... [et al.] ; uredila Marjetka Bedrač ; prevod Valerija Trojar ... et al.]. - Maribor : Center judovske kulturne dediščine Sinagoga, 2017

1. Gl. stv. nasl. 2. Súč, Dejan 3. Bedrač, Marjetka  
COBISS.SI-ID 90453505

Mednarodno znanstveno srečanje in izdaja publikacije sta bila pripravljena v sklopu projekta *Šoa – spominjajmo se 2017*, ki sta ga podprla Mestna občina Maribor in Ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve Republike Slovenije.

The international scientific meeting and the publication were prepared as part of the project *Shoah - Let Us Remember 2017*, which was supported by the Municipality of Maribor and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia.

Med letoma 2011 in 2014 smo projekt *Šoa – spominjajmo se* gradili s finančno podporo Mednarodne zveze za spomin na holokavst – IHRA. Between 2011 and 2014, we developed the project *Shoah - Let Us Remember* with the financial support of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance - IHRA.

**SINAGOGA**

CENTER JUDOVSKÉ KULTURNE  
DEDIŠČINE SINAGOGA MARIBOR



MESTNA OBČINA  
**MARIBOR**

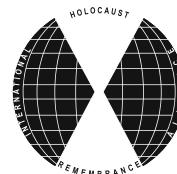


Univerza v Mariboru

Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor



REPUBLIKA SLOVENIJA  
MINISTRSTVO ZA ZUNANJE ZADEVE



**ČASTNI POKROVITELJ PROJEKTA ŠOA – SPOMINJAJMO SE 2017 | HONORARY PATRON OF THE PROJECT SHOAH - LET US REMEMBER 2017**  
**BORUT PAHOR, PREDSEDNIK REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE | PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA**

**PARTNERJI PROJEKTA ŠOA – SPOMINJAJMO SE 2017 | PARTNERS OF THE PROJECT SHOAH - LET US REMEMBER 2017**

Akademija za glasbo, Ljubljana; Cankarjev dom; Center judovske kulturne dediščine Sinagoga Maribor; II. gimnazija Maribor; Dvojezična osnovna šola I Lendava; Galerija-Muzej Lendava; Gimnazija Ilirska Bistrica; Glasbena matica Ljubljana; Hotel Mitra, Ptuj; Judovski kulturni center Ljubljana; Kulturno društvo Člen 7 za avstrijsko Štajersko – Pavlova hiša, Potrna/Laafeld; Kulturno društvo Lendava; Mariborska knjižnica; Medobčinski muzej Kamnik; Mini teater, Ljubljana; Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije; OŠ Draga Kobala Maribor; OŠ Koseze; OŠ Pesnica; OŠ Starše; Pokrajinska in študijska knjižnica Murska Sobota; Prešernovo gledališče Kranj; Prva gimnazija Maribor; RTV Slovenija; Salon uporabnih umetnosti, Maribor; Sinagoga Lendava – Slovenski muzej holokavsta; Slovensko komorno glasbeno gledališče; Srednja šola Slovenj Gradec in Muta; Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor; Založba Pivec, Maribor; Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti; Zveza kulturnih društev Lendava; Zveza združenj borcev za vrednote NOB Slovenije – Koordinacija taboriščnih odborov

**KOORDINATORICA | CO-ORDINATOR**

Marjetka Bedrač

Center judovske kulturne dediščine Sinagoga Maribor  
Židovska ulica 4, 2000 Maribor, SI-Slovenija  
Tel.: +386(0)2 252 78 36; faks: +386(0)2 252 78 37  
www.sinagogamaribor.si; info@sinagogamaribor.si

ŠOA - SPOMINJAJMO SE 2017  
SHOAH - LET US REMEMBER 2017

*Vsako leto  
eno ime  
Each Year  
One Name*

**IVAN  
BRESKVAR**

**SINAGOGA**

CENTER JUDOVSKÉ KULTURNE  
DEDIŠČINE SINAGOGA MARIBOR