

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

**CASE CONCERNING APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE
PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE**

(CROATIA v. SERBIA)

COUNTER-MEMORIAL

SUBMITTED BY THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

ANNEXES

Volume II

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SECTION I

**The Independent State of Croatia 1941-1945 and Genocide
against Serbs, Jews and Roma**

/Historical Sources/

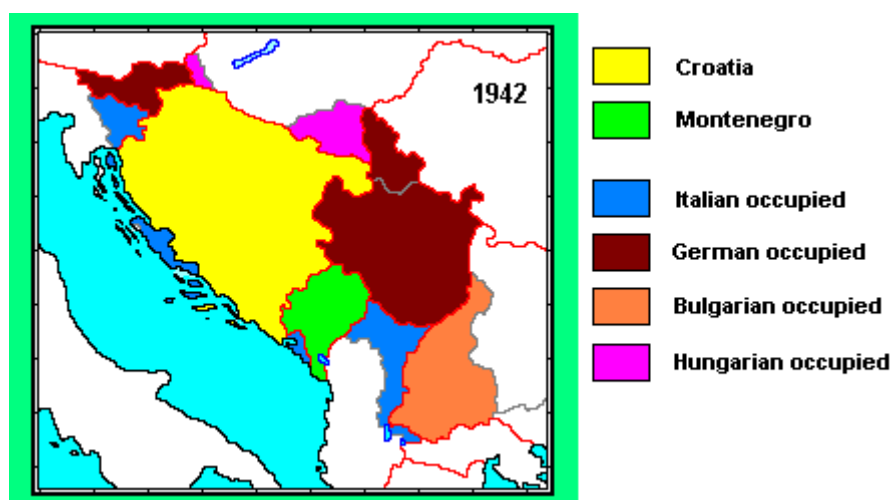
ANNEX 1

**Map of the Independent State of Croatia
1941–1945**

Annex 1: Map of the Independent State of Croatia



Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a8/Croatia_41_45.gif



Source: <http://www.zum.de/whkmla/histatlas/balkans/yugo1942.gif>

ANNEX 2

Legal Decrees of the Independent State of Croatia

Source: Code of Legal Decrees and Orders of the Independent State of Croatia, edition of the Ministry for Justice and Religion, Zagreb, 1941–1942 (Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, izdanje Ministarstva pravosudja i bogoštovlja, Zagreb, 1941. i 1942.)

**LEGAL DECREE ON DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE
AND THE STATE**

1. Whoever violates or has violated or who offends or has offended in any way the honour, life's interests of the Croatian people or who threatens in any way the survival of the Independent State of Croatia or its state authorities, even if such an act is only attempted, shall be held accountable for the crime of high treason.
2. Whoever shall be held accountable for the crime referred to in paragraph 1 above shall receive the death penalty.
3. In order to try cases under this legal decree, the Minister of Justice shall appoint, as appropriate, irregular people's courts comprising three people, which shall hear cases under summary procedure in accordance with the regulations contained in the repealed Croatian penal code governing courts marshal.
4. The Minister of Justice shall appoint members of the court marshal.
5. This legal decree shall come into force immediately.

Zagreb, 17 April 1941

Poglavnik (Leader)
Dr. Ante Pavelic (Signed)

**LEGAL DECREE
ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE CYRILLIC SCRIPT**

§ 1

The use of the Cyrillic script shall be prohibited in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia.

§ 2

This legal decree shall come into force on the date of its proclamation in “Narodne Novine” and its implementation shall be entrusted to the Ministry of Interior.

Zagreb, 25 April 1941

Poglavnik (Leader)
Dr. Ante Pavelic (Signed)

No. XXV-33-Z.p.-1941

Head of
the Legal Office
under Poglavnik

Dr. Milovan Zanic (Signed)

**LEGAL DECREE
ON COURTS MARSHAL**

Article II

[...]

For all the above punishable acts committed from the date of the proclamation of a court marshal, a sentence of execution by a firing squad shall be pronounced before the court marshal.

Article VIII

No legal remedy shall be allowed against a judgment reached by the court marshal, while a request for pardon shall not stay the execution of a judgment.

Article IX

The sentence of death shall be executed by a firing squad three hours after the time of the pronouncement of the sentence.

**LEGAL DECREE
ON THE PROTECTING OF CROATIAN PEOPLE'S PROPERTY**

[Excerpt]

1. Any legal business signed between Jews themselves or between Jews and third parties that had been entered into within the period of two months prior to the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia shall be declared null and void, if the value of the deal exceeds the amount of 100,000 dinars and if the deal is not subsequently approved by the Minister of Justice, to whom such deals should be submitted for approval within ten days after the proclamation of this Legal Decree.

**LEGAL DECREE
ON CITIZENSHIP**

[Excerpt]

Article 2

A citizen shall be considered a member of the State of Arian origin who has proven by his conduct that he has not acted against the liberation aspirations of the Croatian people and who is willing and ready to serve the Croatian people and the Independent State of Croatia faithfully.

**LEGAL DECREE
ON THE RACE**

[Excerpt]

Article 1

A person of Arian origin shall be considered one who has ancestors belonging to the European stock of races or who has descendants of that stock outside Europe.

Unless there are no other legal decrees for official purposes, an Arian origin shall be proven by a certificate of birth or a marriage certificate of ancestors, first or second removed (parents or grandparents). For members of the Islamic community who cannot produce these documents, it is necessary to submit in writing testimony of two credible witnesses who knew his/her ancestors, to the effect that they were not of non-Arian origin.

In case of ambiguity, the Ministry of Interior shall make a decision at the proposal of the Racial/Political Office.

**LEGAL DECREE
ON THE PROTECTION OF THE ARIAN BLOOD AND HONOUR OF THE
CROATIAN PEOPLE**

[Excerpt]

Article 1

A marriage of Jews or other persons of non-Arian origin with persons of Arian origin shall be prohibited. Also prohibited shall be marriages of persons who, besides Arian ancestors, also have one ancestor second removed who is a Jew by race or another European non-Arian, with persons who are racially of equal origin.

Which persons shall be considered Jews or non-Arians shall be determined by the Legal Decree on the race.

**LEGAL DECREE
ON SENDING DISOBEDIENT AND DANGEROUS PERSONS TO FORCED
LABOUR AT CONCENTRATION AND LABOUR CAMPS**

[Excerpt]

§ 1

Disobedient persons who are a threat to public order and security, or who may threaten peace and tranquility of the Croatian people or the achievements of the liberation struggle of the Croatian Ustasha Movement may be sent to forced labour in concentration and labour camps. These camps shall be authorized to be established in some places in the Independent State of Croatia by the Supervising Service.

§ 3

The decision to send an individual to forced labour at concentration or labour camp and on the duration of that stay or the level of alert or threat shall be made under the terms of this Legal Provision by the Ustasha Police, as an organ of the Ustasha Supervising Service.

All administrative and self-administered regions including the institutions of the Ustasha Movement shall be obliged to report persons referred to in § 1 of this Legal Decree to the Ustasha Police through the district police headquarters of their region.

No legal remedy or an appeal may be lodged to the Administrative Court against the decision of the Ustasha Police on the sending to forced labour at concentration or labour camps.

LEGAL DECREE
ON THE CONFISCATION OF THE PROPERTY OF PERSONS DISTURBING
PUBLIC PEACE AND ORDER

[Excerpt]

§ 1

Against persons convicted of having violated public peace and order because they alone, or in community with armed formations, committed a crime against the present state system or constitutional order, or against the armed forces of the Independent State of Croatia, a court of law shall find, in principle, in the judgment pronounced for the said crime, that the property of such persons shall be confiscated in favour of the Independent State of Croatia.

LEGAL DECREE
ON THE SUPPRESSION OF VIOLENT AND PUNISHABLE ACTS AGAINST THE
STATE, CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OR PROPERTY

[Excerpt]

I. Sending to collective camps

§ 1

Some members of family of individuals who on their own, or in community with armed formations, disturb public order and security, or who violate peace and tranquility of Croatian people, or who commit a violent punishable act against the state, individuals or property, including family members of those who had fled their homes, may be sent for forced stay in collective camps. Such camps shall be authorized to be established by the Ministry of Interior, the Office for Public Order and Security in places of the Independent State of Croatia.

Ovlaštenje načelnika gr. Zagreba za donošanje odluka

Zamjenik Poglavnika i Vrhovni

Zapovjednik cjelokupne vojne sile

Zagreb, 11. IV. 1941.

NAREDBA

Po punomoći Poglavnika određujem odstupno od postojećih propisa, da načelnik slob. i kr. glavnoga grada Zagreba može donošati sve odluke, koje spadaju u nadležnost gradskog zastupstva.

Ova Naredba ima privremeni značaj, dok se ne donese zakon o hrvatskim gradovima.*

Zamjenik Poglavnika:

Slavko Kvaternik, v. r.

* Narodne Novine od 11. travnja 1941. br. 1.

Zakonska odredba o izvanrednim narodnim sudovima

NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA

ZAKONSKA ODREDBA ZA OBRANU NARODA I DRŽAVE

1. Tko bilo na koji način povrijedi ili je povrijedio čast i životne interese hrvatskog naroda ili bilo na koji način ugrozi opstanak Nezavisne Države Hrvatske ili državne vlasti, pa makar djelo i ostalo samo u pokušaju, čini se krivcem zločina veleizdaje.

2. Tko se učini krivcem zločina u točki 1. navedenoga ima ga stići kazna smrti.

3. Za sudovanje po ovoj zakonskoj odredbi, postavlja ministar za pravosuđe po potrebi izvanredne narodne sudove od tri osobe, koji imaju suditi hitnim postupkom po propisima ukinutog hrvatskog kaznenog postupnika o prijekom sudu.

4. Ministar pravosuđa imade imenovati članove suda.

5. Ova zakonska odredba stupa odmah na snagu.*

U Zagrebu, dne 17. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

* Narodne Novine od 17. travnja 1941. br. 4.

ZAKONSKA ODREDBA o zabrani ćirilice.

§ 1.

Na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske zabranjuje se uporaba ćirilice.

§ 2.

Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u »Narodnim Novinama«, a provedenje povjerava se ministarstvu unutarnjih poslova.*

U Zagrebu, 25. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj XXV-33-Z. p.-1941.

Predsjednik
zakonodavnog povjereništva
pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Žanić, v. r.

* Narodne Novine od 25. travnja 1941. br. 11.

PROVEDBENA NAREDBA

ministarstva unutarnjih poslova zakonskoj
odredbi o zabrani ćirilice.

§ 1.

Zabranjena je svaka uporaba ćirilice na cijelom području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. To se naročito odnosi na cijelo poslovanje svih državnih i samoupravnih tijela, na urede javnog poretka, na trgovačke i njima slične knjige i dopisivanje i na sve javne napise.

Prema tome naredjujem:

da se na cijelom području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske odmah obustavi svaka uporaba ćirilice u javnom i privatnom životu. Svako štampanje ma kakovih knjiga ćirilicom je zabranjeno.

Svi javni napisi pisani ćirilicom imaju se neodvlačno, a najkasnije u roku od tri dana skinuti.

§ 2.

Prekršitelji ove naredbe kaznit će se po upravnim oblastima novčano do 10.000 dinara i zatvorom do mjesec dana.*

U Zagrebu, 25. travnja 1941.

Broj 34- Z. p.-1941.

Ministar unutarnjih poslova:

Dr. Andrija Artuković, v. r.

* Narodne Novine od 25. travnja 1941. br. 11.

Zakonska odredba o prijekim sudovima

Na prijedlog ministra pravosuđa propisujem i proglašujem

ZAKONSKU ODREDBU

o prijekim sudovima.

Toč. 1.

Prijeki sudovi kod sudbenih stolova su izvanredni sudovi za suđenje zbog kažnjivih djela nabrojenih u toč. II. ove zakonske odredbe, kada ministar pravosuđa proglasi prijeku sud za područje pojedinoga sudbenoga stola. Prijeku sud ima se svestrano oglasiti na području za koje bude proglašen.

Toč. II.

Pred prijeku sud bit će stavljen:

1. onaj, koji učini koje od kažnjivih djela navedenih u §§-ima 154., 167., odjel 1. i 2., 188. i 189., 191., 201., odjel 1. i 2., 206., 207. odjel 1., 209. i 326. do 328. kaznenoga zakonika od 27. siječnja 1929.;

2. onaj, koji na javni poziv vlasti u određenom roku ne preda vlasti vatreno i hladno oružje, za koje nema dozvole nošenja i držanja;

3. onaj, koji sakriva ili bilo na koji način pruža pomoć osobama, za koje može sumnjati, da su izvršile koje od djela navedenih u ovoj točki pod br. 1. ili da pripremaju izvršenje kojega od tih djela.

Za sva ova kažnjiva djela učinjena od dana proglašenja prijekoga suda određuje se pred prijekim sudom kazna smrti strijeljanjem.

Zakonska odredba o prijekim sudovima

Toč. III.

Postupak pred prijekim sudom se može provesti samo na prijedlog državnoga tužitelja.

Toč. IV.

Prijeki sud sudi u vijeću od tri suca. Jedan od tih sudaca ne mora biti pravnik, ali u vijeću mora predsjedati sudac pravnik.

Cijeli postupak proti okrivljeniku ima se provesti od početka do kraja pred sakupljenim sudom i ukoliko je moguće bez prekidanja.

Toč. V.

Postupak pred prijekim sudom je javan i usmen.

Rasprava pred prijekim sudom počinje usmenom optužbom državnoga tužitelja.

Ako okrivljenik sam ne odabere branitelja, postaviti će mu ga sud ureda radi.

Na raspravu se shodno primjenjuju propisi zakonika o sudskom kaznenom postupku od 16. veljače 1929., ukoliko u ovoj zakonskoj odredbi nije drukčije određeno.

Postupak se ima ograničiti na to, da bude dokazano djelo, zbog kojega je postupak pred prijekim sudom bio poyeden.

U postupku prijekoga suda odšteta se ne dosuđuje.

Čim dokazni postupak bude dovršen, ima državni tužitelj obrazložiti svoj konačni prijedlog. Optuženik i njegov branitelj imaju uvijek prava, da državnom tužitelju odgovore. Nakon svršenih govora: optužbe i obrane predsjedatelj zaključuje raspravu.

Zakonska odredba o prijekim sudovima

Toč. VI.

Odmah nakon zaključenja rasprave sud u tajnoj sjednici stvara osudu, koju zatim javno proglašuje.

Ako optuženik bude proglašen krivim, prijekni sud ima izreći kaznu smrti strijeljanjem.

Toč. VII.

Zapisnik o raspravi i o vijećanju pred prijekim sudom potpisuju svi suci i perovoda.

Toč. VIII.

Proti osudi prijekoga suda nije dopušten nikakav pravni lijek, a molba za pomilovanje nema odgodne moći.

Toč. IX.

Kazna smrti ima se izvršiti strijeljanjem nakon tri sata računajući od časa proglašenja osude.

Toč. X.

Izuzetno od propisa toč. II. stavke 2. prijekni sud sudit će kažnjiva djela iz toč. II. učinjena od dana 6. travnja 1941., ako prijekni sud bude proglašen u roku od tri mjeseca nakon stupanja na snagu ove zakonske odredbe.

Toč. XI.

Provedenje ove zakonske odredbe povjerava se ministru pravosuđa.

Zakonska odredba o prijekim sudovima

Toč. XII.

Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u »Narodnim novinama«.*

U Zagrebu 17. svibnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj LXXXII.-148-Z. p.-1941.

Ministar pravosuda:

Dr. Mirko Puk, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 20. svibnja 1941. br. 32.

Zakonska odredba o sačuvanju hrv. narodne imovine

MINISTARSTVO PRAVOSUDJA

Broj 19182-1941.

Na prijedlog Ministra pravosuđa propisujem i proglašujem

ZAKONSKU ODREDBU

o sačuvanju hrvatske narodne imovine

1. Svi pravni poslovi između Židova međusobno i između Židova i trećih lica sklopljeni unutar dva mjeseca prije proglašenja Nezavisne Države Hrvatske proglašuju se ništavima, ako vrijednost pravnoga posla prelazi iznos od 100.000.— dinara, i ako ih naknadno ne odobri Ministar pravosuđa, komu se imaju podnijeti na odobrenje u roku od deset dana nakon proglašenja ove Zakonske odredbe.

2. Kotarski sudovi imaju odmah provesti zabilježbu ništavosti pravnoga posla u zemljišnim knjigama, u kojima su upisane otudjene nekretnine, pozivom na ovu Zakonsku odredbu, a isto tako imaju i sve druge vlasti, koje vode kakve javne knjige u pogledu otudjene imovine upisati u tim knjigama ništavnost pravnoga posla.

3. Provođenje ove Zakonske odredbe povjerava se Ministru pravosuđa.

Ova Zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u »Narodnim Novinama«.*

Zagreb, 19. travnja 1941. Poglavnik Države Hrvatske:

Predsjednik povjereništva *Dr. Ante Pavelić*, v. r.
za zakonodavstvo pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Žanić, v. r.

* Narodne Novine od 19. travnja 1941. br. 6.

Zakonska odredba o nekretninama t. zv. dobrovoljaca

Zakonodavno povjereništvo
pri Poglavniku

Nezavisne Države Hrvatske
Broj 7-1941.

ZAKONSKA ODREDBA
o nekretninama t. zv. dobrovoljaca.

§ 1.

Sva zemljišta, što su bila podijeljena t. zv. dobrovoljcima na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske proglašujem današnjim danom hrvatskom narodnom imovinom. Nitko od dosadanih vlasnika i posjednika nema pravo na bilo kakovu odštetu za tu zemlju niti za bilo što, na toj zemlji sagrađeno.

§ 2.

Svi su prenositi te zemlje na treće osobe, koji su uslijedili iza 1. veljače 1941. godine ili će od sad uslijediti, ništetni.

§ 3.

Gornje zemlje podijeliti će se u vlasništvo Hrvatima seljacima na temelju posebnog zakona, koji će se izdati. Dotle će posebni državni organi s tom imovinom upravljati.

110vedbena naredba o zabrani otudjivanja nekretnina

Točka 4.

Molba za odobrenje otudjivanja ili opterećivanja mora se biljegovati po zakonu o taksama, a treba da sadržava slijedeće podatke:

1. ime i prezime, vjeroispovijest, zanimanje i prebivalište učesnika te vjeroispovijest njihovih roditelja;
2. vrijednost nekretnina, koje se otudjuju;
3. razloge otudjenja, odnosno sticanja ili opterećivanja.*

U Zagrebu, dne 28. travnja 1941.

Broj: 52-Z. p.-1941.

Ministar pravosudja:

Dr. Mirko Puk, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 29. travnja 1941. br. 14.

Zakonska odredba o državljanstvu

*Na prijedlog ministra unutarnjih poslova propisujem
i proglašujem*

ZAKONSKU ODREDBU
o državljanstvu

Točka 1.

Državni pripadnik je osoba, koja stoji pod zaštitom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Državno pripadništvo stiče se po propisima zakonske odredbe o državnom pripadništvu.

Točka 2.

Državljanin je državni pripadnik arijskog porijetla, koji je svojim držanjem dokazao, da nije radio protiv oslobodilačkih težnja hrvatskog naroda i koji je voljan spremno i vjerno služiti hrvatskom narodu i Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj.

Točka 3.

Državljanin je nosilac političkih prava prema odredbama zakonâ.

Točka 4.

Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova izdati će naredbe potrebne za provedbu i nadopunu ove zakonske odredbe.

Zakonska odredba o državljanstvu

Točka 5.

Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

U Zagrebu, 30. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj XXXIX/64-Z. p. — 1941.

Predsjednik
zakonodavnog povjereništva
pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Žanić, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 30. travnja 1941. br. 16.

Zakonska odredba o rasnoj pripadnosti

Na prijedlog ministra unutarnjih poslova propisujem
i proglašujem

ZAKONSKU ODREDBU

o rasnoj pripadnosti

Točka 1.

Arijskog porijetla je osoba, koja potječe od predaka, koji su pripadnici europske rasne zajednice ili koji potječu od potomaka te zajednice izvan Europe.

U koliko za stanovite službe ne postoje druge odredbe, arijsko se porijetlo dokazuje krsnim (rodnim) i vjenčanim listom predaka prvog i drugog koljena (roditelja te djedova i baka). Kod pripadnika islamske vjerske zajednice, koji ne mogu pridonijeti navedene isprave, potrebno je pismeno posvjedočenje dvojice vjerodostojnih svjedoka, koji su poznavali njihove predke, da među njima nema osoba nearijskog porijetla.

U dvojbenim slučajevima donosi odluku ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova na prijedlog rasnopolitičkog povjerenstva.

Točka 2.

Osobe, koje pored arijskih predaka imaju jednog predka drugog koljena Židova ili drugog europskog nearijca po rasi izjednačuju se obzirom na sticanje državljanstva s osobama arijskog porijetla.

Osobe sa dva predka drugog koljena Židova po rasi takodjer mogu biti obzirom na državljanstvo izjednačene s osobama arijskog porijetla, u koliko to u točki 3. nije drugačije određeno.

Zakonska odredba o rasnoj pripadnosti

Točka 3.

Kao Židovi u smislu ove zakonske odredbe vrijede:

1. Osobe, koje potječu barem od troje predaka drugog koljena (djedovâ i bakâ), koji su Židovi po rasi. Djedovi i bake vrijede kao Židovi, ako su mojsijeve vjere ili su se u toj vjeri rodili.

2. Osobe, koje imaju dva predka drugog koljena, koji su Židovi po rasi, i to u ovim slučajevima:

a) ako su bile 10. travnja 1941. pripadnici mojsijeve vjere ili ako su kasnije na tu vjeru prešli;

b) ako imaju bračnog druga, koji vrijedi kao Židov u smislu 1.;

c) ako su poslije stupanja na snagu ove zakonske odredbe sklopili brak s osobom, koja ima dvoje ili više predaka drugog koljena Židova po rasi, i potomci iz takvog braka;

d) ako su nezakonita djeca sa Židovom u smislu 1., a rode se poslije 31. siječnja 1942.;

e) ako ministarstvo za unutarnje poslove na obrazloženi prijedlog rasnopolitičkog povjerenstva odluči, da vrijede kao Židovi.

3. Osobe, rođene izvan teritorija Nezavisne Države Hrvatske od roditelja, koji ne potječu iz Nezavisne Države Hrvatske ako su bile 10. travnja 1941. mojsijeve vjere ili imaju najmanje dvoje predaka drugog koljena Židova po rasi, ili vrijede kao Židovi u smislu zakona zemlje, iz koje potječu.

4. Osobe, koje su poslije stupanja na snagu ove zakonske odredbe sklopile obilaženjem zakonske odredbe o zaštiti arijske krvi brak, koji je zabranjen i njihovi potomci.

5. Osobe, koja su nezakonita djeca Židovki u smislu 1.

Zakonska odredba o rasnoj pripadnosti

Točka 4.

Kao Ciganin u smislu ove zakonske odredbe vrijedi osoba, koja potječe od dvaju ili više predaka drugog koljena, koji su Cigani po rasi.

Točka 5.

Kod ministarstva unutarnjih poslova osniva se rasno političko povjerenstvo, koje donša mnijenja i prijedloge u svim dvojbenim slučajevima rasne pripadnosti.

Konačno rješenje o dvojbenim slučajevima rasne pripadnosti donša ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova.

Propise o ustrojstvu i djelokrugu rada toga povjerenstva izdat će ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova posebnom naredbom.

Točka 6.

Osobama, koje su se prije 10. travnja 1941. iskazale zaslužnima za Hrvatski narod, napose za njegovo oslobođenje, kao i njihovim bračnim drugovima, s kojima su sklopile brak prije stupanja na snagu ove zakonske odredbe i potomcima iz takvog braka, u koliko bi se na te osobe mogla odnositi ova naredba, može poglavar države izvan propisa ove naredbe priznati sva prava, koja pripadaju osobama arijskog porijekla.

Točka 7.

Provedba ove naredbe povjerava se ministru unutarnjih poslova.

Zakonska odredba o rasnoj pripadnosti

Točka 8.

Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

U Zagrebu, 30. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: XLV-68 Z. p. 41.

Predsjednik
zakonodavnog povjereništva
pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Žanić, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 30. travnja 1941. br. 16.

Zaštita arijske krvi i časti Hrvatskog naroda

Na prijedlog ministra unutarnjih poslova propisujem
i proglašujem

ZAKONSKU ODREDBU

o zaštiti arijske krvi i časti Hrvatskog naroda

Točka 1.

Brak Židova i inih osoba, koje nisu arijskog porijekla s osobama arijskog porijekla, je zabranjen. Isto tako je zabranjen brak osobe, koja pored arijskih predaka ima jednog predka drugog koljena po rasi Židova ili drugog europskog nearijca s osobom, koja je po rasi jednako porijekla.

Koje osobe vrijede kao Židovi ili nearijci određuje zakonska odredba o rasnoj pripadnosti.

Točka 2.

Posebna dozvola za sklapanje braka potrebna je u slijedećim slučajevima:

1. za brak osobe sa dva predka drugog koljena Židova po rasi s osobom, koja imade jednog predka drugog koljena europskog nearijca po rasi, ili s osobom, koja je arijskog porijekla;

2. za brak osobe, koja imade medju predcima pripadnike drugih neeuropskih rasa s osobama isto takvog porijekla, ili s osobom, koja imade jednog ili dva predka drugog koljena Židova po rasi ili jednog predka drugog koljena Ciganina po rasi, ili s osobom arijskog porijekla;

Zaštita arijske krvi i časti Hrvatskog naroda

3. za brak izmedju državljana i državnih pripadnika, ukoliko nije po točki 1. zabranjen.*

Dozvolu za takav brak izdaje ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova po saslušanju rasnopolitičkog povjerenstva.

Točka 3.

Izvanbračno spolno općenje Židova ili ine osobe, koja nije arijske krvi, sa ženskom osobom arijskog porijetla je zabranjeno.

Muška nearijska osoba, koja se ogriješi protiv ove zabrane počinja zločin oskvrnuća rase, te se kažnjava sa zatvorom ili tamnicom. U naročito teškim slučajevima, napose ako se radi o silovanju nevine djevojke, može se izreći smrtna kazna.

Točka 4.

Židovi ili ine osobe, koje nisu arijskog porijetla, ne smiju zaposliti u kućanstvu ženske osobe arijskog porijetla ispod 45 godina starosti.

Točka 5.

Nearijcima i državnim pripadnicima je zabranjeno izvješanje hrvatske državne i narodne zastave i isticanje hrvatskih narodnih boja i emblema.

Sve promjene židovskih prezimena koje su izvršene poslije 1. prosinca 1918. stavljaju se izvan krijeposti, te se imaju zamijeniti sa prvotnim prezimenima.

Tko je Židov odredjuje zakonska odredba o rasnoj pripadnosti.

* Po ispravku od 3. svibnja 1941. broj 76. Z. p. - 1941. (Nar. nov. od 2. svibnja 1941. br. 17.).

Zaštita arijske krvi i časti Hrvatskog naroda

Točka 6.

Ministar za unutarnje poslove izdati će naredbe o provedbi ove zakonske odredbe.

Točka 7.

Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

Zagreb, 30. travnja 1941.

Poglavnik:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: XLIV-67-Z. p.-1941.

Predsjednik
zakonodavnog povjereništva
pri Poglavniku:

Dr. Milovan Žanić, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 30. travnja 1941. br. 16.

Osnivanje Zajednice za tehničke masti

§ 17.

Zajednica za tehničke masti kao i njezina Poslovna središnjica uživaju sve pogodnosti, koje su u carinskim i poreznim propisima predviđene za proizvođače odnosno preradivače tehničkih masti.

§ 18.

Ova naredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

U Zagrebu 22. studenoga 1941.

Ministar za obrt, veleobrt i trgovinu:

Dr. Toth, v. r.

Broj 2085-Z-1941.

* Narodne novine od 25. studenoga 1941. broj 187.

ZAKONSKA ODREDBA

o upućivanju nepoćudnih i pogibeljnih osoba na prisilni boravak u sabirne i radne logore

§ 1.

Nepoćudne osobe, koje su pogibeljne za javni red i sigurnost, ili koje bi mogle ugroziti mir i spokojnost hrvatskog naroda ili tekovine oslobodilačke borbe hrvatskog ustaškog pokreta, mogu se uputiti na prisilni boravak i sabirne i radne logore. Ove logore ovlaštena je osnivati u pojedinim mjestima Nezavisne Države Hrvatske Ustaška nadzorna služba.

§ 2.

Trajanje boravka u sabirnim i radnim logorima ne može biti kraće od tri mjeseca ni duže od tri godine.

Ustaški nadzorni zapovjednik može u svako vrijeme po slobodnoj razsudi pojedinoj osobi smanjiti trajanje boravka i ublažiti stepen opreza i pazke.

§ 3.

Odluka o upućivanju osobe na prisilni boravak u sabirne i radne logore, o vremenu trajanja boravka i o stepenu opreza i pazke, a prema propisima ove zakonske odredbe, donosi ustaško redarstvo kao grana ustaške nadzorne službe.

Sve upravne i samoupravne oblasti, kao i ustanove ustaškog pokreta dužne su ustaškom redarstvu preko župskog redarstva svoga područja prijaviti osobe, navedene u § 1. ove zakonske odredbe.

Šabirni i radni logori

Proti odluci ustaškog redarstva o upućivanju na prisilni boravak u sabirne i radne logore nema pravnog lieka ni tužbe na upravni sud.

§ 4.

Donošenju odluke o upućivanju osoba na prisilni boravak u sabirne i radne logore ima predhoditi postupak, predviđen za upravno kazneno postupanje. Postupak provodi ustaško redarstvo neposredno ili posredno preko upravnih oblasti prve molbe.

§ 5.

Vrieme, provedeno u pritvoru upravnih oblasti i redarstva do donošenja odluke o upućivanju osobe na prisilni boravak u sabirne i radne logore, uračunava se u vrieme trajanja prisilnog boravka u logorima.

§ 6.

Ustaški nadzorni zapovjednik izdat će propisnik o ustrojstvu, poslovanju i stepenu opreza i pazke u sabirnim i radnim logorima, te o uzdržavanju osoba, upućenih u ove logore.

§ 7.

Ova zakonska odredba zadobiva pravnu moć danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama,* a provedba se povjerava ustaškom nadzornom zapovjedniku.

U Zagrebu, 25. studenoga 1941.

Poglavnik
Nezavisne Države Hrvatske:
Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: CDXXIX-2101-Z-1941.

Ministar pravosudja i bogoštovlja:
Dr. Mirko Puk, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 26. studenoga 1941. broj 188.

ZAKONSKA ODREDBA

o ovlaštenju za prienos poslova od ministarstva
na velike župe

§ 1.

Predsjednik vlade može iznimno od propisa stavke 2. § 5. zakonske odredbe o velikim župama od 10. lipnja 1941. broj CLIX-345-Z. p.-1941., naredbama, izdanim po prijedlogu mjerodavnih ministarstava, prenositi poslove iz djelokruga pojedinog ministarstva na velike župe kao prvomolbene državne upravne oblasti.

§ 2.

Ova zakonska odredba stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

U Zagrebu, 25. studenoga 1941.

Poglavnik
Nezavisne Države Hrvatske:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: CDXXVIII-2098-Z-1941.

Ministar unutarnjih poslova:

Dr. Andrija Artuković, v. r.

Ministar pravosudja i bogoštovlja:

Dr. Mirko Puk, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 26. studenoga 1941. broj 188.

Kolajna Poglavnika Ante Pavelića za hrabrost, osnutak

§ 8.

Neovlašteno nošenje kolajne za hrabrost kažnjava se sudbeno zatvorom do mjesec dana ili globom do 50.000 Kn.

§ 9.

Provedba ove zakonske odredbe povjerava se pročelniku odjela za odlikovanja u Poglavnikovu uredu, koji će izdati propisnik o podjeljivanju i nošenju kolajne.

§ 10.

Ova zakonska odredba zadobiva pravnu moć danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.*

U Zagrebu, dne 27. prosinca 1941.

Poglavnik
Nezavisne Države Hrvatske:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: CDLXIV-2168-Z-1941.

Ministar pravosudja i bogoštovlja:

Dr. Mirko Puk, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 30. prosinca 1941. broj 213.

ZAKONSKA ODREDBA

o oduzimanju imovine osobama, koje narušavaju javni mir i poredak

§ 1.

Protiv osoba, osudjenih sbog toga, što su narušile javni mir i poredak time što su, same ili u zajednici s oružanim skupinama počinile kakvo zločinstvo protiv postojećeg državnog uređenja ili ustavnog poredka, ili proti oružanoj snazi Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, sud će, u osudi sbog dotičnog djela, načelno izreći, da se imovina takvih osoba ima oduzeti u korist Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Provedba ovoga diela osude povjerava se Državnom ravnateljstvu za ponovu.

§ 2.

Ako se protiv osoba, koje su počinile neko zločinstvo navedeno u § 1., nije mogao povesti kazneni postupak i izreći osuda, zato, što se nisu mogle uhititi, odluku o oduzimanju imovine u korist Nezavisne Države Hrvatske izreći će prvomolbena upravna oblast, nadležna po mjestu njihova posljednjeg poznatog prebivališta, pošto utvrdi postojanje kažnjivih djela.

Glede provedbe ove odluke vriedi propis druge stavke § 1.

Imovina osoba, koje narušavaju javni mir i poredak

§ 3.

Osude o oduzimanju imovine po § 1. i odluke po § 2. dostavljat će se radi provedbe Državnom ravnateljstvu za ponovu, koje će razpolagati s tom imovinom u ime Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu odredit će, u koliko se radi o nekretninama, koje su po svojoj naravi namijenjene poljoprivredi i o njihovim pripadcima (kućama, gospodarskim sgradama, živom i mrtvom inventaru), da se one predaju u posjed i vlasništvo Zavoda za kolonizaciju za svrhe, navedene u točki 2. § 2. Pravilnika o ustrojstvu Zavoda za kolonizaciju od 12. svibnja 1941. broj 162-Z. p.-1941. U koliko se radi o nekretninama i stvarima druge vrste, osobito o stanbenim sgradama ili poduzećima bilo koje vrste, Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu uzet će ih samo u posjed i odrediti, da se pravo vlasništva na njima uknjiži u njegovu korist.

Uknjižbu prava vlasništva u smislu stavke 2. izvršit će nadležni redovni sudovi kao zemljišno-knjižni uredi, na zahtjev Državnog ravnateljstva za ponovu odnosno Zavoda za kolonizaciju, ako se radi o nekretninama namijenjenim poljoprivredi, s pravom prvenstva zabilježbe po § 6.

§ 4.

Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu može, po svojoj slobodnoj razsudi, odrediti, da se cijela imovina, ili samo jedan njezin dio, predaje u posjed i vlasništvo nuždnim nasljednicima ili ženi dotične osobe ili onima, koje je dotična osoba, po zakonu, bila dužna uzdržavati.

Imovina osoba, koje narušavaju javni mir i poredak

§ 5.

Obćinska poglavarstva, na području kojih se nalazi imovina osoba, na koje se odnose § 1. i 2., dužna su ureda radi, čim saznaju za takve slučajeve, u prisutnosti dvojice obćinara sastaviti zapisnički popis sveukupne pokretne i nepokretne imovine dotične osobe. Istodobno moraju poduzeti potrebne mjere, da se popisana imovina sačuva i da se s njom dalje upravlja pomnjom uredna gospodara dok je ne preuzme Zavod za kolonizaciju odnosno Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu na temelju odluke iz § 3.

Priepis zapisničkog popisa dostavit će obćinsko poglavarstvo Državnom ravnateljstvu za ponovu s izvješćem o tome, što je poduzelo da se popisana imovina sačuva i s njome upravlja u smislu stavke 1.

§ 6.

U koliko se radi o nekretninama, ili o pravima upisanim u zemljištnim knjigama, Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu, pošto primi izvješće u smislu stavke 2. § 5., zatražit će zabilježbu zabrane otudjivanja i opterećivanja popisanih nekretnina ili prava dotične osobe, pravnim poslovima među živima ili putem dobrovoljnih i ovršnih (javnih) dražba.

§ 7.

Pošto primi osudu po § 1. ili odluku po § 2. Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu pozvat će sve poznate vjerovnike dotične osobe, da mu u neprekoračivom roku od 3 mjeseca, računajući od dana dostave pismenog poziva, prijave sve svoje tražbine i prava, bez obzira na to, da li su ona uknjižena ili ne, kao i bez obzira na to, da li su im te tražbine i ta prava već dosudjena

Imovina osoba, koje narušavaju javni mir i poredak

pravomoćnom osudom. Uz prijavu moraju priložiti sve dokazne izprave u izvorniku ili ovjеровljenom priepisu. Ovaj poziv mora se proglasiti jedanput u Narodnim novinama.

Vjerovnicima, koji su odsutni ili im je nepoznato prebivalište, postaviti će se skrbnik.

§ 8.

Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu izpitat će podnete prijave i dokazne izprave (§ 7.) i, nakon saslušanja državnog zastupnika glede priepornih tražbina i prava, doneti odluku o tome, koje se tražbine i prava priznavaju istinitim i obdnojnim i u kom iznosu, a koje se od njih ne priznavaju.

Prijavljena prava, razumievajući pod tim i prava iz § 12., prema potrebi, procieniti će tri vještaka (procjenitelja), od kojih će po jednog odrediti vjerovnik i Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu, nakon čega će ova dvojica izabrati trećeg kao predsjednika. Ako se oni u tome ne slože, trećeg vještaka kao predsjednika izabrat će takodjer Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu.

§ 9.

Vjerovnici, kojima prijavljene tražbine i prava ne budu priznati, ili budu nezadovoljni s priznatim iznosima, bit će upućeni, odlukom Državnog ravnateljstva za ponovu, da u roku od dva mjeseca, računajući od dostave odluke, podnesu nadležnom redovnom sudu protiv Državnog ravnateljstva za ponovu tužbu radi priznanja i izplate svojih tražbina odnosno prava.

Imovina osoba, koje narušavaju javni mir i poredak

§ 10.

Vjerovnici, koji ne podnesu prijavu u smislu § 7., ili ne podnesu tužbu nadležnom sudu (§ 9.) glede prijavljenih tražbina i prava u odredjenom roku, gube svoje tražbine i prava.

§ 11.

Prijavljene tražbine, koje budu priznate kao istinite i obstoje (§ 8.), kao i one, koje budu dosudjene vjerovnicima uslied tužbe po § 9., izplatiti će Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu u priznatom odnosno dosudjenom iznosu iz preuzete imovine dužnikove, ali samo u koliko je ona dovoljna.

Ako imovina ne dosiže za podmirenje svih vjerovnika, Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu predložit će nadležnom sudu, da se nad imovinom dužnika otvori stečaj.

§ 12.

Osobama, koje po zakonu imaju pravo na uzdržavanje, Državno ravnateljstvo za ponovu, u koliko im nije predalo imovinu u smislu § 4., priznat će i izplaćivati pripadajuće im uzdržavanje iz prihoda oduzete imovine, u koliko su ti prihodi dovoljni.

Uzdržavanje se ne može priznati osobama: 1. koje ne žive na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske; 2. kojima navedeno uzdržavanje nije potrebno; 3. za koje se utvrdi, da su kao učesnici sudjelovale u kaznenom djelu, koje je imalo za posljedicu oduzimanje imovine po ovoj zakonskoj odredbi.

Imovina osoba, koje narušavaju javni mir i poredak

§ 13.

Ako u slučaju iz § 1. okrivljeni bude oslobođen od optužbe, ili ako u slučaju iz § 2. prvomolbena upravna oblast utvrdi, da ne postoji kažnjivo djelo, navedeno u § 1., vratit će se dotičnoj osobi, ili njezinim pravnim nasljednicima, imovina uzeta na čuvanje i upravu (§ 5.). Kod toga odbit će se, osim prihoda upotrebljenih za izplatu uzdržavanja (§ 12.), još samo troškovi oko uprave, koje bi i sama dotična osoba imala upravljajući uredno svojom imovinom.

§ 14.

Uknjižene tražbine i prava, koje ne budu uobće prijavljene (§ 7.), zatim nepriznate tražbine i prava, glede kojih u odredjenom roku ne bude podneta tužba radi njihova priznanja i izplate (§ 9.), kao i one, glede kojih bude tužba odbijena, brisat će se iz zemljištnih knjiga, na zahtjev Državnog ravnateljstva za ponovu odnosno Zavoda za kolonizaciju, ako se radi o nekretninama namijenjenim poljoprivredi.

§ 15.

Sve zabilješke, uknjižbe i brisanja po ovoj zakonskoj odredbi oproštene su od svih pristojba.

§ 16.

Dostava poziva i odluka, izdanih po ovoj zakonskoj odredbi, osim sudbenih poziva i odluka, vršit će se po propisima izvanparbenog postupnika.

Imovina osoba, koje narušavaju javni mir i poredak

§ 17.

Protiv odluka izrečenih po ovoj zakonskoj odredbi nije dopušten nikakav pravni liek na višu upravnu oblast, Upravno sudište ili redovne sudove, u koliko nije u ovoj zakonskoj odredbi izričito drugačije određeno.

§ 18.

Ova zakonska odredba zadobiva pravnu moć danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.* Tim danom prestaju vriediti svi propisi, koji su joj protivni.

Provedenje ove zakonske odredbe povjerava se predsjedništvu vlade, a njezino mjerodavno tumačenje ministru pravosudja i bogoštovlja.

U Zagrebu, 27. prosinca 1941.

Poglavnik
Nezavisne Države Hrvatske:

Dr. Ante Pavelić, v. r.

Broj: CDLXX-2355-Z-1941.

Ministar pravosudja i bogoštovlja:

Dr. Mirko Puk, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 30. prosinca 1941. broj 213.

Nabavljanje racioniranih lijekova — izmjena naredbe

§ 4.

Ova naredba zadobiva pravnu moć danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama,* i toga dana prestaju vrijediti svi protivni joj propisi.

Zagreb, dne 20. lipnja 1942.

Ministar zdravstva:

Dr. Ivo Petrić, v. r.

* Narodne novine od 21. srpnja 1942. broj 161

ZAKONSKA ODREDBA

o suzbijanju nasilnih kažnjivih čina proti državi,
pojedininim osobama ili imovini

I. Upućivanje u sabirne logore

§ 1.

Pojedini članovi obitelji osoba, koje same ili u zajednici s oružanim skupinama narušavaju javni red i sigurnost, ili koje ugrožavaju mir i spokojstvo hrvatskog naroda, ili koje poduzmu kakav nasilni kažnjiv čin proti državi, pojedinim osobama ili imovini, kao i članovi obitelji od kuće odbjeglih osoba, mogu se uputiti na prisilan boravak u sabirne logore. Ove logore ovlašteno je osnivati Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova, Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost u pojedinim mjestima Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Članovima obitelji osoba, navedenih u prvoj stavci, smatraju se sve one osobe, koje s takvim osobama zajednički žive u kućnoj zadruzi u mislu zakona o zadrugama od 9. svibnja 1889., odnosno žena, roditelji, djeca te braća i sestre osoba, navedenih u prvoj stavci, ukoliko s ovim osobama žive u zajedničkom kućanstvu.

§ 2.

O upućivanju pojedinih članova obitelji osoba, navedenih u prvoj stavci § 1., na prisilan boravak u sabirne logore, kao i o vremenu trajanja boravka u sabirnim logorima odlučuje Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova, Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost.

ANNEX 3

**Dr Fikreta Jelić-Butić, *Ustashe and the Independent State
of Croatia 1941–1945*, Zagreb, 1977,
pp 166–167, 185–187**

Dr FIKRETA JELIĆ-BUTIĆ

USTAŠE I NEZAVISNA
DRŽAVA HRVATSKA
1941–1945.

ZAGREB, 1977

In addition to detaining an ever larger number of Serbs in camps, where mass killings took place soon after that, there followed mass slaughters at various places, as well. Among those numerous killings, a number of larger scale mass murders of the Serb population should be singled out, in particular. In the village of Gudovac near Bjelovar, Ustashi executed by a firing squad 184 Serb villagers on 27 and 28 April. In Blagaj, in Kordun region, where they invited adult Serbs from Veljun and small surrounding villages, Ustashe killed some 250 villagers who had responded to the invitation. A few days later, on 11 and 12 May, about 300 Serbs were mass murdered at Glina. In the month of June, there were new larger-scale murders in Herzegovina. In the vicinity of Ljubinje, on 2 June, Ustashi began to mass murder approximately 140 Serb villagers. Three days later, Ustashi slaughtered nearly 180 residents of the village of Korito near Gacko. Afterwards, on 23 June, again near Ljubinje, about 160 people were killed, including some 80 men, women and children in three villages near Gacko. Two days after that, there was a murder of around 260 people in several villages of the Stolac district. At the same time, roughly 280 Serbs, who had been arrested in the territory of the Stolac district, were executed by a firing squad near Opuzen, in the vicinity of Metkovic. Some 90 Serbs brought from Capljina were murdered near Ljubusko, on 30 June. In the month of June, there was also the murder of Serbs in northern Dalmatia. The killings were preceded by mass arrests of Serb villagers in the territory of the Drnis and Knin districts. On 15 June, close to 60 Serb peasants were first arrested and imprisoned in the Knin tower, to be slaughtered afterwards. A group of about 50 arrested Serbs were killed on the Knin – Gracac road. On the night of 19-20 June, Ustashi arrested 76 Serbs in Knin and Knin Polje, and killed them in Promina. In some of the villages belonging to the Vrlic, Drnis and Promina counties, some 250 peasant Serbs, including many women and children, were killed between end-June and mid-July. In the four villages around Knin, nearly 70 Serbs were killed until 12 July.

In the village of Prisoje near Sinj, 90 persons were arrested and killed later on.

During the month of July, a number of other larger-scale murders were organized and culminated at the end of the month. This also coincided with the beginning of the armed uprising of the people in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the village of Suvaja near Gracac, around 300 men, women and children were murdered on 1 July. In the village of Grabovac near Petrinje, Ustashi killed more than 1,200 people on 24 and 25 July. Between 20 and 27 July, several hundred people were killed in Priboj and its surroundings. In Primislje, on the night of 27-28 July, about 80 people were arrested and killed in Slunj. The following day, 28 July, Ustashi murdered approximately 180 Serbs in the vicinity of Vojnic. A group of about 50 men and women from the village of Polace near Knin were killed the same day. This murder was followed, on 29 July, by a mass killing of several hundred Serbs at the church in Glina. According to some data, at the end of July, about 2,000 Serbs were killed at Glina. At the same time, some 500 Serbs from Gracac and environ were killed in a mass murder. The most brutal killings in the territory of Bosnia took place in its western regions, at the end of July. It is assumed that as many as 20,000 Serbs were killed in that period in the districts of Bihac, Bosanska Krupa and Cazin, whereas some 6,000 of them were killed in the district of Sanski Most, along with close to 6,000 Serbs in the counties of Prijedor and Bosanski Novi. Another mass murder took place in the Serb villages near Duvno, where Ustashi slaughtered about 250 people. From 29 July onwards, mass killings occurred in the county of Livno with more than 1,000 Serbs being killed in the months that followed.

Concentration camps

pp. 185-187

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The first stage in the establishment of a system of Ustasha camps was the creation of the so-called “collection points”, also known as collection camps, refugee camps or collective centres. Those were, in fact, places of temporary detention of those arrested, predominantly Serbs, from where they were deported. They were located in different areas, but the most notorious and largest among them were: Capraga near Sisak, as well as the camps at Bjelovar, Slav and Pozega.

The second stage, which followed the first one in time, was the erection of concentration camps, i.e. the well-known “death camps”. The first such camp was Danica, near Koprivnica. Transports carrying prisoners, mostly Serbs, Jews and a number of Croats were sent to it from 29 April onwards. According to some data, more than 5,000 went through this camp, and a half of that number was constantly there. The camp was closed down in the autumn of 1941. However, in June and July 1941, Serbs and Jews were sent from it to the Jadovno camp near Gospic where they were all killed. Croat prisoner were later moved to Stara Gradiska and Jasenovac. The Camp of Jadovno, near Gospic, was set up in June, and was the first where mass executions of prisoners took place. Ustashe brought on a daily basis Serbs and Jews in larger groups to Gospic and from then on, to Jadovno, where they were killed and their bodies thrown into nearby deep ravines. Those killed included many communists. According to the available information, about 35,000 people were killed at Jadovno. The camp was dismantled in August 1941. During the summer months of 1941, there was a concentration camp run for Jews and Serbs in the island of Pag. Prisoners from the collection point in Gospic were taken there. Mass killings took place also at this camp and at the time of the closure of the camp, in mid-August, about 3,000 Serbs were moved out of Jadovno with the last group of some 450 Jews leaving it for Kruscica (a camp for women), and Jadovno and Jasenovac (camps for men). The camp at Kruscica, near Travnik, existed approximately at the same time and mostly women and children, mainly Jews, were detained there. From September 1941 until the autumn of 1942, there existed a concentration camp at Lobograd, near Zlatar Bistrica in the Croatian Zagorje region. In addition to a number of Serb women prisoners, 1,300 Jewish women were detained there; they were mostly transferred from Kruscica with their children. After the camp had been closed down, prisoners were sent to the camp of Oswiecim. In December 1941 a camp at Djakovo was established; it was intended primarily for Jewish women and children, which numbered some 3,000 at this camp. Of these, great many were killed. In July 1942, the camp was dismantled and the remaining prisoners were taken to Jasenovac. In June 1942, a temporary camp at Tenja, near Osijek, was set up. Almost all remaining Jews were detained there; they were all arrested in Osijek at that time, as well as in other Slavonian villages and places, and it detained nearly 3,000 people. In the middle of August, their liquidations began, mostly at Oswiecim and Jasenovac. In early August 1942, a camp was established near Sisak. The Serb population from Mount Kozara taken prisoner after the German – Ustasha offensive, was brought there. They were, by and large, elderly people, women and children. Of particular interest was the camp ran for children who had been separated from their parents. Groups of elderly prisoners were sent onto Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska.

The main and the largest camps in the NDH were Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. The establishment of the camp of Jasenovac started in the summer of 1941, when the Ustashi brought first groups of Jews and Serbs (camp No. I). Following new transports of prisoners coming in, the camp soon began to expand (camp No. II). In November 1941, the camp expanded further (camp Nos. III and IV). In this way, Jasenovac got its full shape, becoming the largest concentration and mass murder camp and martyrdom site of all “disobedient persons” who were arrested by the regime and killed regardless of their nationality. This was clearly stated in Pavelic’s Legal Order on sending the disobedient and dangerous persons to forced stay at collective centres and labour camps, which, among other things, specifies the following: “disobedient persons who disturb public order and endanger security, or who might threaten the peace and tranquility of the Croatian people or the achievements of the liberation struggle of the Croatian Ustasha movement, might be sent for forced stay to collective centres and labour camps”. Dozens of thousands of people went through the Jasenovac camp; they were mostly killed in many executions that took place there.²¹⁴ The concentration camp at Stara Gradiska was of the same nature; it was established at the site of the former penitentiary unit. It was the site especially of the mass murders of women and children.

²¹⁴ Several hundred thousand people were killed at Jasenovac, by far the largest number of those killed in the NDH. According to the regional Commission of Croatia in charge of identifying the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators, it is estimated that this number is between some 500,000-600,000 (crimes of the camp of Jasenovac, section 38). Investigation of the grave site of the camp compound at Jasenovac revealed that “more than 360,000 killed prisoners were buried” in the hitherto examined area of 57,000 square meters. Information thereon was provided by *R. Trivuncic* in his brochure: “Jasenovac and Jasenovac Camps”, Jasenovac 1974. The author concluded: “Judging by the existing indicators and the claims of the surviving prisoners, the number of 700,000 perished people or inmates is very realistic”. (16)

U daljnjoj praksi započetog sistema terora protiv Srba hapšenja su bila sve karakterističnija. Posebno dolaze do izražaja hapšenja Srba pojedinaca, koji su se više ili manje isticali u javnom političkom životu za vrijeme Jugoslavije i čiju su djelatnost ustaše okvalificirali kao »protuhrvatsku«. Pod udar hapšenja prvenstveno su došli ugledniji lokalni predstavnici srpskih stranaka SDS-a, JRZ, JNS, mnogi posjednici i trgovci, pravoslavni svećenici, intelektualci. Naređeno je da se prikupe podaci o njihovom imovinskom stanju i političkoj djelatnosti, te da se dostavljaju Rasno-političkom povjerenstvu.¹⁰⁵ Karakteristična su bila hapšenja na osnovu tzv. »četničkih lista«, od kojih su mnoge liste ustaše sastavili po vlastitom nahodaženju, označavajući pojmom »četnika« svakog uhapšenog Srbina.¹⁰⁶

Odmah je uslijedila i akcija za stvaranje koncentracionih logora. Bila su to tzv. »sabitrališta« u koja su dovođeni uhapšeni Srbi, Židovi, Cigani (Romi) kao i svi oni koje je režim zatvarao zbog njihova antifašističkog raspoloženja. Prema tome, ovi logori, postaju važna institucija ustaškog režima, kojoj će on poklanjati posebnu pažnju sve do svoga sloma.

Pored zatvaranja sve većeg broja Srba u logorima, gdje su se počela ubrzo vršiti masovna ubojstva, uslijedili su na raznim mjestima i masovni pokolji. Među tim brojnim ubojstvima posebno treba navesti niz većih masovnih pokolja srpskog stanovništva. U selu Gudovcu, kraj Bjelovara, ustaše su 27/28. travnja strijeljali 184 seljaka Srbina. U Blagaju, na Kordunu, gdje su pozvali odrasle Srbe iz Veljuna i okolnih zaselaka, ustaše su poubijali oko 250 seljaka, koji su se odazvali pozivu. Nekoliko dana kasnije, 11/12. svibnja, izvršen je masovni pokolj oko 300 Srba u Glini.¹⁰⁷ U toku lipnja uslijedili su novi veći pokolji u Hercegovini. U okolini Ljubinja, ustaše su 2. lipnja otpočeli masovni pokolj u kojemu je stradalo oko 140 seljaka Srba. Tri dana kasnije, ustaše su poklali oko 180 seljaka iz sela Korita kod Gacka. Zatim, 23. lipnja, ponovo blizu Ljubinja, ubijeno je oko 160 ljudi, a u tri sela blizu Gacka oko 80 muškaraca, žena i djece. Dva dana kasnije, uslijedio je pokolj oko 260 ljudi u nekoliko sela stolačkog kotara. Istodobno je kod Opuzena, blizu Metkovića, strijeljano oko 280 Srba, uhapšenih na području kotara Stolac. U blizini Ljubuškog pobijeno je 30. lipnja oko 90 Srba, dovedenih iz Čapljine.¹⁰⁸ U lipnju je došlo do pokolja Srba na području sjeverne Dalmacije. Pokolji su započeli velikim hapšenjima seljaka Srba na području drniškog i kninskog kotara. Najprije je 15. lipnja

¹⁰⁵ Tako je ustaško povjereništvo u Sarajevu zatražilo u lipnju 1941. podatke o imovnom stanju i političkom djelovanju pravoslavnih svećenika, učitelja, posjednika i trgovaca u pojedinim kotarima Bosne i Hercegovine. U jednom takvom popisu za kotar Tuzlu, za sve imućnije Srbe navodi se da su »jako opasni«. (Arhiv BiH, Ust. povjer. Sarajevo, neregis.).

¹⁰⁶ Prema jednom podatku ustaškog lista *Hrvatska obnova*, 25. V 1941, u novoosnovanom logoru »Danica«, kraj Koprivnice, nalazilo se »zatvoreno preko 1.000 četnika iz raznih krajeva Hrvatske«. List navodi da su tu »skupljeni oni najgori, koji su najviše jada zadavali hrvatskom narodu«. Isti list, 18. V 1941, donosi podatak da je »u Đakovu i okolini uhapšen veći broj osoba, koji su bili četnici i pripadali četničkim društvima«. Prema pisanju *Sarajevskog novog lista*, 18. VI 1941, u Gračanici su uhapšena 33 pripadnika »četničkog udruženja«, koji su sprovedeni u Zagreb. Ustaški list *Posavska Hrvatska*, 23. VII 1941, donosi popis »zakletih članova pododbora Udruženja četnika« u Sl. Brodu. Prema pisanju *Hrvatskog naroda*, 10. V 1941, iz Vinkovaca doveden u Zagreb »101 četnik«.

¹⁰⁷ O pokoljima u Gudovcu, Blagaju i Glini usp. opširnije u: Š. Balen, n. dj., 101 i d.; R. Mitić, Neka sjećanja s Banije, zbornik: Prva godina narodnooslobodilačkog rata na području Karlovca, Gline, Like, Gorskog kotara, Pokuplja i Žumberka, Karlovac 1971, 558 i d.; M. Bardić, Stvaranje prvih partizanskih jedinica na području Moslavine, Zbornik Moslavine, I, Kutina 1968, 240.

¹⁰⁸ Opširnije o pokoljima u Hercegovini usp.: Hercegovina u NOB, n. dj., sjećanja U. Danilovića, S. Šakote, A. Mičevića, O. Ivkovića, S. Skoke, B. Zotovića, L. Pribišića; N. Bajić, Komunistička partija Jugoslavije u Hercegovini u ustanku 1941. godine, n. dj., 206 i d.; Hronologija oslobodilačke borbe naroda Jugoslavije, Beograd 1964, 44–45; Đ. Zatezalo-M. Dakić, Narodna vlast na Kordunu od 1941. do 1945. godine, Karlovac 1971, 16 i d.

uhapšeno u tri sela oko 60 seljaka Srba, koji su zatvoreni u tvrđavu u Kninu, a zatim nad njima izvršen pokolj. Jedna grupa od oko 50 uhapšenih Srba poubijana je na putu Knin-Gračac. U noći 19/20. lipnja ustaše su u Kninu i Kninskom polju uhapsili 76 Srba i poubijali ih u Promini. U nekim selima vrličke, drniške i prominske općine ubijeno je od kraja lipnja do sredine srpnja oko 250 seljaka Srba, među kojima znatan broj žena i djece. U četiri sela oko Knina ubijeno je do 12. srpnja oko 70 Srba.

U selu Prisoju kod Sinja, uhapšeno je oko 90 osoba, koje su zatim ubijene.¹⁰⁹

U toku srpnja organizirano je niz novih većih pokolja, koji dosežu vrhunac krajem mjeseca. To je i vrijeme početka oružanog ustanka naroda u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini. U selu Suvaji kod Gračaca ubijeno je 1. srpnja oko 300 muškaraca, žena i djece. U selu Grabovcu kod Petrinje ustaše su 24. i 25. srpnja pobili preko 1.200 ljudi. U razdoblju od 20. do 27. srpnja ubijeno je u Prijeboju i okolici nekoliko stotina ljudi. U Primišlju je u noći 27/28. uhapšeno oko 80 ljudi, koji su pobijeni u Slunju. Sutradan, 28. srpnja, ustaše su ubili oko 180 Srba u blizini Vojnića. Istoga dana je izvršen pokolj nad grupom od oko 50 muškaraca i žena iz sela Polače kod Knina. Slijedio je 29. srpnja veliki pokolj nekoliko stotina Srba u crkvi u Glini. Prema nekim podacima, krajem srpnja u Glini je bilo ubijeno oko 2.000 Srba. Istodobno je došlo do masovnog pokolja od oko 500 Srba iz Gračaca i okolice.¹¹⁰ Najveći pokolji na području Bosne zbili su se krajem srpnja u zapadnim područjima. Pretpostavlja se da je tih dana u kotarima Bihać, Bos. Krupa i Cazin ubijeno oko 20.000 Srba, na području kotara Sanski Most oko 6.000, u kotarima Prijedor i Bos. Novi također oko 6.000. Do velikog pokolja došlo je u srpskim selima kod Duvna, gdje su ustaše pobili oko 250 ljudi. Od 29. srpnja nastaju masovni pokolji u livanjskom kotaru, kojima je u narednih mjesec dana obuhvaćeno preko 1.000 Srba.¹¹¹

U provođenju terora nad srpskim stanovništvom u ovom periodu sve više su se obavljala masovna prisilna iseljavanja u Srbiju. Prisilno iseljavanje srpskog stanovništva poduzeto je u nekim krajevima NDH i prije negoli su o tome donesene posebne naredbe.

Posebnom naredbom pozvani su 7. lipnja svi Srbi »koji su se doselili u područje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske poslije 1. siječnja 1900 godine«, te »njihovi potomci ma kojega zvanja oni bili«, čime se htjelo obuhvatiti i seljake, da se u roku od 10 dana prijave vlastima u mjestu svog boravišta. Onaj tko se u označenom roku ne odazove tom pozivu, bio je, prema odredbi, smatran ratnim zarobljenikom.¹¹² U organizaciji iseljavanja svakako značajan momenat predstavlja suradnja NDH i njemačkih vojnih vlasti. Radilo se zapravo o planu Nijemaca da se u cilju germanizacije tog područja, isele Slovenci iz Donje Štajerske, pa je to utjecalo i na ustaški plan oko iseljavanja Srba. Na konferenciji u

¹⁰⁹ Opširnije o pokoljima u Dalmaciji: *D. Plenča*, Ustanak u Kninskoj krajini 1941. godine, *Zadarska revija* 3/1958, 222–237; *D. Gizdić*, Dalmacija 1941, n. dj., 174 i d.; *O. Egić*, Početak oružane borbe u Bukovici 1941. godine, zbornik: Hiljadu devetsto četrdeset i prva, Zagreb 1961, 17 i d.; *S. Kvesić*, Dalmacija u narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi, n. dj., 90 i d.

¹¹⁰ Opširnije o tim pokoljima usp.: *Đ. Stanisavljević*, Ustanak naroda Like 1941, *Istorijski glasnik*, 1–4/1961, 87 i d.; Lika u NOB 1941, n. dj., sjećanja D. Čujića, Đ. Jovanića, M. Kuprešanina, M. Baste, S. Sarača, Đ. Pokrajca, M. Veinovića, S. Glumca, S. Zaklana, D. Zorića, G. Uzelca; *Hronologija oslobodilačke borbe*, n. dj., 59–61; zbornik: Prva godina NOR-a na području Karlovca, Gline, n. dj., sjećanja D. Pekića, M. Dakića, D. Opačića, D. Livade, R. Bulata.

¹¹¹ *Hronologija oslobodilačke borbe*, n. dj., 52–54; *D. Lukač*, Ustanak u Bosanskoj krajini, n. dj., 66 i d.

¹¹² *Narodne novine*, 7. VI 1941. U Zagrebu je Redarstveno ravnateljstvo, 9. VI, uputilo na osnovu te naredbe pozive za prijavljivanje Srba. (IHRPH, Fond NDH, kut. 501, plakati; *Novi list*, 10. VI 1941). U Sarajevu su pozivi Srbima za prijavu upućeni sredinom lipnja. (*Sarajevski novi list*, 15. VI 1941). Međutim, u Zagrebu je Ravnateljstvo ustaškog redarstva početkom srpnja uputilo poziv »svim pravoslavicima bez obzira da li su i kada prešli na drugu vjeru, od 16 do 60 godina života«, da se prijave u roku od tri dana. (*Hrvatski narod*, 10. VII 1941).

Koncentracioni logori

Osnivanje koncentracijskih logora na području NDH bilo je najuže povezano sa sprovođenjem terora. Svakako je masovnim hapšenjima Srba, Židova i Cigana stvaranje logora bilo neposrednom posljedicom, ali ti logori uskoro postaju mjesta internacije i zatočenja i svih drugih, okvalificiranih kao neprijatelji ustaškog režima. Prema tome, logori u NDH postaju institucija terora i prema Hrvatima i Muslimanima.

Najprije je osnivanje logora i nadzor nad njima bio u nadležnosti Ustaške nadzorne službe, kojoj se na čelu nalazio Eugen Kvaternik. Njemu su bili podređeni »svi organi redarstva, oružništva, mjesnih zapovjedništava, te uopće svih državnih samoupravnih organa«.²⁰⁶ Tim je činom započelo stvaranje golemog policijskog aparata NDH, koji će se ubrzo razgranati u niz raznovrsnih organizacija i službi. E. Kvaternik je ujedno bio i ravnatelj Ravnateljstva za javni red i sigurnost (RAVSIGUR), osnovanog početkom svibnja 1941. U odredbi o osnivanju RAVSIGUR-a ističe se, da je to učinjeno zbog potrebe uvođenja jedinstvene organizacije u djelatnosti svih policijskih organa u NDH.²⁰⁷ RAVSIGUR je bio poseban odjel u Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova NDH, a sastojao se od devet odsjeka, među kojima su bili najvažniji odsjeci za »politička pitanja« i za »javnu sigurnost«.²⁰⁸ UNS i RAVSIGUR bile su ustanove koje su u stvari imale jedine kompetenciju u pogledu osnivanja logora i slanja uhapšenih osoba u njih. Poslije ukidanja UNS-a, u siječnju 1943, RAVSIGUR će biti glavni nosilac tih kompetencija. Niz funkcionera UNS-a i RAVSIGUR-a, čija će djelatnost biti prvenstveno vezana uz pitanja logora, bili su glavni Pavelićevi ljudi u organizaciji i sprovođenju čitavog sistema terora. Po svojim nečuvenim zlodjelima, njihova imena su ubrzo postala pojam straha i zastrašivanja u narodu.²⁰⁹

Prva faza u stvaranju sistema ustaških logora, bilo je osnivanje tzv. »sabirališta«, poznatijih i pod drugim imenima: sabirni logori, iseljenički logori, zbirališta. To su zapravo bila mjesta privremenog boravka uhapšenih, mahom Srba, odakle su se vršile deportacije. Bilo ih je u raznim područjima, a najpoznatiji i najveći su bili u Capragu kod Siska, te logori u Bjelovaru i Slav. Požegi.²¹⁰

Druga faza, koja je vremenski tekla sa prvom, bilo je podizanje koncentracijskih logora, tj. poznatih »logora smrti«. Prvi je bio osnovan logor »Danica«, kod Koprivnice.

nje je bilo više tisuća zgrada, od kojih u samom Zagrebu oko 1.000. Prema jednom popisu iz listopada 1944. broj »podržavljenih« trgovina i drugih radionica (trgovine mješovite robe, trafike, knjižare, gostionice, stolarske radionice, staklarske radionice, manufakture, konfekcije, apoteke, knjigovežnice, pilane, hoteli, galanterije, željeznarije, limarije, brijačnice, tiskare, mlinovi, kožare) u po-jedinim većim mjestima na području NDH bio je ovaj: Banja Luka 57, Bihać 60, Koprivnica 40, Osijek 196, Sarajevo 384, Sl.Brod 37, Travnik 30, Varaždin 36, Vinkovci 62, Vukovar 39, Zagreb 773. (AH, Fond Sabora NDH, zapisnici Odbora za rizničke poslove, 16. IV i 8. V 1942; IHRPH, Fond NDH, kut. 137, Popis podržavljene imovine, 24. X 1944, i kut. 520, Popis podržavljenih nekretnina u Zagrebu, krajem 1944).

²⁰⁶ Brošura: Uskrs Države Hrvatske, Zagreb 1942. U UNS-u je postojao posebni »Ured III«, koji je neposredno rukovodio koncentracijskim logorima.

²⁰⁷ *Narodne novine*, 7.V 1941. Kvaternik je bio ravnatelj RAVSIGUR-a do listopada 1942, a od tada do kraja te godine Ljudevit Zimmermann. Poslije njega, tu je funkciju preuzeo Filip Crvenković, a od jeseni 1943. Milutin Jurčić. Od početka rujna 1944. do sloma NDH, ravnatelj RAVSIGUR-a bio je Erich Lisak.

²⁰⁸ *Narodne novine*, 20.V 1941. Bilo je osnovano i posebno »Ustaško redarstvo« na čelu sa Božidarom Cerovskim. (*Hrvatski narod*, 4. VI 1941).

²⁰⁹ Među njima su se posebno isticali ovi: Eugen Dido Kvaternik, Vjekoslav Luburić, Juco Rukavina, Božidar Cerovski, Viktor Tomić, Erich Lisak, Ljubo Miloš, Mijo Babić, Viktor Gutić, Ivo Herenčić, Miroslav Filipović Majstorović, Ivica Matković, Ivica Brkljačić, Hinko Picilli, Jakob Džal.

²¹⁰ Opširnije o tome usp. *M. Peršen*, n. dj., 29-36.

U nj su od 29. travnja upućivani transporti zatočenika, najviše Srba, zatim Židova te stanovit broj Hrvata. Prema nekim podacima, kroz taj logor je prošlo preko 5.000 zatočenika, a u njemu se konstantno nalazila polovica toga broja. Logor je ukinut u jesen 1941. god. Iz njega su, međutim, još u lipnju i srpnju 1941. otpremljeni Srbi i Židovi u logor Jadovno kod Gospića, gdje su bili pogubljeni.²¹¹ Zatočenici Hrvati otpremljeni su kasnije u Staru Gradišku i Jasenovac. Logor Jadovno, kraj Gospića organiziran u lipnju, bio je prvi u kojemu su se obavljala masovna pogubljenja zatočenika, Srba i Židova. Ustaše su svakodnevno dovodili zatočenike u velikim grupama u Gospić, a odatle u Jadovno, gdje su ih ubijali i bacali u obližnje duboke ponore. Među pogubljenima bilo je i više komunista.²¹² Prema raspoloživim podacima, u Jadovnu je pogubljeno oko 35.000 ljudi. Logor je ukinut u kolovožu 1941. U ljetnjim mjesecima 1941. postojao je koncentracijski logor za Židove i Srbe na otoku Pagu. U nj su dovođeni zatočenici iz sabirnog logora u Gospiću. I u tom su logoru bila obavljana masovna pogubljenja, a u vrijeme likvidacije logora, sredinom kolovoza, otpremljeno je oko 3.000 Srba u Jadovno, a posljednja grupa od oko 450 Židova u Krušćicu (žene), Jadovno i Jasenovac (muškarci). Logor u Krušćici, kraj Travnika, postojao je u približno isto vrijeme, a u njemu su uglavnom bili zatočeni žene i djeca, ponajviše Židovi. Od rujna 1941. do jeseni 1942. postojao je koncentracijski logor u Loborgradu, nedaleko od Zlatar Bistrice u Hrvatskom Zagorju. U njemu je, pored jednog broja Srpkinja, bilo zatočeno oko 1.300 Židovki, većinom prebačenih iz Krušćice, zajedno s djecom. Nakon ukidanja logora, zatočenice su poslane u logor Oświęcim. U prosincu 1941. osnovan je logor u Đakovu, namijenjen prvenstveno židovskim ženama i djeci, kojih je bilo oko 3.000. Od njih je velik broj bio pogubljen. U srpnju 1942. logor je ukinut, a preostali zatvorenici odvedeni u Jasenovac. U lipnju 1942. osnovan je privremeno logor Tenje, u Osijeku. U njemu su bili zatočeni gotovo svi preostali Židovi baš tada i pohapšeni u Osijeku, te nekim drugim slavonskim mjestima, a bilo je zatočeno oko 3.000 osoba. Sredinom kolovoza započela je njihova likvidacija, uglavnom u Oświęcim i Jasenovac. Početkom kolovoza 1942. osnovan je logor u Sisku. U nj je doveden dio srpskog stanovništva s Kozare, zarobljen poslije njemačko-ustaške ofenzive. Bili su to uglavnom starci, žene i djeca. Posebno se izdvajao logor za djecu, odvajanu od roditelja. Grupe starijih zatočenika upućivane su odatle u Jasenovac i Staru Gradišku.

Glavni i najveći logori u NDH bili su u Jasenovcu i Staroj Gradiški. Jasenovački logor počinje se formirati od ljeta 1941, kada ustaše dovode prve grupe Srba i Židova (Logor br. I). Daljnjim pristizanjem zatočenika logor se ubrzano širi (Logor br. II). Od studenog 1941. logor se još više povećava (Logor br. III te Logor br. IV). Time je Jasenovac dobio svoju pravu fizionomiju, postavši najveći koncentracijski i likvidacijski logor i mučilište svih »nepoćudnih osoba«, koje je režim hapsio i ubijao bez razlike na njihovu nacionalnost. To je jasno došlo do izražaja u Pavelićevoj »Zakonskoj odredbi o upućivanju nepoćudnih i pogibeljnih osoba na prisilni boravak u sabirne i radne logore«, u kojoj se, među ostalim, navodi ovo: »Nepoćudne osobe, koje su pogibeljne za javni red i sigurnost, ili koje bi mogle ugroziti mir i spokojnost hrvatskoga naroda ili tekovine oslobodilačke borbe hrvatskog ustaškog pokreta, mogu se uputiti na prisilni boravak u sabirne i radne logore.«²¹³ Kroz jasenovački logor prolaze deseci tisuća ljudi, većinom

²¹¹ Posebnom naredbom E. Kvaternika, 8. VII 1941, naređeno je da se zatočenici više ne upućuju u logor »Danica«. (VII, Fond. NDH, kut. 189, br. reg. 12/ 1).

²¹² RAVSIGUR je 15. VII izdao naredbu po kojoj »valja odmah otpočeti sa pritvorom svih Srba i Židova koji su i malo poznati kao komunisti. Valja početi postepeno i faktički pritvarati i otpremati u zbirni logor »Gospić« Srbe iz pojedinih tako zvanih pravoslavnih otoka, tj. specijalno paziti na to da budu financijski jači i intelektualno«. (Građa za historiju NOP-a u Slavoniji, n. dj., knj. 1, 60-61).

²¹³ *Narodne novine*, 26. XI 1941.

pogubljenim u bezbrojnim pokoljima što su se ondje činili.²¹⁴ Istog je karaktera bio i koncentracioni logor u Staroj Gradiški, formiran na mjestu dotadašnjeg kaznenog zatvora.²¹⁵ U njemu su osobito obavljani pokolji žena i djece.²¹⁶

POKUŠAJI STVARANJA POLITIČKIH OSOLONACA USTAŠKOG REŽIMA

Ocjene Nijemaca i Talijana o mogućnostima jačanja ustaškog režima

U okviru napora ustaškog režima za stvaranje i učvršćenje vlastite političke osnove, postavljalo se kao vrlo značajna zadaća stvaranje oslonca u pojedinim socijalnim skupinama i institucijama, koje su imale važno mjesto i ulogu u predratnom javnom društveno-političkom i kulturnom životu. Riječ je o grupacijama i ustanovama, čiju su djelatnost ustaše ocijenili kao pozitivnu u dotadašnjem nacionalnom razvoju hrvatskog naroda, pri čemu se mislilo i na Muslimane.

Ovdje treba ujedno konstatirati da je Pavelić u lipnju 1941. potpisao odredbu o zabrani djelovanja svih političkih društava na području NDH, pri čemu se misli na »sve bivše političke stranke i njihove društvene tvorevine (zaštite, sloge, ogranci, čitaonice itd) kao i sva udruženja (korporacije), koja pod krinkom humane, kulturne, sportske ili druge svrhe promiču ciljeve kojega god bivšeg političkog naziranja ili pravca, koji je protivan ustrojstvu i težnjama Nezavisne Države Hrvatske«.²¹⁷ U pogledu »političkih društava« koja, prema ocjeni Pavelića, »rade na istim ciljevima kao i Hrvatski ustaški pokret«, izdana je posebna odredba po kojoj ta društva »imaju unići u Ustaški pokret, a njihovo članstvo ima se svrstati u Ustašku organizaciju«.²¹⁸ Prema tome, politička taktika ustaškog vodstva išla je za tim da se stvara oslonac u redovima pojedinih bivših građanskih stranaka i grupacija time što se njihov dotadašnji status ukida a na članstvo čini pritisak da se organizira u ustaškom pokretu. To se u prvom redu odnosilo na Hrvatsku seljačku stranku, kao najutjecajniju građansku političku snagu u Hrvatskoj, jer je ustaško vodstvo osobito težilo da ustaški pokret omasovi uključivanjem članstva i pristaša

²¹⁴ U Jasenovcu je pogubljen daleko najveći broj ljudi u NDH – nekoliko stotina tisuća. Prema podatku Zemaljske komisije Hrvatske za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, računa se da se taj broj kreće oko 500-600.000. (Zločini u logoru Jasenovac, n. dj., 38). Istraživanja grobišnog kompleksa, koja vrši Spomen-područje Jasenovac, utvrdila su da je na dosad ispitanom prostoru od 57.000 m² »pokopano preko 360.000 pogubljenih zatočenika«. Podatke o tome donosi R. Trivunčić, u brošuri: Jasenovac i jasenovački logori, Jasenovac 1974. Autor zaključuje: »Na osnovi prostornih indikatora i tvrdnji preživjelih zatočenika, broj od 700.000 uništenih ljudi-zatočenika je vrlo realan«. (16).

²¹⁵ U ustaškim dokumentima logor u Staroj Gradiški spominje se i kao »Logor br. V«. (Zločini u logoru Jasenovac, n. dj., 4).

²¹⁶ Premda o ustaškom teroru postoji relativno znatna literatura, treba istaći da je ta problematika još nedovoljno istražena, pa će tek daljnja sistematska proučavanja omogućiti potpuniji uvid u nju. Postojeća literatura pretežno je publicistička i memoarskog karaktera. Pri tome treba ukazati i na postojanje nekoliko publikacija u izdanju državne, zemaljskih i okružnih komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, koje imaju znatnu izvornu vrijednost. Popis ostale literature o ovoj problematici vidi u M. Peršen, n. dj., 179–181, i L. Kobsa, n. dj., 223.

²¹⁷ U odredbi se posebno navodi da se zabrana ne odnosi na »ustanove prijateljskih država«, pri čemu se misli na Njemačku i Italiju. (VII, Fond NDH, kut. 180, br. reg. 53/3, dopis MUP-a NDH, 11. VI 1941).

²¹⁸ Hrvatski narod, 24. VI 1941.

ANNEX 4

**Report of the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation
of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators,
Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp, Zagreb, 1946; translated by Sinisa
Djuric**

Source: <http://www.pavelic-papers.com/documents>; also available from Antun Miletic,
Concentration Camp Jasenovac (Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac), Vol. II, Belgrade,
Jasenovac, 1986, pp 1090-1118.

CRIMES IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP

ZAGREB 1946

The State Commission of Croatia for the
Investigation of the Crimes of the
Occupation Forces and
their Collaborators

translated by Sinisa Djuric



INTRODUCTION

THE THIRD LARGEST CONCENTRATION camp in World War II, the Jasenovac concentration camp, is also the least known about in the world, and for most of the people in western countries unknown. A suppressed chapter of history indeed. For over fifty years there were only a handful of references for Jasenovac in Western museums and books about the Holocaust and all attempts to introduce this unprecedented torture place to wider number of people have been welcomed by a barrage of denial, deception, deliberate distortion of facts and arbitrary interpretation of parts of documents. Such behavior of revisionist historians has been successful primarily because of the lack of documents and literature about Jasenovac in English. The only way to prevent misinterpretation is to present the available documents in complete form with as faithful a translation as possible.

Certainly one of the most important of such documents is the report of the State Commission of Croatia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators from 1946. The systematic approach, with field research combined with many consistent testimonies of witnesses of three different nationalities (Croats, Jews and Serbs), along with forensic expert opinion provide a comprehensive insight into the most brutal of all Nazi death camps.

Regarding the veracity of the document: The only direct criticism of this document came from mathematician Josip Pecaric, who questioned the number of victims estimated in this document. However, the list of 19,000 victims he mentioned for the Jasenovac-Stara Gradiska camps was found in 1998 and starts with the letter P, and it only lists victims from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. For whole exterminated families, and in the case of the Roma for the whole nation there was no possibility of listing all victims by name on a census.

Others, like Franjo Tudjman, often used parts of this document to support their claims that the most victims in Jasenovac died of diseases, exhaustion and malnutrition, while at the same time claiming that the Ustase killed only 3,000 to 4,000 people for disobedience. The number could be near the truth if Tudjman was referring to the first five months. However, by paraphrasing parts of this document that speak of the first five months and extending them to the entire four years of Jasenovac's existence, Tudjman deliberately manipulates facts which anyone can see by comparing his writings with this report.

By such an interpretation, Tudjman concluded that it is a lie that Jasenovac was a death camp, that there were no daily massacres there, and that *"The truth is that the camp was organized as a 'labor camp' with many field and factory units. To the camp individually and mostly in small groups of tens or one hundred persons, tens of thousands of unfortunate persons were brought, but also released and shipped to labor camps in Germany."* Readers will be able to see for themselves how and where Ustase pranksters "shipped" prisoners who signed up for labor in Germany or in other camps (page 24). And how prisoners were "released" is the best illustrated in the case of a Slovenian Catholic priest on the occasion of the visit of the "international commission." (pages 40-41)

In his attempts to minimize the number of victims in Jasenovac Tudjman also resorted to fabrications of monstrous proportions. Such was his intention to bury Pavelic together with other Ustase in Jasenovac among the bones of their victims. To that purpose he invented "the historical truth" that from 1945 to 1947, the Communists "kept Jasenovac open" to kill captured Ustase there. Naturally, as he was the only one to claim that, he did not offer a single piece of evidence to support that claim, not even a single testimony. As it can be read in the state commission report, it is mentioned a number of times that in 1945 and 1946 there was nothing in the place of the Jasenovac camp but piles of ruins.

Tudjman's books, from *War Against War* (early 1960s), which contributed to his prison sentence for reviving Fascism and national intolerance, to *Wastelands of Historical Reality* written to minimize Holocaust and mock innocent victims, could hardly be described as the books of an objective historian. During his official visit to Buenos Aires, Tudjman paid a visit to one of the former commandants of the Jasenovac camp, Dinko Sakic, and paid a tribute to him for everything he did. An historian presenting himself as objective, trying to establish the "historical truth" about a concentration camp, honors a commandant of that concentration camp, and yet there are still people who insist on the reliability and objectivity of his work.

Using a demographic statistical method, engineer Vladimir Zerjavic "calculated" that the number of Jasenovac victims totals about 77,000. Later he raised that

number another 10% (85,000), as he put it because it is more humane to put a higher number than calculated, though he said he is sure that this is the final number. Anyone familiar with statistics knows that using various assumptions and estimates in establishing a growth rate can lead to very serious mistakes. Based on the assumption that from 1931 onwards the population growth rate was decreasing, Zerjavic reduced the overall number of victims of World War II in Yugoslavia a whole 700,000 people! Even if the growth rate Zerjavic “calculated” was right, it wouldn’t be possible to apply that formula on all populations in a multinational country like Yugoslavia, as Zerjavic did. A growth rate would need to be established for all separate populations, as Slovenians, Croats, Muslims, Serbs or Albanians had (and still have) very different growth rates.

For instance, if one would apply a growth rate of Yugoslavia on Kosovo Albanians, a much lower number of Albanians would be determined than the actual number, as Kosovo Albanians have the highest growth rate in Europe. Similarly, if one would apply a Yugoslav growth rate on Slovenians, a much higher number of Slovenians would be determined than there actually are, as they have a negative population growth rate. In the same way, the growth rate of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina was always a lot higher than the growth rate of Serbs in Serbia, and at that time it was nearly as high as the growth rate of Kosovo Albanians, which can be seen in the fact that in 31 years from 1879 to 1910 the number of Bosnian Serbs nearly doubled. In the same period the growth rate of Bosnian Serbs was significantly higher even than the growth rate of Bosnian Muslims. Zerjavic’s estimates and assumptions span from 1931 to 1948, but estimating a decreased growth rate on the Yugoslav level, he cannot estimate that for Serbs in Bosnia nor Croatia.

While Zerjavic’s “calculations” can be debated at great length, other examples can easily show the mockery his calculations really are. Zerjavic “calculated” the number of Jews killed in Jasenovac to 13,000, while Yad Vashem sent a list of 25,000 names to Tadjman. By his demographic statistical method, Zerjavic managed to erase 12,000 human lives.

The number of Roma victims especially doesn’t fit in Zerjavic’s account. While he calculated that 10,000 Roma were killed in Jasenovac, he admitted that only in Croatia there were 14,000 Roma registered in 1931. However, in this Jasenovac report, it is mentioned in several places, quite specifically, that all Roma from the territory of the Independent State of Croatia were gathered and killed in Jasenovac, numbering about 40,000 (which includes the territory of modern Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Srem, and even Backa and Banat, under Hungarian and German control). To support his claim, Zerjavic mentioned that in 1931 only one Roma was registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which to a person unfamiliar with Bosnian

history would imply that there were no Roma in Bosnia ever. The truth is that Roma represented an integral part of Bosnia for several centuries and there were many more Roma in Bosnia than in Croatia. The fact that only one was registered in 1931 can only mean that nobody bothered to register them. But, even if we would assume that Zerjavic is right and that there were no Roma in Bosnia, his calculation is still incorrect because if all Roma weren't killed in Jasenovac, that would mean that according to Zerjavic's calculations, 4,000 of them survived.

The 1948 census in Yugoslavia is very revealing in this regard. Namely, in that year there were 72,651 Roma in the whole of Yugoslavia. Out of that number, 98.57% of Roma lived in Serbia (52,115) and Macedonia (19,500), and the remaining just over 1% lived in Montenegro and about 200 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The 1948 census proves that all 40,000 Roma from NDH were indeed exterminated in Jasenovac, and that Zerjavic's "calculations" are false and a mockery of victims.

Of course, when faced with facts like these, revisionist historians like Pecaric and Zerjavic—instead of dealing with these facts and history—start with politics and go on at length about the crimes of the Communists towards captured Ustase, and often respond with primitive insults for anyone daring to present facts. Thus renowned Nazi hunters like Simon Wiesenthal and Efraim Zuroff are being called "Zionist Chetniks,"¹ "enemy rabid hyenas with bloody foam on their mouths,"² or even accused of being fond of Fascists.³

The attacks and speculations in various places about The Pavelic Papers website, coming as they do between death threats, can only be understood as disbelief, that they are demanding more proof. Not wanting to disappoint them we can only promise more documents like this one—much, much more to come...

SINISA DJURIC
NOVEMBER 30, 2003

¹ <http://www.hkz.hr/1695.htm>

² <http://www.hkz.hr/1715.htm>

³ <http://www.hkz.hr/1705.htm>

PUBLICATION NOTE

The 1946 report “Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp” originally included a sketched reconstruction of Jasenovac based upon the ruins of Camp No. III, which was thoroughly destroyed by the retreating Ustase. The sketch is not reproduced here.

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CRIMES IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP

ZAGREB 1946

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JASENOVAC: AN USTASE AND GERMAN INSTRUMENT FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR PEOPLES

BEFORE THE WAR, NEAR the confluence of the Una and Sava Rivers there was a large and prosperous town named Jasenovac. Its population was predominantly Serbian. The town was situated on the Zagreb-Belgrade railway, and hosted several prosperous industries; for example, the “Brick Factory,” and a small factory that made iron goods, the “Chain Factory.”

On the eastern side of the Jasenovac plain, the Strug and Lonja Rivers flow into the Sava, and the entire area is exposed to persistent seasonal floods.

The leaders of the Ustase organization knew before entering Yugoslavia that they had no support among the people, and could only preserve their power through the use of terror. They arrived after Yugoslavia’s collapse, following behind Fascist tanks. Even before the war, they were trained in various Italian terrorist camps paid for by Fascist money. From the first days of the occupation, under the protection of German and Italian troops and with their active aid, they performed arrests and mass and individual executions of Serbs, Jews and progressive Croats according to a pre-conceived plan.

By applying the racist theory of the purity of race and nation in Croatia, they were prepared to exterminate all Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, as well as all Croats who in any way expressed an anti-Fascist disposition. Thus, in a short period of time, all of Croatia’s prisons were full.

The Ustase also founded camps in other places—for instance, in Djakovo, Sisak, Stara Gradiska, Lepoglava, Lobar and so on—but these camps were much smaller. Jasenovac became the largest and most extensive concentration camp in the whole of the so-called Independent State of Croatia.

The Ustase killed the entire population of the town, or deported them, and sta-

tioned in the town itself a permanent Ustase garrison.

The first inmates, consisting mostly of Serbs and Jews, were transported to the village of Krapje, twelve kilometers west of Jasenovac, and ordered to construct a camp which became officially known as "Jasenovac Camp No. I."

As the number of prisoners continued to swell, a second camp was founded between Jasenovac and Krapje which became officially known as "Camp No. II."

Inmates had to build both these camps alone and in great haste, constructing barracks and dikes which were constantly overwhelmed by floods. The Ustase finally realized that both locations were unsuitable for camps, so they liquidated them and founded alongside the "Brick Factory" in Jasenovac a new camp, which became officially known as "Camp No. III."

In the town of Jasenovac itself, they turned the leather factory into "Camp No. IV." The camp in Stara Gradiska, not far from Jasenovac, is sometimes mentioned in Ustase reports as "Camp No. V."

Together, these camps could receive up to 7,000 prisoners, but there were never more than 3,000 to 4,000 men on labor detail, not even when Camp No. III housed a variety of workshops.

On 25 November 1941, the so-called *Poglavnik* of the NDH issued a "legal decree," No. CDXXIX-2101-Z-1941, signed by his "Minister" of Justice and Religion, Dr. Mirko Puk.

This "legal decree" speaks of the deportation of disloyal and dangerous people to compulsory detention in labor and concentration camps. The main articles of the decree read:

§ 1.

Disloyal individuals who present a danger to public order and safety, or who could endanger the peace and tranquility of the Croatian people or the accomplishments of the liberation struggle of the Croatian Ustase Movement, may be remanded to compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps. The Ustase Secret Service is hereby authorized to establish these camps in various places.

§ 2.

The duration of detention in concentration and labor camps shall not be of a term shorter than three months nor longer than three years.

§ 3.

The right to remand individuals to compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps, the right to determine the duration of detention and the degree of caution and surveillance, is bestowed to the Ustase Police Service as a branch of the Ustase Secret Service.

All administrative and autonomous districts, as institutions of the Ustase Movement,

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are obligated to report to the Ustase Police Service via district administration all persons mentioned under Article 1 of this legal decree.

For the decisions of the Ustase Police Service regarding deportation and compulsory detention in concentration and labor camps there is no legal remedy, nor recourse to district courts.

§ 6.

The Ustase supervising commander will regulate the organization, labor and degree of caution and surveillance in concentration and labor camps, and the treatment of persons deported to these camps.

Thus began the horrifying régime of the “Ustase Security Service” and its commandant, which murdered hundreds of thousands of patriots and sent their families into mourning.

For an inmate to be sent to Jasenovac meant submitting to the mercy and cruelty of his Ustase tormentors; it meant martyrdom. The dark history of the Jasenovac camp reveals that the Ustase sent all elements that were to be liquidated there; those who were deemed disloyal to the régime “for racial, religious, national or political reasons.”

Today, we can determine that the Ustase sorted prisoners into two categories.

The first category comprised all inmates who were sentenced to detention for a duration of less than three years. It was the intention of the Ustase to exhaust these prisoners by labor to their physical limits, and then remove them to make room for new prisoners.

Only a few prisoners were released after they endured their sentence, and many of them later died from the consequences of their experiences in the camp.

The second category comprises inmates who were sentenced to detention for the maximum duration of three years. Prisoners sentenced by the Ustase Police Service for a duration of three years were, as a rule, liquidated immediately upon their arrival.

Both categories have in common the fact that the prisoners were sent to the camp on basis of individual “sentences” handed down by the Ustase Police Service.

We will see, however, that over the course of four years, the Ustase dispatched large groups of men, women and children to Jasenovac, and either took them inside the camp and liquidated them there, or liquidated them outside of the camp itself.

This included large groups of Serbs from various towns and villages, groups of Jews from various towns or districts, whole camps sent to Jasenovac for liquidation, all Gypsies from the territory of the NDH, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

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The Ustase, quite simply, brought these unfortunate people to Jasenovac to herd them *en masse* into the slaughterhouse.

B

A HIGH WALL SEPARATED JASENOVAC FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD

Camp No. III

AS MENTIONED IN THE introduction, by the end of 1941 the Ustase began to build the true Jasenovac camp in the area of the “Brick Factory” and officially named it “Camp No. III.”

Camps No. I and No. II are described in Section D below. Both these camps existed for only a few months, while Camp No. III remained in operation for nearly four years.

The various workshops and barracks for inmates were encircled by a wall three meters high, so the whole of Camp No. III looked in the Spring of 1945 as it does in the outline attached to this document.

The camp itself was located directly to the east of the town of Jasenovac. The main entrance to the camp was on the western side, on the road which follows the Sava River from Jasenovac to the village Kosutarica and further on to Stara Gradiska. Made from light wood, the entrance gates were built inside the high wall. The wall went first to the north in a length of 420 meters, then in parallel with the railroad to the east in a length of 1350 meters. It continued southward at a 90 degree angle to the Sava for 1300 meters, cutting through the road to Kosutarica. That is where the “Eastern Gate” was located.

The last part of the wall, up against the banks of the Sava in the western direction, was 290 meters long.

The southern border of the camp was created by the Sava River, as a natural obstacle to prevent prisoners from escaping.

The whole of Camp No. III occupied an area of one and a half square kilo-

meters.

At the main (western) gate, sentry boxes were constructed along with the administration building, where prisoners who arrived in the camp were registered and lined up. The building also held a twenty-four meter high watchtower. These buildings were blown-up by the Ustase when they left Jasenovac; today there are only piles of rubble.

North of this building was the refinery, also destroyed, while the petrol tanks located both above and below the earth remained undamaged.

About 150 meters from the wall are the remains of a building that was 150 meters long and 8 meters wide and was pointed in a north-south direction. This was the main warehouse, originally used to store manufactured goods. The Ustase used the warehouse in the Winter of 1944/45 as a room where they herded masses of victims. They were stripped naked in harsh weather, had their hands tied behind their backs, and were bound together in pairs with wire. Then they were taken to the so-called "Granik."

The Granik was a device by which cargoes from boats and rafts had been lifted and unloaded. It was where goods were loaded to be transported out of Jasenovac.

On the Granik, the Ustase killed their victims by blows to the head from a mace or sledgehammer. Then their stomachs were cut open, iron ballasts were hung from their hands, and their bodies were thrown into the Sava.

East of the main warehouse was a large empty lot, filled with scrap iron used as material for the "Chain Factory."

Parallel to the main warehouse was a building housing additional locksmith and tinsmith workshops.

Twenty paces to the east was a whole line of buildings pointed in north-south direction.

The building endmost to the south was the infamous "Bell Warehouse." The Bell Warehouse was two meters long by three meters wide, originally used by the Ustase to store ruined bells from Orthodox churches. Later the bells were taken away, and coal tailings were stored in their place. The Bell Warehouse was later transformed into a torture chamber, housing prisoners who were sentenced to die of starvation. The warehouse had only a single door, made of glass, and no windows.

North of the Bell Warehouse was the "Package Warehouse," where guards censored letters and packages received by "obedient prisoners."

The third in the line of buildings was the "Camp Administration" building and the "Labor Section."

Further to the north was the “Chain Factory,” a large industrial building where various iron products were manufactured, such as chains and wires. There was also a blacksmith’s workshop, a machine factory, a tool factory, a foundry, a rifle factory and car mechanic.

From the sketch of the camp, we can see that at a distance of seven meters, parallel with the Chain Factory, was a circular furnace used for baking bricks for the “Brick Factory,” and behind it a warehouse used for drying them.

In early 1942, near the Brick Factory, the Ustase constructed a special furnace for the incineration of people—the so called “Picilli Furnace”—which they razed after three months in operation.

Also near the Brick Factory on the sketch we see a long, roofed depot without inner walls. Part of the railroad tracks passed through the depot from the Jasenovac train station, and inmates referred to it as the “Tunnel.” Prisoners who were brought to Jasenovac in 1941 and 1942 had to wait here for days or weeks in all sorts of weather until they were assigned a place in the barracks, or until they were taken to be liquidated.

In the sketch we can see further to the east another line of buildings, positioned in a north-south direction.

The endmost building to the south was located at the crossroads of an automobile and a pedestrian road. Inside was a sentry box, a dining room for Ustase officers, a kitchen and a barber. To the north was the Ustase Officer’s Quarters and the offices of the camp commandant and unit commanders, as well as a technician’s office.

North of this building was the Ustase kitchen, and the dining room reserved for Ustase who had been sent to Jasenovac for punishment.

Near the automobile road to Kosutarica was the “Sawmill” and “Power Plant.” It was thirty-five meters high, twenty meters long and had a chimney fifty-two meters high.

The whole area behind the Sawmill was littered with construction materials, except for the northern part where a quarry was being dug out, since the dirt had been found to be very good for bricks.

Further north we can see a line of buildings where there was an economy, and next to it a belt factory, stables, blacksmiths workshops. Beside them was the so-called “Lake” in the rough shape of a mushroom, over which a wooden bridge had been built on the endmost southern part. Southeast of the Lake were stables, kitchens, dairies, butcheries and the women’s camp.

North of the Lake was the “Cemetery,” and near it a whole line of barracks, twenty-four meters long by six meters wide. In the first barrack was a hospital, a

clinic in the second, and in next six were inmates' quarters, and then the main and secondary kitchens.

The Ustase burned down all these buildings, dug the corpses out of their graves and burned them to mislay evidence of their crimes.

All of the buildings mentioned were enclosed by a fence. On the other side of the fence, in the direction of the southeast, was the "Pantry," butcheries and pigstys, and further the "Ustase Workshops" and "Quarters" and the women's camp with a kitchen.

Around these buildings was another fence, connected to the first near the barracks, where the quarters of the male prisoners were located. On the other side of these fences in the northeastern corner was "Camp III-C."

Camp No. IV

Camp No. IV was located in the town of Jasenovac itself, on Dimitrijeva Street.

The Ustase encircled several industrial buildings where leather was manufactured and dried with rows of barbed wire. The entire complex—the warehouses, workshops, rooms where a dynamo and steam engine were installed, pools for soaking leather, quicklime pits, buildings with offices and quarters of employees—formed a single, enclosed camp where the technical staff was imprisoned.

This entire, small colony was referred to as the "Tannery." Inmates of the Tannery received better food, and the Ustase treated them better than the prisoners from Camp No. III, because it was important that that the army receive well-manufactured leather.

Before their escape, the Ustase blew up and burned down all facilities and buildings in the camp, along with almost all of the houses in Jasenovac itself, so that this once beautiful and prosperous town now looks like the location where the most intensive fighting took place.



THE SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF INMATES

BEFORE WE MOVE ON to describing the mass atrocities committed against the inmates, we will describe along general lines the system and methods that Ustase applied in the camp. We will describe the life of the prisoners, the type of work they had to do, and all which they had to suffer.

I. Arrival and Pillage

For four years, transports of prisoners arrived in Jasenovac—some in railroad cars, some in trucks, and some by foot. Every week, groups—sometimes smaller and sometimes larger—stopped in front of the building of the Camp Administration, where Ustase guards who followed the transports delivered them to the commandants of the camp or their deputies.

Even while in transit to the camp, prisoners were subject to hunger and abused by different methods of torture.

Witness Kustorin Marijan briefly describes his trip from Stara Gradiska to Jasenovac:

On 23 September 1944 I was relocated from Stara Gradiska camp to Jasenovac with a group of 700 people. For nearly the whole trip, some thirty-eight kilometers, we had to run. Anyone that stopped or staggered was killed on the spot. The road followed alongside the Sava, so many exhausted comrades jumped into the river in desperation, to end their suffering.

Luburic, Milos or Matijevic, the chief commandants and killers in the camp, rarely allowed other high Ustase officers to receive transports of prisoners. They personally performed the inspection of newly-arrived victims, sorting them into groups: Serbs with Serbs, Jews with Jews, and Croats with Croats.

Luburic gave a “speech” to every group, full of insults and the most primitive curses, during which a whip or a truncheon was used to beat the prisoners across their backs or heads. Then they would move on to be robbed. The Ustase took away the belongings of every prisoner, such as a watch, pocket knife, wallet with money, jewelry, books, etc. Every prisoner had to make a statement that he had handed over all of his money, all things of value and letters, and that he didn’t hide or conceal anything.

For even the slightest violation of this rule, no matter whether it was accidental or intentional, the Ustase would punish the “guilty” with an instant death sentence. Witness Steiner Hinko state in his testimony:

I came to the camp on 18 September 1941 with an old man named Poljokan. After he gave them some of his trinkets and said that he didn't have anything else, the Ustase discovered that he had sewn some money into his coat. Ljubo Milos stepped forward in front of all of us and stabbed him in the chest twice with a big knife. The old man collapsed.

Witness Fabijanec Josip: “When a group of 120 prisoners arrived, the Ustase immediately shot thirteen comrades.”

After the prisoners gave away everything they carried with them, and after signing a statement that they didn’t hide anything, they were obligatorily stripped naked. The Ustase seized the better suits, underwear and footwear and gave them old rags, and some were only left with their underwear. Witnesses were interviewed about these circumstances.

Witness Aleksic Arsa: “When they herded us into Jasenovac, they immediately stripped us naked, taking away our shoes. Instead of our fine clothing they gave us rags. They didn’t give us shoes even though it was the middle of winter.”

Witness Berger Egon: “The Ustase took everything from me and only left me the underwear I was wearing. The whole time they were beating us.”

Witness Lapcevic Stojan: “I was transported to Jasenovac on 12 November 1942. I arrived in a group of nine people. First they smacked us until we were bloody, then stripped us naked. The better clothing they took for themselves and gave us the worst.”

After this procedure, prisoners were sent in groups to the barracks they were assigned to. When there was not enough room for everyone in the barracks, the

remaining prisoners spent the night in other places in the camp.

Prisoners who were brought to Jasenovac by the Ustase for the sole purpose of being liquidated were kept naked and barefoot for hours and hours, and sometimes even for several days, either in the building of the “Main Warehouse,” or in the “Tunnel,” or out in the open. Then they would take them to the Granik or to Gradina, the village on the Bosnian side of the Sava, and execute them there.

Until the Summer of 1942, prisoners were not allowed to receive packages and letters, so Ustase opened all packages that were sent to Jasenovac and split the contents among themselves.

As of Summer 1942, prisoners who were—by the Ustase’s evaluation—obedient and diligent were allowed to write home on postcards. They were permitted only to let their families know they were alive. However, on several occasions, the camp’s administration punished the entire population by forbidding them to send or receive mail home.

During the arrival of prisoners to the camp, the Ustase slapped them or beat them with truncheons and rifle butts. Many were shot or slaughtered immediately. In the execution of these crimes several Ustase stood out: Luburic Maks, Milos Ljubo, Matkovic Ivica, Filipovic Miroslav, Picilli Hinko, Maricic Jerko, Jusic Mujo, Matkovic Ljubo, Kordic Tihomir, Djulkic Alaga, Gasparovic Dragan, Matijevic Matija and Skocibusic.

The State Commission established the legitimacy of these crimes from interviews with the following witnesses: Pesko Djuro, Zouhar Stjepan, Richter Rudolf, Slovenec Rudolf, Fabijanec Josip, Steiner Hinko, Stazic Josip, Blumschein Zlatko, Schwarzenberg Adolf and Berger Egon, all from Zagreb; Ilic Branko from Zivinice; Duvnjak Mato from Kustosija; Finzi Jakob from Sarajevo; Matas Pavle from Trstenik; Breyer Otto from Bjelovar; Aleksic Arsa from Donji Bogicevac; and Lapcevic Stojan and Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija.

II. Food and Accommodations

Food for the inmates in Jasenovac was poor and insufficient. Prisoners received meals two or three times a day. In the morning they would receive warm water with corn flour mixed in. At noon they would receive cabbage, bean or potato soup, in which there were a few vegetables, a potato or a bean, and in the evening they would receive similar fare. The inmates called the soup “hominy.”

Prisoners were given bread very irregularly. Often, they didn't receive bread for several months. The bread they were served was black, with an admixture of bran, and never in a quantity exceeding one eighth of a kilogram per day.

The food the Ustase gave to prisoners contained no fats at all, and very little salt.

The goal of the Ustase was to weaken the health of prisoners with such poor and insufficient food, making them incapable of physical strain and susceptible to illness. This was the practical consequence of such poor nutrition. With the squalor in the camp, every summer brought new epidemics of dysentery, typhus and other diseases of the digestive organs, which in just a single month in 1942 took the lives of 1,800 prisoners.

Nearly every prisoner became ill on account of poor nutrition, so we could quote many witnesses who described these horrible circumstances in the camps.

As an example, we will only mention the testimony of witness Breyer Otto, who stated the following:

Food in the camp was worse than miserable. For breakfast we would usually get this so-called soup. In fact, it was hot muddy water. For lunch we would have beans or potato soup, in which there were few beans or one potato. Supper was the same as lunch. Twelve people would share one kilogram of bread.

During my captivity in Jasenovac I often saw railroad cars full of food and packages for prisoners sent by businessmen or the Jewish religious communities in Osijek and Zagreb. Prisoners would only get beans and potatoes, while everything else—rice, coffee, sugar, canned goods, et cetera—the Ustase would take for themselves.

Similar testimony was given by witness Lapcevic Stojan, who stressed that on that kind of food he was forced to work for ten hours every day.

Living quarters for the prisoners were as unbearable as the food was miserable.

Until barracks were built, prisoners slept in the "Tunnel," in the brick warehouses, the attics of workshops and warehouses or under the open sky.

After the barracks had been erected, the prisoners slept inside of them. Every barrack was a huge wooden room, twenty-four meters long by six meters wide.

A corridor ran through the middle of the barracks. To the left and right were the bunks. Up to six prisoners could sleep in each bunk. When a new group of victims would arrive, and there was no more space left in the bunks, the Ustase would stack the prisoners so they had to lie on top of one another. When even in that way everything was full, others would sleep outside in various parts of the camp.

Sleeping was difficult, and the prisoners covered themselves with blankets. When the prisoners would arrive in the camp, the Ustase would take away the better blankets that prisoners brought themselves, and would later give them old blankets of poor quality. All the bunks were so riddled with parasites—bedbugs, lice and fleas—that the cleaning performed by prisoners was rendered useless.

Since inmates were allowed to wash their dirty clothes only once a month, it is obvious that unsanitary conditions prevailed. Throughout the Winter, epidemics of disease would ravage the camp, especially typhus. Few prisoners who contracted the disease survived. The prisoners' clothing was of very poor quality. Rooms where they had to sleep were cold and dirty.

The doctors and pharmacists who nursed the inmates were prisoners themselves, so they devotedly strived to help their unfortunate comrades. As their resources were very primitive, they couldn't help them much, and were unable to perform any significant surgical procedures.

Thus, every severely ill patient was sentenced to die, and if dying was too slow, Ustase would burst in at night, drive the patients out of their beds and herd them to Gradina or the Granik for liquidation.

All witnesses interviewed by this Commission consistently described the miserable hygienic conditions in which the inmates had to survive. The veracity of the above description was determined particularly by the statements of these witnesses: Breyer Otto from Bjelovar, Kovacevic Vojislav, Trbojevic Nemanja, Dominec Ivan, Stazic Josip, Srica Dragan, Steiner Hinko, Skrgatic Dragutin, Orlic Sime, Danon Jakob and Hersak Josip, all from Zagreb.

III. Prison Labor

As mentioned in the introduction, in 1941 the Jasenovac camp at first consisted of Camp No. I near Krapje and Camp No. II near the Strug, while the real Jasenovac, Camp No. III, was built at the end of Autumn, 1941.

To the first two camps, the Ustase imprisoned Jews arrested in Zagreb, Osijek, Sarajevo and other larger cities, but also Serbs and Croats arrested in various parts of the NDH. There were many intellectuals among them. The Ustase treated the intellectuals with particular cruelty, taking away their clothes and footwear. The food they were given, as mentioned, was especially miserable, though the Ustase still forced them to work for long periods at the most difficult physical

labor.

The inmates were forced to build barracks and dikes intended to protect the camp from the floods of the Strug and the Sava. While they were working, the Ustase beat them with truncheons and rifle butts, forced them to dig faster and run at all times. If the individual collapsed from exhaustion, he would be finished off on the spot.

Prisoner Danon Jakob describes the forced labor in Camps No. I and II:

Every time we went to work, about thirty Ustase guards would turn their rifle butts on anyone who would fall exhausted from faint or old age. We always had to go to work running. On labor detail there even worse sentences than getting beaten by rifle butts. Those who would stop, who couldn't run, were murdered. The Ustase guards were shooting at us prisoners shouting, 'Faster, faster!' They wounded many.

If any prisoner would try to rest and stop even for a second, an Ustase bullet would kill him. I remember hearing Ljubo Milos tell the Ustase guards that they shouldn't shoot, because every single Ustase had a knife, so they should slit the throat of any prisoner who didn't want to work.

Of the several thousand prisoners from Camps No. I and II sent to Camp No. III, only several hundred arrived.

The labor of the prisoners in Camp No. III was divided into interior labor inside the camp and exterior labor around the perimeter.

Interior labor in the camp was performed in the workshops: the Chain Factory, the Brick Factory, the Bakery, the Power Plant, the Sawmill, the Economy, et cetera.

Prisoners had to work at least ten hours a day without rest, because the merchandise they manufactured was necessary for the occupying armies and the Ustase. They also loaded and unloaded railroad cars, trucks and boats on the Sava. There was no rest, not even on Sundays and holidays (in 1943, Sunday rest was permitted for diligent workers). Ustase supervisors patrolled the workshops on the watch for anyone resting, staying too long in the bathroom or working too slowly.

When an Ustase would surmise that a prisoner was "sabotaging" work, he would beat up or kill the prisoner on the spot.

Doctors would often prescribe rest for the ill, old and infirm prisoners, but the Ustase, especially Picilli Hinko, didn't care much for those instructions and relished beating those poor people and forcing them back to work.

Exterior prison labor consisted of building fences made out of barbed wire, small and large dikes, a large wall that lasted until the end of 1942, constructing

bunkers and defensive positions in the area around the camp, cutting trees and chopping wood, working in fields and in “Economy” or in neighboring Jablanac. Ustase guards escorted the prisoners to the work sites and forced them with rifle butts, knives or guns to work faster. Many thousands of prisoners were killed during exterior labor, so it often happened that whole groups or parts of groups didn’t return to the camp. Ustase guards simply stated that they had tried to run, so they had to kill them.

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If they didn’t sense it earlier, every prisoner upon arrival at the camp would understand that a horrible and certain death awaited him. The only uncertainty was how long his suffering would last.

For those who didn’t bear witness to these atrocities—the torture that the inmates were subjected to—it seems unbelievable, impossible that there could exist men who would with such an excess of sadism, with such an excess of perversion, invent and perform such cruel methods and means of torture.

Only the Fascist mentality could create the inhuman monsters who committed these atrocities. Brutality was the only thing that could satisfy their criminal mentality, from the *Poglavnik* down to the last butcher.

Every Ustase, from Luburic down to the lowliest guard, was almighty and all-powerful to the prisoner. He held the power of life and death. At any time, day or night, during work or rest, any Ustase could kill any prisoner and not be held responsible for it by anyone, and wasn’t even required to register the fact.

The following episode is based on the testimony of witness Danon Jakob.

On 23 December 1941, Milos Ljubo, one of the worst Ustase murderers, ordered that all prisoners assemble for muster. He pointed out that one of the inmates tried to kill an Ustase guard. He didn’t mention the name of the prisoner, nor of the Ustase he tried to kill.

Milos Ljubo then separated twenty-five prisoners from the line, grabbed a rifle and shot them all. Then he called for Dr. Gusti Leindorfer to make sure they were all dead, then called for the undertakers to take away their corpses.

Then he added, joking, “Oh, I forgot to ask for their names.”

Even the briefest rest during forced labor, the unsanctioned gathering of prisoners, rummaging through kitchens for food, an appeal from a prisoner to be

spared from labor because of illness or exhaustion, et cetera, represented the worst offense to camp discipline. The Ustase punished such offenses brutally. They would beat the victims with clubs, stakes, whips, or rifle butts; kicked them or stabbed them with bayonets; and quite often would use revolvers or knives and kill them straight away. Sometimes an Ustase would permit a prisoner to do something or take something forbidden. Repercussions were immediate: another Ustase would punish the offender in the most inhuman manner.

Public punishments were often held for petty, trivial or invented offenses, or for no offense at all.

Witness Breyer Otto described the following scene:

Beatings took place when Ljubo Milos or Matijevic were walking through the camp. They would approach a prisoner and without any reason just pick him out and take him to the prison near the Administration building. In the evening all prisoners would be gathered into lines and then the chosen ones—usually two or three comrades—were singled out in front of everyone. Ljubo or Matijevic said that the prisoners had been selected because they didn't want to work and that they would be punished by twenty-five lashes from a whip across their naked backside. A chair was brought, the punished would have to remove his pants and underwear, and lie over the chair. And then one Ustase would hit him twenty-five times as hard as he could with a whip which had a wire inside. It would break the prisoner's skin, blood would flow so much that he wouldn't be able to walk at all for several days.

And then it would be the turn for the second prisoner, the third and so on. They went to supper when they finished with the last. Ustase walking between camp prisoners after labor, whenever they would want, without anyone's orders and without any reason, on a whim, would grab a prisoner and beat him up. I watched once when they beat my friend with a stake and stomped his body until he died.

Other Ustase shot at us with guns. Just from shootings, several people were killed every day.

Aside from these 'performances' for public punishments, there were also 'performances for the reduction of the overall number of prisoners in the camp.' There were also performances for signing up of all those who wanted to go to work in Germany, or who wanted to go to any other camp or hospital for 'treatment.'

Witness Riboli Josip in his statement adds:

Whenever the camp was full, the Ustase would decide to liquidate a certain number of prisoners. All prisoners had to line up in the evening or at night. Once, when Maricic was walking between groups of prisoners, he shoved his lamp in my face and asked where we were from. If Maricic didn't get the necessary number of victims from parts of the country he didn't like, then he would pick the people he personally disliked.

This sort of examination would last for several hours. Maricic would walk around with his escort and returned several times to the same group, sadistically enjoying holding the inmates in suspense, hoping the dice didn't fall on them.

The other public performances—for signing up to go to work in Germany or to a hospital, or any other camp—the Ustase considered a “prank,” laughing at the thought of people voluntarily signing up for death.

Witness Breyer Otto described the fate of prisoners who signed up to go to the Djakovo camp:

I was there when the Ustase loaded prisoners into trucks, then ordered them to sit or kneel. Then they covered them with big awnings, and after that five or six Ustase climbed on and started jumping on the prisoners, kicking them and beating them with rifle butts. That sort of kicking and killing Ustase called 'recovery in Djakovo'...

Ustase would often come at night to the barracks and beat up prisoners, just for fun. Witness Kuhada Nikola stated:

I worked in the concentration camp in the 'Sawmill' as a carpenter. I was also beaten during that period. We all had to get up at night and run in circles by the door of the barrack, where lines of Ustase would beat us with their rifle butts without mercy.

Witness Duzemlic Milan stated:

Upon my arrival at the camp on Christmas of 1943, I was thrown into solitary confinement, where I spent twenty-two days. The Ustase burned my feet, shoved needles under my nails, beat me with a cord wrapped in rubber, they put a board on my chest and stomped on it. They stabbed me, I have visible scars from it on both of my arms. During the entire time I heard screaming and moaning from the other rooms, and I later found out they tortured prisoner Djogas Josip by tying his arms and legs, curling him up into a ball and rolling him over a board of nails. Sertic Djuro, the Ustase cut pieces of flesh from his thighs and salted his wounds.

I remember seeing another incident involving several other prisoners. In December 1944, Luburic, Matkovic, Ljubo Milos, Stojcic and Kordic amused themselves by knocking down a 19-year old girl, Loncarevic Marica from Plesma. She was nude on the ground, they spread her legs and then crucified her on a table and burned her genitals with cigarettes, they shook off the ashes from their cigarettes.

Once, during the liquidation of children in the camp, an Ustase threw a one-year old child in air, and the other Ustase caught the child on a bayonet.

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I also saw Ustase Sergeant Bracic Nikola kill prisoner Sulekic Ivan from Kozarica and drink his blood.

There are numerous ways of torture, it's impossible to describe every way the Ustase killed prisoners. They tortured Partizan Tomsic Valent in December 1944 by cutting his testicles off, from which he died.

The Ustase murdered whole groups of prisoners who were sent to Jasenovac by liquidation on the Granik or near the villages of Gradina and Ustica, which lie on the Bosnian side of the Sava River opposite the Granik. Witness Zivkovic Jovan described mass liquidations on the Granik:

Sometimes it lasted all night. Victims would wait in the Main Warehouse or in some other building or out in the open. Before leaving, the Ustase would strip them naked. Then they would tie their hands behind their backs with a wire. Tied like that, they'd herd them one by one to the Granik. A victim would be forced to his knees, and an Ustase would tie a heavy iron weight in the shape of a ring on the victim's arms. After that they would hit the victim with a mallet, a sledgehammer or with the dull side of an axe on the head. They would often cut their stomachs open with a butcher's knife and dump them into the Sava.

Liquidations in Gradina and Ustica were at first performed by Ustase alone, but after 1942 they also used Gypsies. Prisoners would first have to dig long and deep pits. The Ustase would strip them naked, kick the gold fillings out of their heads, and then the victim would have to jump into a pit, where an Ustase or a Gypsy would wait, and hit the victim on the head with a sledgehammer or cut the victim's throat with a knife. Witness Berger Egon described these liquidations:

I worked in Jasenovac as an undertaker starting in December of 1941 and I know that I with other comrades buried about 200 to 300 victims daily. Killings were performed in the following way: pits were three to eight square meters in size. While we were digging graves, Ustase headed by Lieutenant Mujica performed killings of victims that were tied up with wire. The Ustase killed victims by hitting them on their temporal bone. They also killed them by an axe blow across the neck, or by putting wooden stakes into victim's mouths. A stake would be placed into the victim's mouth vertically, and then an Ustase would hit it with an axe and the stake would surface at the top of the head.

Sometimes they asked victims if they had any relatives, and when they established that they did, they would force them to kill each other. There were situations when a brother killed his brother, a father his son, a daughter her mother, and so on. Ustase often cut reins from the backs of many victims. I was there when Mujica cut reins from the back of one vic-

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tim and then drove the victim around pulling at them. Younger Ustase cut victims' noses and ears off and told each other that they killed Partizans in combat and cut off their ears and noses. The noses and ears they put in handkerchiefs and kept in their pockets.

They would look over every victim, and when they saw that a victim had gold fillings in his teeth, they would pry them out with their knives.

The same Berger Egon was lying in a hospital in February of 1942 because he was stabbed five times with a bayonet by an Ustase because he didn't dig graves fast enough.

Witness Finzi Jakob stated the following:

I worked as an undertaker in the camp graveyard only for ten days. During that period of time I buried corpses without heads, without arms, with crushed skulls, with missing fingers and toes, with nails driven into their chest, with missing sexual organs, mutilated corpses black and blue from beatings. During those ten days we buried about 3,000 corpses. Among them I recognized the corpses of five undertakers finished off by the Ustase.

Witness Kosina Franjo stated in his testimony:

On a Sunday just before Christmas of 1944, I saw at 11 o'clock about forty naked women and children herded out of the camp to the Granik, where Luburic cut their throats and Prpic cut open their bellies and dumped them into the Sava. On another occasion, I saw thirty-five prisoners hanged and one woman among them who had four little children in the camp. During her hanging her children cried for her and grabbed onto her skirt, but Picilli kicked this six-year old girl so hard that his boot cracked her skull.

We have already mentioned that the Ustase killed prisoners on labor. Related to that we add the statement of witness Katalinic Andrija:

As a barber I often went to the place where the 'New Dike' was being built, and I saw Ustase hitting workers on the dike with knotty truncheons. The ones they finished off they threw into the dike. I heard one Ustase guard, an older man named Jozo, bragging in front of everyone what a real pleasure it is when he slaughters Partizan children and how every evening he slaughters ten to twenty children just for fun.

Camp commandants often ordered executions of groups of prisoners because of a “severe misdemeanor” that happened in the camp. Executions were performed in public in the presence of all inmates. Witness Riboli described one scene:

Majstorovic, Polic and Maricic competed over which of them was a better butcher. Victims had to kneel in front of them until they were touching their foreheads to the ground, and the executioners would fire their revolvers at the backs of their heads. If death wasn't instant, one of them would grab a knife and slit the victim's throat. On one occasion, Ustase Sergeant Major Matijevic licked warm blood off a knife. That was so repulsive, that prisoners either turned their heads away or looked down, not wanting to watch this.

There was also a gallows in the camp, where some prisoners were hanged, their bodies remaining there for several days as a “serious warning” to other prisoners. There was also a crematorium in the camp, designed by Picilli. Ustase incinerated men, women and children here, but we will speak in more details about this so-called Picilli Furnace in Section D.

Witnesses claim that there was a machine in Jasenovac by which the Ustase crushed people, and also a “saw” which was used to saw people alive. The sick and sadistic behavior of the Ustase guards, especially when they were drunk, is illustrated by witness Sulina Mato:

I found out from older prisoners, eyewitnesses, how Ustase had cut open the stomach of a pregnant woman and took out her child, and then cut open the belly of another, non-pregnant woman, and stuck the child into her stomach.

I remember myself an Ustase, Horvat Mate, who would always, when he was drunk, look for a victim and to try a new, original way of torturing them, one never applied in practice before.

I saw with my own two eyes when the Ustase placed one prisoner on an anvil and beat him with hammers, as if they were forging on him, until he succumbed.

This chapter would not be complete if we didn't mention one of the worst methods of torturing and killing prisoners. That was torture and death by starvation.

Later we will describe how the Ustase liquidated the entire population of Camp III-C by subjecting prisoners to death by starvation. We will mention here the “Bell Warehouse,” a special torture chamber set aside explicitly for that purpose. It

was a small barrack without windows, with a glass door, so that from outside it was possible to view everything. The Ustase locked victims inside, keeping them there without food and water for several weeks. Their suffering was awful, and from the barrack desperate screams resounded: "Take us away! Kill us!" The Ustase, especially Matkovic Ivica, reveled in the suffering of their victims, passing in front of the Bell Warehouse and laughing.

As the Bell Warehouse was a small building, not more than thirty prisoners could be locked in at one time. As new victims arrived, the previous inmates had to make room for them. The Ustase would take the previous group to the Granik and execute them there. Even torture by starvation and the knowledge they would kill them later still didn't satisfy these Ustase's sadism, so they beat and stabbed them with knives before taking them out to their execution.

Witness Devcic Natko relates his observations of the inmates that the Ustase took out alive from the Bell Warehouse:

All of them were to be shot now, after they had spent some time in the torture chamber called the Bell Warehouse. Most of them came out completely black and blue from beating, ears ripped off or cut off and bloody. I remember the names of Dr. Juraj Bocak and Dr. Ozren Novosel, both of them doctors, who were tortured in the Bell Warehouse.

Based on the testimony of many witnesses, of whom only few were quoted here, the State Commission has established the manner in which the Ustase tortured and executed the camp prisoners. When the moment of liberation finally arrived, the Ustase feared that the truth would be revealed. To cover up their numerous atrocities they began in April of 1945 to dig through graveyards in haste, digging out corpses and skeletons of victims and burning them at the stake. For days and weeks the stakes burned, and when their work was finally over, the Ustase killed the inmates who performed the work, and then embraced each other while drinking.

The Main Ustase Criminals

The *Poglavnik* entrusted supreme control over all of Jasenovac's camps to Luburic Maks. In all of his duties, Luburic was responsible only to him.

Before the war, Luburic was a common criminal and had been sentenced to prison for a variety of criminal offenses. From the original police reports found in

the files of the Zagreb police, we can see that Luburic, by the sentence of 7 September 1929 No. 104.761, was punished with two days in prison for roaming the streets, and by the sentence of the District Court in Mostar of 5 December 1931 No. Kzp. 719/31, with five months hard labor for the embezzlement of 8,305 dinars belonging to the public stock exchange in Mostar. He was arrested again for a second act of embezzlement.

His real name isn't "Maks," the nickname he was given by his Ustase colleagues, but Vjekoslav. Luburic was a common rambler, despising all honest labor. When Pavelic left the country, he went after him and refined his brutality in various Ustase camps in Hungary and Italy.

Pavelic so highly appreciated these Ustase abilities that he eventually named him an Ustase general.

This monster, of an almost dwarf-like height and a face bearing strong traces of infantilism and the characteristics of a criminal, represented the supreme and only authority in the camps.

Luburic came to Jasenovac two or three times per month. He stayed only a few days at a time, but even during that short period he committed so many atrocities that the prisoners were terrified when they would hear that he had "stopped by" Jasenovac.

Knowing when new transports of prisoners arrived at Jasenovac, he wanted to hear why individual prisoners had been sentenced. He only heard and understood what his hatred, his base passions, and his most bestial instincts dictated.

His first "reports" were terrible, characterized by his ranting and curses, and followed up by fists, rifle butts, bullets from his revolver and his knife across their throats. He constantly patrolled the camp, looking to discover any violation of "camp discipline," to catch a prisoner slackening from weakness, old age or illness, to catch a hungry prisoner rummaging through the trash for food or not greeting him with a proper Ustase salute. His eyes would glisten, and a revolver or a knife would go into action.

On 9 October 1942, Luburic arranged for a ceremony in Jasenovac and distributed gold and silver medals to his subordinates, sent to them by Pavelic as a reward for "merit."

At the banquet, Luburic, as drunk as the rest, held a speech and according to the testimony of one witness stated, *"And thus in one year here in Jasenovac we have slaughtered more people than the Ottoman Empire was able to do during the entire stay of the Turks in Europe."*

Luburic's first deputy was Matkovic Ivica. Matkovic was a common killer, who executed prisoners by his own hand just like Luburic. He was also a pro-

nounced sadist who enjoyed prolonging suffering for as long as possible. The true measure of the man can be seen in the fact that he enjoyed mocking his helpless victims.

Matkovic ordered that all camp prisoners must line up to witness mass executions, singled out victims in order to reduce the overall camp population, et cetera.

Matkovic arranged a great three-day slaughter of Serbs on Catholic Christmas in 1941, and ordered the liquidation of Camp No. III-C by exposing prisoners in the harsh winter to death by starvation.

Third in rank in the camp was Milos Ljubo of Herzegovina. Milos Ljubo was a extremely sanguine fanatic and sadist. While Matkovic Ivica was a refined killer, Milos Ljubo was a brutal butcher.

Witness Flumiani Milan stated about him:

As soon as we arrived, the seventeen of us, to Jasenovac, Ustase beat us with rifle butts and took us to the Brick Factory, where Milos Ljubo had already lined up two groups, while we arrived as a special third group.

Maricic asked Ljubo Milos, 'Who should I aim at first?' And Milos replied, 'Where there's more of them,' and both of them pointed automatic rifles at the forty men from the first two groups and shot them all.

After that he asked the first man from our group why he came here, and when that man replied that he is guilty for being born a Serb, he shot him at the spot.

Then he picked out Laufer, a lawyer from Zagreb, and asked him what he was, and when he replied, he called out him like this—"I like lawyers very much, come closer"—and killed him right away.

Then he found out that a third man was a doctor from Zagreb, and he ordered him to examine the first two men and to establish whether they were dead.

When the doctor confirmed that they were, he turned to the fourth man and when he found out that he too was a doctor, he 'forgave' the whole group.

Ljubo Milos would often go into one his fits, riding a horse across the camp and shooting at groups of prisoners who didn't manage to hide themselves.

He kept a room in the camp administration building that he arranged as a sort of a "clinic."

He would wear a long white doctor's gown and send an Ustase guard to the Jewish barrack with the message that every Jew who was ill could come in for a doctor's examination.

When a victim would come to his "clinic," Milos would place him against the wall and with a quick swipe from his knife would cut the victim's throat, ribs

and stomach. He called that an “operation,” the “ritual slaughter of Jews,” and as witness Riboli stated, he was very proud of it.

But even Milos was surpassed in sadism by Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, commandant of Camp No. III, but also for a time commandant of the camp in Stara Gradiska.

Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav is a friar, a Franciscan. In the beginning of 1942, he was sent to the prison on Savska Cesta in Zagreb. After Easter of 1942 he was sent for punishment to Jasenovac. There he first became a “Free Prisoner,” and when Ustase commanders noticed that this friar had abilities the Ustase coveted, they accepted him into their ranks and appointed him as an officer among the supervising staff. Thus did Filipovic-Majstorovic by the end of 1942 become an Ustase officer and commandant of Camp No. III.

Witness Krkac Tomo described Majstorovic in his statement with these words:

Very often during my imprisonment in Jasenovac I saw Majstorovic shoot prisoners during so-called ‘public performances.’ Majstorovic kept this short rubber hose, which he sometimes held over his victims wounds, saying, ‘I want to get drunk on Communist (or Jewish) blood.’

I saw when Majstorovic and Stojic amused themselves by killing three Gypsies, ordering the first Gypsy to kill the second Gypsy with a sledgehammer, the third to kill the first, and then they liquidated the last.

Many other witnesses also stated that they saw Filipovic killing prisoners by his own hand.

The State Commission, through a magistrate of its investigative division, interrogated Filipovic after the liberation of the country when he finally fell into the hands of justice. The main parts of his statement appear in Section D.

The commander of the labor service in Jasenovac was an engineer, Hinko Dominik Picilli. He was the absolute master of camp’s “labor power.” Picilli exploited prisoners ruthlessly, forcing them to work beyond their limits. He inspected prisoners in workshops and at worksites, wherever they worked, and with an iron-wire whip, which he always carried, he beat the workers ruthlessly over their heads and across their torso, arms and legs.

Picilli especially persecuted infirm prisoners prescribed rest by doctors, entering the barracks where they were and forcing them back to work with his whip. He studied blueprints of German “crematoriums” and built a furnace near the “Brick Factory” where men, women and children were incinerated for three months. We

will speak of this furnace in more detail in Section D.

Other members of the Ustase headquarters in Jasenovac were Brkljacic, Polic, Maricic and a few other commanders. It has been established that they all executed prisoners personally; we will emphasize specific atrocities below.

Informers and “Free Prisoners”

These terms sometimes appear in this document, so to avoid confusion we will clarify what is meant by “Informers” and “Free Prisoners.”

Informers were made up of various Ustase members found guilty of some disciplinary lapse or serious criminal offense, and who had been sent to Jasenovac for punishment. It should be made clear that by “criminal offense,” only a mutual offense between Ustase is implied, as the worst atrocities committed against the enemies of Fascism didn’t meet with any disciplinary or criminal responsibility.

The Ustase administration housed these convicts in a separate building, gave them good food—the same food the Ustase guards received—and obligated them to supervise camp prisoners while they were working or asleep. These “Informers”—as camp inmates called them—could move about freely and walk about outside the camp. They hovered around the camp prisoners, carrying sticks or bats and beating prisoners to force them to work.

They were very cruel towards inmates; often they beat prisoners to death. Witness Devcic Natko describes them:

Officer Civindini had a prison and a torture chamber in Jasenovac, and his aide was a police agent named Kovacevic. Aside from him he had an entire squadron of informers and thugs, all convicts, imprisoned police agents and Ustase, whom we called the ‘Agency.’ I know they tortured and killed many prisoners in the most savage ways. I once heard the screaming and wailing of one prisoner named Deutch. They burned him with a red hot iron and tortured him until he went insane, and then they slaughtered him.

The Informers criticized the Ustase out loud in front of prisoners and tried to lure them into saying something careless. When the victim would fall for it, they would rush to denounce him.

“Free Prisoners” were prisoners who stood out by their obedience to Ustase supervisors, to the extent that they entrusted them with supervision over other

inmates. Free Prisoners had better accommodations and better food, they could send and receive packages and letters from home, and they could move about freely throughout the camp.

How Many Victims Died in Jasenovac?

During their hurried escape from Jasenovac at the end of April of 1945, the Ustase burned or destroyed all material which could be used as the basis of a statistical analysis to determine how many victims died in Jasenovac.

Thus all registries, directories, ledgers, economy books, and all official documents and orders which could have related certain information about the camp were destroyed, even though record keeping was—according to statements of witnesses—erroneous, sloppy and unsystematic.

Therefore, it isn't possible to answer the question of precisely how many victims died in Jasenovac. Few prisoners who spent some time in the camp were released, and less than a hundred managed to break out of the camp in the final moments.

It was pointed out earlier that the Ustase sent prisoners to Jasenovac for labor, but it has also been stated that many transports of men, women and children arrived at Jasenovac only to be taken inside and liquidated by the Ustase, or killed nearby without being seeing the inside of the camp at all.

The most intense years of the Ustase terror and mass crimes were 1941 and 1942. The whole of 1943 and half of 1944 were marked by relative moderation, which means that mass executions of inmates were not performed as often and in such a scale as they had before. From August of 1944 until April of 1945, large transports began to arrive and liquidations were repeated again *en masse*.

Prisoners who were in the camp in the first or fourth year mention very high numbers of victims, while the statements of those who were imprisoned in the third year of the Ustase terror in Jasenovac give a much smaller number of victims.

We will mention below some fifty mass crimes carried out by the Ustase in Jasenovac, and if we add the number of prisoners who were killed individually to the number of victims killed in mass executions, we arrive at the figure of approximately 500,000 to 600,000.

As we have pointed out, it will never be possible to determine the exact number of victims swallowed up by Jasenovac. However, based on the research conducted by this State Commission, we can conclude that the above figure approach-

es reality.

Not one criminal in history managed to slaughter one tenth of a nation, the way Pavelic did his own people. And yet he had the nerve to declare in public that *“Jasenovac is not a resting place, but it is not a torture place either.”*



SPECIFIC MASS ATROCITIES

WE WILL NOW DESCRIBE atrocities committed *en masse* which the State Commission has established based on the interviews and consistent testimony of many witnesses. We will list these crimes in chronological order from the middle of 1941 to the end of April 1945.

However, these represent only a fraction of the crimes which were actually committed.

The Ustase committed most mass crimes in Jasenovac at night, and secretly, so in most cases, surviving witnesses do not have direct knowledge of the number of victims nor of the exact time and means of execution.

In addition, the number of those who survived imprisonment is so small that we do not have direct evidence for most of the atrocities performed in Jasenovac.

I. The Liquidation of Camps No. I and II

As mentioned in the introduction, the first Jasenovac camp was located twelve kilometers away from the town of Jasenovac, near the village Krapje. After several weeks, Camp No. II was founded on the Strug River, near the road leading to Jasenovac in the direction of Novska. The Ustase brought the initial prisoners to two large fields and ordered them to encircle the area with barbed wire and construct sentry boxes. Prisoners then had to build barracks, kitchens and other auxiliary rooms for their living quarters and construct dikes around both camps, as both the Strug and the Sava often flooded the entire area around Jasenovac.

In the Summer and Autumn of 1941, the Ustase brought thousands of Serbs, Jews and Croats to the camps. These were workers, peasants, journalists, lawyers, engineers, industrialists, merchants and clerks.

Inmates were forced to work without respite from morning until dark, in water up to their knees, pulling up dirt with their hands and sometimes shovels to drag to the dike. The Ustase treated them brutally, beating and kicking anyone who would stumble or faint. Often they would simply shoot him or slit his throat and throw his body into the dike.

They carried out punishments using what they referred to as the “Wire.” Witness Breyer describes it:

For any sort of ‘offense’—for instance, if an inmate would dare ask for more food, or to spare the old and ill inmates—he would be placed in a cage the Ustase called the ‘Wire.’ It was a square five meters long, five meters wide, and one meter high, fenced from the sides and from above with barbed wire, open from beneath. It was located in a swamp. The Ustase would throw in a prisoner and keep him there for several days and nights, in all kinds of weather, without food or drink.

As prisoners were barefoot and could only crouch inside of the Wire, their legs were submerged beneath the water. Many acquired respiratory infections or other severe illnesses. Dr. Oton Gavranic from Zagreb, among others, was martyred inside the Wire.

As the food was miserable in both camps, and labor exhausting, prisoners died in great numbers every day.

In November 1941, autumnal rains flooded the entire area into a great lake. Provisional dikes faltered, and the Ustase feared that the floodwater would carry away their sentry boxes. They decided to liquidate both camps, disassemble the barracks and order the prisoners to move to the area around the “Brick Factory” near Jasenovac, to build a new camp there.

Around 15 November, Luburic ordered that all prisoners who were physically unable to move to the new camp were to be executed. On that occasion, 600 to 700 prisoners were murdered.

The same day, Luburic ordered another eighty-five prisoners to be killed, because they had dared to appeal to him to improve the quality of the food received by the inmates.

Milos Ljubo and other Ustase at the same time slaughtered about fifty Jews in Camp No. II, to sow fear in those who “don’t want to work fast.”

After these executions, only about 700 prisoners remained, who through rain and mud had to carry blocks, battens, tools and other materials to Jasenovac itself. By the time the move to the new camp was complete, it was established that only 250 prisoners remained alive. They became the first prisoners of Camp No. III.

The State Commission has established that in the first five months in Camps No. I and II, about 8,000 prisoners died from illness or exhaustion, or by Ustase knives and rifles.

These facts were established based on the testimony of witnesses Filipcic Ivan from Zagreb, Auferber Mijo from Osijek, Breyer Otto from Bjelovar, Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo, Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Ilic Branko from Zivinice and Slovenec Rudolf from Zagreb.

II. Mass Executions on Catholic Christmas, 1941

The first 250 prisoners were housed in the open sheds of the “Brick Factory.” By segregating Serbs, Jews and Croats, the Ustase thus created Sections 3A, 3B and 3D.

New transports of prisoners arrived daily. As there wasn’t enough space for such a large number of people, new prisoners had to sleep in the attics of the Brick Factory and the Chain Factory or under the open sky.

Kvaternik Eugen and Luburic Maks planned to gradually build various industrial workshops and barracks for prison labor in Camp No. III. They calculated that they would have to make room for 3,500 to 4,000 prisoners, who would represent Jasenovac’s “permanent labor force.”

They ordered that the camp be encircled by barbed wire with a broad wall, three meters high, to prevent prisoners from escaping. Thus was the camp separated from the rest of the world. A railroad passed nearby, and behind it the main road, so travelers might be able see everything that went on inside the camp. That was to be prevented. The Ustase took pains to evacuate the population of Jasenovac and the nearby villages, to isolate the camp totally from the outside world.

In 1942 the Ustase ordered the construction of new industrial buildings and living quarters, turning Camp No. III into a small industrial base important for supplying their army with various materials.

Mass atrocities had already begun in the Autumn of 1941. On Catholic Christmas Eve, 24 December 1941, the Ustase herded about 500 Serbian peasants from around Jasenovac into the camp. Ljubo Milos, Matkovic Ivica and Matijevic

Joso planned to kill the whole group of innocents and in that way “celebrate” the Christmas holiday.

Witness Milisa Djordje described the atrocity in his statement:

A day before Christmas in 1941, I saw a group of about 500 prisoners taken to a field. They were first forced to dig a deep pit. After that, the Ustase hit them one by one over the head with sledgehammers, threw them into the pit, filled it back up and threw quicklime over it. This happened several hundred meters away from me and the other prisoners, so I couldn't tell who exactly was doing the killing. I know that this was a group of Serbs. At that time the commandant of Jasenovac was Ljubo Milos.

The next day—on Christmas itself—another group of fifty Serbs arrived in Jasenovac. This group too was slaughtered by Milos Ljubo and Matijevic Joso, which is described by witness Danon Jakob:

Matijevic Joso pushed the prisoners towards Ljubo Milos with a bayonet. Their hands were tied behind their backs. Each and every one of them Milos stabbed with a strong swing of a large butcher knife and slit their throats.

III. Mass Executions in the Winter of 1941/42: Executions of Ill and Starved Prisoners

Throughout the entire period from 1941 until the end of February 1942, the Ustase brought large numbers of men and women from Srem, Slavonia and Bosnia for liquidation in Jasenovac. They were mainly Serbs, but there were also Jews and some Croats.

Inmates Steiner Hinko and Berger Egon gave consistent testimony that the Ustase brought these groups, numbering sometimes a hundred and sometimes as many as 3,000 victims, to a large field near Velika Kosutarica and killed them there.

The victims were killed from axe blows or sledgehammers to the head. Throughout the winter, eighty prisoners from the camp were obligated to work, to dig pits and bury corpses. These executions were organized by Milos Ljubo, Polic Marinko, Pudic Dragutin, Kojic Ante, Sudar Joco, Maricic Jerko, Modric Ante,

Gasparovic Dragan, Music Mujo and one Covicic.

The witnesses mentioned above claim that about 50,000 people were killed in Kosutarica that winter. The undertakers in the camp told other prisoners how many victims they buried each day. Of the eighty undertakers, only witness Berger Egon survived.

These innocent victims were arrested and herded into Jasenovac for the specific purpose of liquidation. Their arrest and execution wasn't preceded by any sort of legal procedure, not from the Ustase, nor the police, nor the judicial authorities.

The Winter of 1941-1942 was exceptionally harsh. Due to poor nutrition and clothing and shoddy and cold barracks, a large number of prisoners became ill, mostly the elderly. As the elderly didn't represent a part of the labor force, the Ustase decided to liquidate them. Witness Steiner Hinko stated:

In January of 1942 in the so-called hospital there were about 300 sick prisoners. As prisoners then had to sleep even in the attics or out in the open, and the winter was harsh, many of them died from disease. So the hospital was always full of sick prisoners.

Ljubo Milos, Matkovic Ivica and Matijevic Joso roused all patients from their beds one night, put them on sleighs and took them to the fields, where they finished them off with sledgehammers and knives.

The same sort of liquidation also occurred later. The statement of witness Steiner is corroborated by witnesses Setinc Marijan and Kamhi Sabetaj.

As a constant hunger overwhelmed the inmates, in the absence of their guards they searched for leftovers around the camp, especially around the kitchen and the dump.

Five prisoners tried one day in February of 1942 to root out several raw potatoes that were buried near a repository.

Ustase guards spotted them and took them to commander Matkovic Ivica, who decided to mete out their punishment immediately. Witnesses Steiner Hinko and Danon Jakob described their punishment:

Matkovic ordered all prisoners to line up in groups for the public punishment of these five men. Even though it was extremely cold, all five of them had to strip naked. The Ustase tied their hands behind their backs and hanged them by their arms. They were hanged in this position for an hour, shivering from the cold. Their bodies turned blue. After an hour, Matkovic had them untied and shot all five of them in the back of their heads. He held a speech for the prisoners, in which he threatened an even harsher punishment if such a 'crime' happened again.

IV. The Arrival of the So-Called International Commission and Executions of Prisoners in Preparation of Its Arrival

By the beginning of 1942, the whole civilized world knew the sort of crimes the Ustase had committed in Jasenovac. Something had to be done to hide the truth.

To that end, the Ustase brought to Jasenovac an “international commission” consisting of a German, an Italian and an Hungarian, while its other members were all Ustase. This was in fact an international Fascist commission.

Luburic was notified of when the commission was due to arrive, so he had built in haste seemingly decent central kitchens and two solid barracks for prisoners’ quarters. Even bunks were built for people to sleep on.

Food for the prisoners also improved somewhat.

Witness Steiner Hinko stated that prisoners had to work fast; some carried bricks and building material, while others worked on the construction. Every ten paces an Ustase stood, beating prisoners and forcing them to work faster. During construction, seventy-two prisoners were beaten to death.

Witnesses Breyer, Danon, Riboli and Steiner described how every prisoner was given a rag on which a high number was written. The rag was to be sewn on their sleeves. The Ustase intended to trick the members of the commission by showing the number of prisoners in the camp in the register. By assigning such high numbers, they intended to give the commission the impression that each registered prisoner was indeed alive.

Prisoners were made to reply to every question of the commission by answering, “I am prisoner number so-and-so.”

Several similar commissions visited in 1942. In November, when Aleksandar Seitz, an Ustase member of a commission, asked a Slovenian Catholic priest who he was, the prisoner replied as he was told: “I am prisoner number X.”

When asked his profession, he replied in the same way. And when questioned why he was in the camp, Seitz heard again the same answer: “I am prisoner number X.”

The Ustase “minister” thought it too stupid to hear such a reply repeated to different questions. He demanded the prisoner answer with a human voice and speech.

The priest finally gave in, and stated that he was a Slovene, that he was a vicar in a Croatian parish on the border, and that he didn’t know why he was in the camp.

Luburic couldn’t let such a severe “violation of camp discipline” go unpunished. The next day, the old priest was summoned to his office. He was told that he

could go home, and was even given some sort of a release certificate. He was happy, he packed his rags and said goodbye to the other prisoners. Guards escorted him out. Shortly thereafter, his possessions were returned, giving silent testimony to the other prisoners, his comrades, of his death.

V. Two New Ustase Atrocities

Prisoner Zouhar Stjepan described two crimes the Ustase committed in the beginning of January 1942:

On 6 January 1942 Matkovic Ivica, Milos Ljubo and Jusic Mujo ordered all prisoners to gather in a 'public performance' to hear some important announcements. When the prisoners mustered, these criminals held speeches during which they yelled, cursed and insulted the inmates, saying they were saboteurs and slackers, and that they would need to apply Ustase methods to bring them back to their senses.

The real reason—or, to be correct, the motive—for the raving of these criminals and for what would soon happen wasn't known, but everyone concluded that Matkovic, Milos and Jusic weren't happy with the prisoners' work.

They then picked out 50 prisoners, took them to a barrack, and finished them off with shovels. About ten Ustase helped them.

On 1 February 1942, again, all inmates had to line up. The camp gate opened, and Lieutenant Jusic Mujo rode in on a horse, and after him a group of Serbs from Mlaka near Glina entered, about 500 of them. All of them were bound with wire. Two by two, they were chained together. A larger group of Ustase followed them. Jusic had captured these innocent Serbian peasants from Mlaka and brought them to Jasenovac, to slaughter them all in front of the other prisoners.

When Jusic came to where the prisoners stood, he turned around to face the Ustase and shouted: 'Here comes the Red Army, finish them off!'

A terrible scene, a shudder of horror went through the ones who had to watch that, a company of Ustase charging at the victims with their knives drawn. The slaughter began, slitting throats, until the entire road turned into a pile of corpses with streams of warm blood flowing from it.

The inmates were ordered to dig out pits and bury the corpses.

VI. Incineration of Inmates

The Ustase recognized that their methods of execution were slow and overly complicated. A lot of time was lost digging pits and burying corpses, which also left evidence behind.

Following the example of their Nazi masters, the Ustase too decided to build crematoriums in Jasenovac where they would incinerate their victims.

The work concerning construction of the crematoriums was entrusted to engineer Picilli, supervisor of the labor service in the camp. They built two crematoriums, two furnaces—one near the “Brick Factory,” and the other in Gradina.

Picilli gathered together the material and masons he needed, and the furnace near the “Brick Factory” was finished in short period of time. The prisoners called it the “Picilli Furnace.”

When the construction of the furnace was over, Picilli had all the masons who worked on its construction executed.

Witnesses Duzemlic Milan, Breyer Otto and Berger Egon testified that the first victims were sent into the furnace in February 1942. It remained in operation until May of the same year—approximately three months—when the Ustase had it demolished for reasons unknown. Not a trace of it was left.

At first, the Ustase incinerated women and children brought from the camp in Stara Gradiska as well as from other camps. During its three months of operation, trucks full of victims arrived in front of the “Brick Warehouse.” The Ustase unloaded their victims there, and then took them one by one to a room near the crematorium, where they would strip victims naked, stun them with a blow to the head and throw them into the furnace.

Clothes, shoes and other items were collected, sorted, and carried off to a warehouse. Prisoner Berger Egon described in more detail the execution itself:

For some time I eavesdropped from a workshop that was near the crematorium, hearing what went on in there. I would hear wailing, crying and screaming, and then a dull sound as if an iron door had been shut. After that there was silence. A flame would appear from the chimney. Then the screaming and wailing of a new victim could be heard.

The Ustase also incinerated prisoners from the camp itself—mostly old, infirm and ill men. Their numbers weren’t large, but according to witness statements, about 5,000 women and children were brought from the camp in Stara Gradiska, and an additional 10,000 from other camps and places.

At the end of May, the Ustase demolished the furnace near the Brick Factory. For the furnace built in Gradina, there is no information that it ever went into operation.

All witnesses interviewed by this commission believed that the Ustase first stunned victims by blows to their heads, and then threw them into fire unconscious. Only witness Balija Branko claimed that he heard Ustase discussing throwing conscious people into the furnace.

With Picilli, the incineration was overseen by Luburic Maks, Milos Ljubo, Matkovic Ivica, Zrnusic Ante and Mandic Ante.

The State Commission gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes by interviewing many witnesses. Particularly comprehensive testimony was given by Kovacevic Vojislav, Hebner Marijan, Hersak Josip, Berger Otto, Danon Jakob, Slovenec Rudolf, Balija Branko and Breyer Otto.

VII. Mass Liquidations in 1942

From March 1942 until the end of the year, Camp No. III was constantly full of men, women and children brought there by the Ustase in large groups to be liquidated.

To begin with, the Ustase gathered *all* Gypsy men and women from across the so-called Independent State of Croatia, numbering about 40,000 people, and transported them to Jasenovac.

All Gypsies were gathered in the field located between the “old wire” (see outline) and the great wall in the northeastern part of the camp. The area was enclosed by a special wire and guarded by several sentries. The Ustase named it “Camp No. III-C,” because at first only Gypsies lived there, in their tents or out in the open, hungry and barefoot, in the heat of the sun and without shelter during storms. Their food was even worse than that received by the other inmates, and the Ustase beat and whipped them with particular delight and forced them to beat and kill one another.

At night they took them in groups to Gradina, forced them to dig their own graves, and then finished them off with sledgehammers or hammers. Thus, the Ustase liquidated within a few months every Gypsy man and woman, young and old alike. Only a few Gypsies saved themselves, primarily those who stood out by diligent work building the dike and the wall around the camp. The Ustase spared

them, and took them to the villages of Gradina and Ustice, where they assigned them work as undertakers and executioners.

This group of Gypsies survived for a long time. They lived in village houses, received good food, and drank to excess. It is significant that none of them tried to flee. Their duty was to dig graves in Gradina for the victims who now arrived in Jasenovac for the sole purpose of being liquidated, to execute victims with sledge-hammers or hammers and to bury them afterward. Although they fulfilled their duty as slaves, in the end they, too, learned how little the Ustase's promises were worth. In early 1945, the Ustase killed them all, in order to eliminate all witnesses to their crimes.

When the Gypsies from Camp III-C vanished, the Ustase sent large numbers of Serbs, Jews and Croats there to be liquidated.

Prisoners often saw large groups of men and women departing from Camp III-C, numbering 500 to 800 people. Witnesses specifically mentioned groups sent to their death in Gradina on 17 August 1942, 29 August 1942 and 18 October 1942.

The State Commission has gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes based upon statements given by witnesses Peska Duro, Hersak Josip, Slovenec Rudolf, Fabijanec Josip, Pejnovic Djuro, Tot Ljudevit, all from Zagreb; Ilic Branko from Zivinice; Setinc Marijan from Dolenjska Jasenica and Breyer Otto from Bjelovar.

VIII. Mass Liquidations Outside the Camp

In the previous chapter, we spoke of the liquidations of victims inside Jasenovac.

However, during the entire year of 1942 large numbers of men, women and children arrived by railroad, trucks or on foot. These captives weren't taken inside the Jasenovac camp at all, but immediately dispatched over the Sava and liquidated in Gradina and Ustice and other locations. Witnesses Hersak Josip, Slovenec Rudolf, Bednjanec Slavko, and Danon Jakob, all from Zagreb; Matas Pavao from Trstenik; Breyer Otto from Bjelovar and Tot Ljudevit from Garesnica testified about the following mass crimes during 1942:

- a.) that, on an undetermined date, the Ustase killed a large group of approximately 8,000 peasants from Slavonia in Gradina;
- b.) that shortly after, they killed a group of approximately 7,000 people captured from villages around Mount Kozara;

- c.) that shortly after, they killed a large group that arrived at the Jasenovac railroad station in fifty-six railroad cars, packed with living skeletons;
- d.) that they killed in Gradina a large group of Jewish women and children who had arrived from the women's camp in Djakovo.

Witnesses state that the Gypsies in Gradina were so exhausted from digging graves day and night that they grabbed truncheons and forced the victims to dig long and deep graves for themselves. The Gypsies competed with the Ustase over who could more quickly and with better skill slit the throats of their victims, or beat them with sledgehammers to the head.

When the pits were covered, both the Ustase and the participating Gypsies drank until they were unconscious.

IX. Maiming and Killing of Two Groups in January and March 1942

Witness Blumschein Zlatko gave the following statement:

Around 20 January 1942, the Ustase gathered around 200 Serbian peasants from different Slavonian towns, and beat them inside of the camp itself with blunt objects for a whole hour. Peasants wailed, curling up in pain. Many died. The Ustase then brought several carts, threw both the dead and the living together, and took them to the graveyards outside of the camp.

The bodies were dumped from the cart and the Ustase stomped on them with their boots. When they finished the last of them off, they removed the victims' shoes and clothes, and threw the corpses into a large pit.

I know that this slaughter was organized by Milos Ljubo himself, and was aided by Matijevic Joso and Sabljic Ilija.

Witness Finzi Jakob described a mass atrocity committed in March of 1942:

In the first half of March 1942, some Ustase, whose identity I could not determine, killed some 3,000 prisoners in Jasenovac. It was also impossible to determine whether this slaughter was

performed for the purpose of reducing of overall number of prisoners in the camp, or for the purpose of inducing terror.

The slaughter lasted for ten days. They smashed the heads of their victims with blunt objects. They beat them with stakes and iron rods to such extent that their bodies were black and totally mutilated. They drove nails into their bodies, dismembered them, et cetera. For ten days about fifty undertakers had to bury corpses in the graveyards outside the camp, which is where these mass atrocities occurred.

X. Mass Slaughter of Jews

In early Winter 1942, more transports were scheduled to arrive in Jasenovac. As the camp was already crowded with inmates, the Ustase decided to reduce their number and liquidate some of them, first of all the Jews.

For three nights, Ustase supervisors walked through the barracks, singling out old, ill and infirm Jews. On 17, 18, and 19, November 1942, they collected 800 Jews from the labor service of Jasenovac. First they kept them in a concentration room, and then one night took them by boat over the Sava River to Gradina, where they had to dig their own graves. The Gypsies slaughtered them and buried them.

The State Commission has gathered evidence this crime based on the statement of witness Breyer Otto from Bjelovar.

XI. "Three Year Prisoners" Subjected to Torture and Execution

In the introduction, we stated that the Ustase intended to sentence every disloyal subject to a concentration camp, and that the term of imprisonment varied from three months to three years.

Prisoners noticed that the Ustase commandants, when receiving new prisoners, treated some more strictly than others, and separated them immediately from the other inmates.

At first, the prisoners didn't know what criteria the Ustase used to separate certain persons and why those singled out were never taken inside the camp. They

eventually discovered that those singled out were “Three Year Prisoners”—that is, individuals sentenced by Ustase police to a term of three years in prison.

In June of 1942, a large transport arrived in Jasenovac with only “three-year-prisoners,” approximately 300 in number.

Witnesses Habijanec Josip and Danon Jakob stated that they watched as Maricic Jerko ordered that the prisoners be taken immediately to Gradina, where the Gypsies killed them. From that time on, the inmates understood that the Ustase would kill all “Three Year Prisoners” outright upon their arrival at the camp, as confirmed by the aforementioned witnesses.

XII. The Liquidation of Camp No. III-C

From the attached outline, one can ascertain that between the so-called “old wire” and the great wall in the northeastern part of the camp was a large field. In the Spring of 1942, the Ustase built a common camp under the open sky, enclosed it by barbed wire and interned approximately 40,000 Gypsies there.

The Gypsies were killed in a matter of a few weeks. As the number of Gypsies gradually declined, other prisoners were brought in, so Camp III-C became a concentration camp of numerous men, women and children who waited here during 1942 for their turn to go to their death.

By the end of November 1942 only about 160 prisoners, mostly intellectuals, remained in Camp III-C.

The commandant of the camp, Matkovic Ivica, decided to execute them in the most macabre way imaginable: to deprive them of all food and water and see how long they could survive. To that end, he reinforced the guard around the camp and strengthened the wire. Guards were ordered to shoot any prisoner attempting to escape, and to kill any prisoner who tried to sneak food into the camp.

He ordered the construction of a large sign outside the camp which read “typhus.” This was to intimidate the other prisoners, but also was a warning to the Ustase themselves from approaching too close to the barbed wire.

Weak and infirm prisoners succumbed only after a few days, but about forty managed to survive even after a few weeks. Out of despair, they ate every blade of grass in the camp. Driven mad by hunger they even started eating human flesh. Witness Kuhada Nikola stated the following:

Toward the end of 1942, I was disinfecting the bunks in a barrack, four meters away from Camp III-C. I was in the attic of the building and out of curiosity I lifted a couple of tiles on the roof. I saw what the inmates in Camp III-C were doing. Nobody was allowed to enter anymore—a board had been erected with a sign on it reading 'typhus.'

I saw how some prisoners ripped flesh from the corpses of their dead comrades and ate it raw. For 17 days they didn't receive any food.

Some witnesses observed the camp at night from a distance. Witnesses Breyer and Riboli stated that they observed prisoners in Camp III-C baking the flesh of their dead comrades and eating it. The flames illuminated the whole camp.

When one prisoner reported to Matkovic Ivica what he saw in the Camp III-C, Matkovic started to laugh and told him, "You are an intelligent man, and should know that a corpse is poisonous, from which death comes quickly. Let them bake and eat, the sooner they will all drop dead. It seems this has been going on too long already."

But the prisoners still wouldn't die. They tried to squeeze through the wire and jump into the Sava. Ustase guards saw them and reported it to Matkovic, who made the decision to load the remaining thirty-five prisoners from Camp III-C into carts by night and move them across the Sava to Gradina, to a house inside the village.

The Ustase imprisoned several other inmates in the same house. They had previously been incarcerated in the "Bell Warehouse," where they had been tortured by starvation.

The thirty-five prisoners from Camp III-C were brought to the house, stripped naked and barricaded behind boarded-up windows and doors. After a few days they passed away from exposure and starvation.

The location of Camp III-C was plowed over to erase every trace of the camp where several hundreds of thousands of men, women and children waited for days and weeks, in the heat of the sun and in the snow, hungry, naked and barefoot, for the moment of a death in which they saw their salvation, to be relieved from the horror and despair which they had to experience every day.

The State Commission has gathered evidence for these Ustase crimes based on the statements of Srica Dragan, Danon Jakob, Riboli Josip, Breyer Otto and Kuhada Nikola, who named Matkovic Ivica, Sliskovic Ivan, Maricic Jerko and Polic Marinko as the Ustase who exhibited the most extreme cruelty during the execution of this crime.

XIII. Redoubled Brutality Against the Jews

Prisoner Richter Rudolf from Zagreb stated:

On one night in December 1942, the Ustase entered the barracks and grabbed the Jews from their bunks. They threw them out of the barracks and beat them with bats and kicked them, fracturing their legs and ribs. Many Jews were beaten to death, and many died later that night.

Later we found out that the reason for all of it was because guards found the corpse of an Ustase guard in the camp, and two Jewish prisoners had escaped from the camp. The Ustase suspected the Jews had killed the guard.

XIV. The Slaughter of Children

Throughout 1942, Camp III-C was swarming with children brought to Jasenovac together with their parents.

During liquidations, many children lost track of their parents, and other prisoners took them in. Many prisoners thus hid the orphans whose mothers and fathers had been killed, sharing their meals and depriving themselves of food to their benefit. Inmates permitted to receive packages with food from home gave all of it to the children.

Near the end of the Summer of 1942, Luburic noticed the children in the attics of workshops and in the barracks, and he ordered the Ustase to search the whole camp.

Thus it was discovered that there were over four hundred boys and girls in the camp, ranging from four to fourteen years of age. Luburic consulted with his officers and—to the inmates' surprise—had the children registered and placed in special rooms. He identified several male and female teachers among the inmates, and ordered them to teach the children to read, write and sing.

This little "kindergarten" became the sole joy of the inmates in the camp. Their happiness didn't last long. Matkovic Ivica, Kapetanovic and Sliskovic Ivan weren't satisfied with the results; it seemed to them that the children's upbringing didn't emphasize enough the Ustase spirit. Aside from that, they had established that these children were mostly Serbian and Jewish.

When Luburic returned to Jasenovac, they reported their findings to him. He ordered that they be killed, particularly as they had become a burden to the supply

budget.

The Ustase took the children in groups of sixty to eighty each to Gradina, where the Gypsies killed and buried them.

This commission has gathered evidence for these crimes against innocent children based on statements from several prisoners, particularly Stazic Josip from Zagreb and Jovanovic Svetozar from Osijek.

XV. Changes in Camp Administration in March 1943

The years 1941 and 1942 saw the bloodiest of the Ustase atrocities in Jasenovac, killing several hundred thousand prisoners.

However, important events in the world had a decisive influence even on the Ustase régime in Jasenovac: the defeat at Stalingrad. This was the reason why camp's administration became more tolerable.

Eugen Kvaternik was removed from his duty of supreme supervisor of all camps in the so-called NDH during 1943. Matkovic Ivica was also removed from his duty as administrator of Camp No. III.

Ustase Brkljacic Ivica, a Catholic priest, was appointed in his place. Matkovic received word of his dismissal on 19 March 1943, but Brkljacic wasn't due to arrive until 25 March 1943. Over the next four days, Matkovic "celebrated" his departure. He got drunk with his fellow officers, non-commissioned officers and other Ustase, and went on a rampage through the prisoners' barracks at night, herding inmates around like cattle and beating them with lathes, rifle butts, fists and boots. Many prisoners were beaten during those four nights, their bodies black and blue from the abuse, and one prisoner was beaten to death. Witness Danon Jakob from Zagreb emphasizes that during this orgy of violence, Stojcic Jozo, Brzica Petar and Hirschberger Nikola were especially frenetic.

XVI. Atrocities in the Summer of 1943

Though no mass slaughters were committed in Jasenovac in 1943, the year still didn't pass without bloodshed.

Witnesses Bednjanec Slavko from Zagreb, Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo, Skrgatic Dragutin from Zagreb, Danon Jakob from Zagreb and Gregurovic Vera from Zagreb testified to the following:

In the Summer of 1943, several prisoners managed to escape while they were on exterior labor detail. The commander of “Ustase hour,” Pavlovic Marko, had decided, and Brkljacic Ivica so ordered, that prisoners were to wear chains on their legs for the next month of exterior labor. He forbade other prisoners from receiving packages and letters, and also reduced the daily food ration. Ustase officers divided the packages among themselves.

Ustase guards began to abuse the prisoners again, particularly while they were on labor detail outside the camp. Very often, fewer number of prisoners returned in the evening than had left for work in the morning. Ustase guards stated that they shot inmates who had tried to escape. Thus in August of 1943, fifty prisoners were killed.

Witness Richter Rudolf from Zagreb stated that just before Autumn of 1943, fifteen Serb Partizans were brought to Jasenovac after being captured in Bosnia. All of them looked like living skeletons, and their bodies bore evidence of torture. When they entered the camp, ten Ustase from the First Company beat them with stakes. The beating lasted for half an hour. Three of them were finished off immediately, while others died shortly thereafter. Responsibility for the crime was attributed to the commanding officer of First Company, Sankovic Ante-Matesa, non-commissioned officers Alilovic Frane and Brkljacic Jurica and several other Ustase, identities unknown.

XVII. “Forest Groups”

Toward the end of 1943, camp administrators created the so-called “forest groups.” Every group consisted of thirty to eighty prisoners who were given tools to cut down trees and chop wood. Returning at night to the camp, they realized that several of their comrades had disappeared. Witness Breyer Otto from Bjelovar stated:

From September 1943 until January 1944, forest groups were formed daily. They were sent to Gradina to cut down trees. I know that during three weeks about eighty people went to work, but each day ten of them didn't return.

Witness Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste stated:

On 29 December of 1943, eighty-four or eighty-five prisoners were called out from a list. They were given saws and axes and were told that they were going to work in the forest. We thought that was suspicious, because there were very few permanent workers from a forest group among them. They were loaded onto a boat, but even before they went ashore, the saws and axes were taken away from them. At noon, the food that was supposed to be taken to them was stopped from being taken to them. We all knew right away that they had been killed. Afterwards their clothes were returned to the camp, and we were now sure that they had been killed.

There were rumors in the camp that they were killed by the First Company of the First Ustase Defense Group, commanded by Ante Vrban.

Two weeks after that, in the Gradina forest across the Sava, about 120 prisoners were killed from among three or four groups. They too were sent on forest labor to Gradina, but they never returned. At that time Domobran Senior Lieutenant Nibler was appointed supervisor of the labor section. An inmate in the camp, Vlah Romeo, went to see him and told him that this was the third or fourth group that didn't return from the forest. Until now he had signed documents that these men had tried to escape and were killed, but that from then on he wouldn't sign that anymore.

Other witnesses, including Grun Walter, Breyer Otto, Danon Jakob and Novak Perjanec Mate, also stated that the Ustase killed many prisoners on forest labor during the autumn and winter, and that they noticed how Ustase brought to the camp at night various clothes, footwear and tools. All these witnesses assign blame for these crimes to Luburic Maks, Pavlovic Marko, Brkljacic Ivica, Milos Ljubo, and engineer Picilli Hinko as organizers, and Zrnusic Ante, Mihaljevic Marko, Primorac Silvestar, Bracic Nikola, Frkovic Mile, Djulkic Alaga, Cop Luka and Hirschberger Nikola as executors of these crimes. The number of prisoners killed in the forests during this time has not been established.

XVIII. Ustase Reprisals in June 1944

In June 1944, inmate Wollner Ivan, a student from Zagreb, escaped from the camp. The Ustase captured him near Dubica and beat him up so badly that he passed away, and his dead body was brought back to the camp. All prisoners had to come to the public performance, and Ustase Senior Lieutenant Sakic Dinko demanded to

know the persons with whom Wollner socialized and who had helped him escape. When not one prisoner answered, Sakic ordered that an Ustase bring him the "Directory" in which the name of every Jew in Jasenovac was listed. Out of the Directory he called out 100 names. When they stood in front of him, he singled out twenty-five Jews and sentenced them to imprisonment in the "Bell Warehouse," which meant that they were sentenced to die of starvation. During the reading of the sentence, two Jews laughed. An Ustase guard noticed and reported it to Sakic. He ordered the two Jews to kneel and shot them in the back of their heads. Among the twenty-five Jews sent to the Bell Warehouse, there were several respectable people from Sarajevo: professors, lawyers, engineers, et cetera.

The State Commission gathered evidence for this crime from interviews with witnesses Ilic Branko, Kamhi Sabetaj, Danon Jakob, Aleksic Arsa and Zivkovic Jovan.

XIX. Liquidation of a Large Group of Serbs in Jablanac

Witness Breyer Otto testified that at the end of August, approximately 700 to 800 Serbs from near Okucani arrived in Jasenovac.

The witness saw the Ustase load these Serbs onto boats and transport them down the Sava to the forest located between Mlaka and Jablanac. As the camp's Economy was the custodian of land in Jablanac, the witness originally believed that these Serbs were being taken there to work. However, he learned from other prisoners that Ustase killed the Serbs on the Sava riverbank. The witness saw the Ustase guards who followed the prisoners return to the camp that night but the prisoners were never seen again.

XX. Activity of the Mobile Court-Martial in Jasenovac in September 1944

In September of 1944, the camp administration discovered through their informers that certain groups of prisoners maintained contacts outside the camp. According

to the informers, these groups were connected to the Partizans and were crafting a plan for an uprising and escape.

The camp administration then convened a mobile court-martial to conduct an investigation and trial.

Luburic entrusted the investigation to Ustase judge Dr. Prpic Mihovil. Prpic was very cruel, and together with his agents Sudar Mile, Primorac Silvestar, Pavicic Petar, Neovcic Lajco, Kvesic Stipo and Pehar Nikola, conducted an “investigation” using every means of torture, including beating victims with truncheons, crushing their fingers, driving needles under their fingernails, burning their naked bodies with a blowtorch used for welding by tinsmiths, blinding them, et cetera. The investigation lasted for several weeks, during which Prpic and his comrades mutilated several prisoners.

The exact purpose of this “court”—which ignored the established facts that the Ustase had killed several hundred thousands of people, in the most heinous ways, without any justified reason, without any procedure and without any, even an Ustase “trial”—isn’t clear.

The nature of the “court” can be better determined from the statements of friar and Ustase Majstorovic-Filipovic, who was a member of the “court” and who was interrogated by this commission on 29 June 1945 in Record No. 2006. Among other things, Filipovic stated:

In 1944, in September, I was a member of a mobile court-martial in Jasenovac, with the other members, Mataja Josip, Ustase captain, Milkovic Martin, Ustase Senior Lieutenant from Lika, and Dinko Sakic, Ustase Senior Lieutenant from Bosanski Brod. We didn't investigate anything, we only signed the verdicts. The verdicts we signed were given to us by Dr. Prpic Mihovil, chief of the judiciary for the area of Jasenovac. I signed death warrants for civilians from Dubica, I think seventeen of them, who were accused of collaborating with the Partizans. These seventeen men were hanged in Dubica. Finally, I signed as a member of the court-martial eight death warrants in Novska for railway workers, and they were also hanged. All the sentences were carried out the same day, and all verdicts were made by Dr. Prpic Mihovil, and the executions were performed in the various places I mentioned.

Therefore there was no inquiry, and the “court” didn’t come to any verdicts on their own, but the camp administration simply passed on their decisions to be signed by members of the “court.” With a few slight differences in procedure, other Ustase mobile courts-martial functioned in the same manner, fomenting terror in various parts of the state and murdering on the territory of the so-called NDH thou-

sands of innocent victims.

Filipovic-Majstorovic didn't reveal the entire scope of the Jasenovac "trial" in September 1944 in his quoted statement. By interviewing witnesses Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo, Magric Misko from Vrapca and Danon Jakob from Zagreb, it was established that based on the verdicts handed down from this "court," a total of thirty-one individuals were hanged.

Witness Danon Jakob was present during the execution of the inmates. He stated:

That these prisoners were tortured, I know, because I saw them going into the administration building. When the Ustase brought them from the interrogation, I saw they were dragging them behind from being beaten up. The undertaker who buried the victims told me that he could identify the body of Rebac Remzija when he undressed him. His body was burned from a flame of a blow torch. Sakic Dinko, a member of the 'court,' referred to that torture instrument as 'V-1' and bragged in front of me in the barbershop that 'V-1' was a success.

On the second day I had to watch the hanging. I heard Primorac Silvestar ask Hadzija, the inmate about to be hanged, if he forgave him for beating him. And he replied that he would never forgive him for that. Primorac then told Hadzija, when the rope was already around his neck, 'Until we meet again in the other world.'

As mentioned in the introduction, in the town of Jasenovac itself there was a factory where leather was being produced. Prisoners were employed as workers, engineers and technicians, and Ustase guards used great caution in preventing them from escaping. The official name of the factory was the "Tannery," or Camp No. IV.

In October of 1944, the Ustase discovered that even in the Tannery there were two organizations keeping in contact with the Partizans. An "investigation" was conducted by Ustase Lisac Slavko, Djerek Bozo, Svagusa Andrija, Zivanovic Mato and Grubisic Jerko. Witnesses Lapcevic Stojan from Zagreb and Auferber Miro from Osijek, who both worked in the Tannery, stated that the investigation was marked by extreme cruelty, that the mobile court-martial sentenced to death twenty-five prisoners from the Tannery and had them shot.

XXI. A Still Bloodier Reign: October 1944

By October 1944, the period of moderation by the Ustase had ended.

By that time, the territory of Macedonia and Serbia had already been liberated. Belgrade had been resurrected as the capital of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, and in Vojvodina, Croatia and Bosnia, battles were being fought between the National Liberation Army and the German-Ustase armies that were fleeing toward the northwestern border.

The Ustase realized that the end of their reign of terror was near, so Luburic, Boban and other “knights” suggested slaughtering everyone who was not a part of the Ustase. Thus the Ustase from October 1944 until the last days of the war committed mass liquidations of all hostile elements.

Again, transports began to arrive to Jasenovac from unliberated parts of the country. Whole prisons and camps were evacuated and their inmates transferred to Jasenovac. Throughout the Winter of 1944 and '45 blood flowed from the “Granik” and from Gradina. Witness Rozman Ivan stated:

In December 1944, the Ustase lined-up prisoners during the public ‘performances’ before supper, 150 to 200 people a day. They were locked in the barracks in front of the ‘Administration.’ At night they were taken naked and bound with wire to the ‘Granik,’ where the Ustase killed them and dumped their bodies into the Sava.

I observed this during the whole month of December from my quarters in the ‘Brick Factory.’ There were glass windows there and I arrived around 10 p.m. from working at the ‘Sawmill.’ From my quarters I saw clearly how that butcher Frkovic killed people on the ‘Granik’ by cutting their throats with a knife and dumping them into the Sava. I could see that pretty well because there was a powerful electric light behind that spot.

Witnesses Zadavec Vinko from Zagreb, Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija, Grun Walter from Nova Gradiska, Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo and Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo gave statements to this State Commission, based on which it determined the following crimes:

- a.) that, during the Winter, the Ustase killed about 3,500 prisoners who were part of the Jasenovac labor force;
- b.) that drunken Ustase raped in turn about 20 young women who worked in the Economy, then slaughtered them and dumped their bodies into the Sava;

c.) that, in December 1944, the Ustase liquidated by the “Granik” two groups of prisoners, who applied—believing, in their naïvete, that they would save themselves—to work in Germany. In the first group about 200 prisoners were liquidated, of different nationalities and religions, while in the other group there were only Serbs;

d.) that, on an undetermined date, an enormous transport arrived to the camp with about 15,000 workers and peasants. The Ustase interned them in the “Main Warehouse” and the fields around it, and gradually, within a few weeks, liquidated them all on the “Granik.”

XXII. The Bombing of Ustase Fortifications in Jasenovac

On 30 and 31 March 1945, Allied planes bombed Ustase fortifications in Jasenovac.

During the bombing about 40 prisoners were killed and many wounded. Fires broke out and set off several explosions.

The Ustase forced prisoners with truncheons and gunshots to put out the fires, save various items from burning workshops and otherwise expose their lives to mortal danger. Witnesses Lapcevic Stojan, Danon Jakob and Kamhi Sabetaj state that Ustase officers Zrinusic Ante and Zovko Stanko killed many prisoners, while Mihaljevic Marko and Perkovic Marko beat and slaughtered any prisoner they wanted. These witnesses claim that at the end of March there were 5,000 prisoners on labor in Jasenovac.

XXIII. The Final Liquidation of the Inmates

In the beginning of April 1945, an offensive by the National Liberation Army commenced with the goal of driving the German occupiers and their Ustase servants from the country.

The Ustase administration in Jasenovac prepared for their escape. Luburic

decided to kill the surviving prisoners, and to turn the camp and the town of Jasenovac into a pile of ashes.

Simultaneously, great transports arrived at Jasenovac with inmates from Lepoglava, Stara Gradiska and other camps and places. The Ustase killed all of these prisoners on the “Granik” or in Gradina. Witness Skrgatic Dragutin stated:

I remember that eleven railroad cars of prisoners from Lepoglava arrived in Jasenovac. I saw when all of those people were taken away by night to Gradina and killed there.

Altogether, about 700 prisoners arrived from Lepoglava, and an even greater number from Stara Gradiska.

In April, as stated by witness Breyer Otto, the Ustase took the prisoners on “exterior labor” and executed them outside of Jasenovac.

They feared that sooner or later the new cemeteries would be discovered in and around the camp and would be used to establish how and how many victims died.

This is why they formed teams of inmates to act as undertakers who were ordered to dig out the graves in and outside the camp, in Gradina and Ustice, and exhume the corpses of the murdered victims. Other prisoners were ordered to build enormous stakes. Coke was strewn at their bases, corpses and skeletons were thrown on it, doused with oil and burned. Prisoners observed the fires burning over the next three weeks. Witness Duzemlic Milan stated that a peasant woman, Marinic Marija, told him that she observed these fires from the roof of her house in Kosutarica. She also claims to have seen the Ustase killing prisoners. When they burned the last skeleton and corpse, they began drinking and celebrating.

Prisoners and witnesses Abinum Yeshua, Danon Jakob, Zivkovic Jovan and Lapcevic Stojan, who survived the last days of Jasenovac, claim:

- a.) that, on 20 April 1945, a large group of approximately 470 persons was liquidated;
- b.) that, at the same time, a group which numbered approximately 400 people from Sarajevo arrived in Jasenovac, and that they too were finished off in Gradina;
- c.) that, on 21 April 1945, in the women’s section of the camp, approximately 760 women and girls remained, working in the Economy, in the

kitchens and dairies. On 21 April, a long line of these women went to their death singing songs, parting with their comrades and saying good-bye by shouting, "You are staying, and we are going to die."

The women were finished off that day and thrown into the Sava or burned at the stake. A month later, the Commission of Inquiry found many items of female clothing strewn across the fields and roads between the Economy and the Sava;

d.) that, on 21 April, panic broke out among prisoners, and about a hundred of them hanged themselves out of despair in barracks and workshops.

Thus on 22 April, about 1,060 prisoners remained in Camp No. III.

The Ustase brought these prisoners into a large factory building near the "Brick Warehouse." They barricaded the doors and windows and placed guards around the building to prevent anyone from escaping.

That whole day and night, the Ustase were busy mining one factory building after another, workshop after workshop, warehouse after warehouse, barrack after barrack. Their intention was to start a multitude of fires, turning the entire camp turned into a torch with explosions resounding throughout it.

The inmates in the factory building knew that certain death awaited them, and they assumed that Ustase would burn their building too and kill them all.

Therefore they decided to mount a breakthrough from the building the next day in an unarmed battle for life and death. They chose Bakotic Ante as their leader. Each prisoner ripped out boards from the walls and doors, and at exactly 10 a.m. on 22 April 1945 they broke down the doors and windows and rushed out of the building.

At the last moment, about 460 prisoners hesitated. Many were ill, old or so infirm that they couldn't think of engaging in unarmed combat.

Though physically weak and exhausted from their suffering in the camp, the six hundred prisoners who didn't lose their nerve gathered their last strength and attacked the Ustase guards, strangling several of them with their bare hands and taking their rifles. Other prisoners grabbed iron rods or bricks. Beating the Ustase with whatever they had, they began running in the direction of the eastern gate on the road to Kosutarica.

They had to cross the area alongside the Sava, between the southern part of the great wall and the river. The Ustase had several bunkers concentrated there, and

several machine guns in every bunker. They were, however, surprised. They didn't expect that unarmed prisoners would dare attack them, and had neglected to close the eastern gate.

Thus the final part of the battle occurred at the gate. Prisoner Ristic Mile strangled the Ustase with a machine gun guarding the gate with his bare hands, grabbed his weapon and began firing.

Eighty prisoners were able to run through the gate and save themselves by running to the nearby forests. The other 520 died in the fighting.

The Ustase massacred the prisoners who remained behind, approximately 460 of them. Only Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste saved himself by hiding in the ruins of one building, crouching for five days and nights without food or water, watching the Ustase demolish the camp and the town of Jasenovac.

When the last Ustase disappeared from Jasenovac, Zivkovic pulled himself from his hole, ran to the Sava and swam across. The National Liberation Army had already arrived in Jasenovac and saved him and the other eighty prisoners who managed the breakthrough from the camp.

The State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators has gathered evidence for these crimes by the Ustase by interviewing witnesses Solenicki Stjepan, Lapcevic Stojan, Skrgatic Dragutin, Filipcic Ivan, Kamhi Sabetaj, Abinum Yeshua, Ilic Branko, Danon Jakob, Zivkovic Jovan, Aleksic Arsa and Maric Mihajlo, who gave consistent testimony on which and what type of atrocities the Ustase committed before their escape from Camp No. III.

XXIV. Breakthrough from the "Tannery"

In the town Jasenovac itself there were still 147 prisoners working in the "Tannery" on 23 April 1945.

All of them saw the fires and heard the explosions resounding from Camp No. III. They also saw the panic among the Ustase, and that they were moving from house to house planting explosives. They too were afraid that the Ustase monsters would mine and blow up the Tannery with the worker's buildings, so they decided to try to save themselves from the destruction of Camp No. IV.

They divided themselves into fifteen groups of ten and agreed to what each group had to do. Doctors among the prisoners distributed poisonous chemicals,

since all prisoners would rather poison themselves than fall into the Ustase's hands.

The first group was supposed to break down the door of the quarters, the second to attack the guards; the third to cut the barbed wire, the fourth to break down the door leading into factory yard, the fifth to beat and disarm the Ustase who were there, the sixth and the seventh to bring clothes and food, the eighth to perform medical service, and the others to acquire weapons in the battle for life and death.

The plan was well thought-out. The prisoners fought bravely and broke through from the camp, but there the greatest difficulties awaited them. They had to run across Jasenovac's streets, through the fields, cut through the circles of barbed wire, and then cross the dike, roads and railroad that were swarming with bunkers and machine guns.

Prisoners Lapcevic Stojan and Berger Egon, who gave us information about this heroic feat, claim only ten prisoners survived from the Tannery and within a few days met with units of the National Liberation Army.

XXV. The Liquidation of the Ustase Hospital

As mentioned earlier, the Ustase maintained a hospital in Jasenovac for the ill and wounded soldiers of the Jasenovac garrison. Many prisoners were obligated to work in the hospital as doctors, pharmacists, nurses, maids, cooks, orderlies, chauffeurs and undertakers. According to the testimony of Danon Jakob, on 23 April Milos Ljubo and Tomic Jure ordered thirteen prisoners to be killed. The Ustase took them to the fields and executed them.

The hospital and several prisoners was relocated to Sunja.

XXVI. The Statement of Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, Ustase War Criminal and Commandant of Jasenovac

In Record No. 2006 of 29 June 1945, the State Commission interrogated as a witness the aforementioned war criminal Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, who was captured and put on trial after the liberation. We have already mentioned part of his statement—that regarding the “trial” of the so-called mobile court-martial in

Jasenovac.

Here we append the most important parts of his statement. Though his statement considering the number of victims doesn't match the truth—all witnesses interviewed, who were prisoners themselves, speak with complete consistency and certainty of a far greater number, especially in regards to the number of victims killed by Majstorovic himself—it is still crucial in that he admitted to killing approximately 100 victims by his own hand, and only “attended” mass executions. According to his confession, just during the short period of time of his command over the camp—from the end of June until the end of October 1942, therefore during four months—20,000 to 30,000 innocent victims were liquidated. Before and after his time as commandant of the camp, he performed various duties in Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. His statement reads:

It is true, since I was confronted with the statement of Vjekoslav Servatzi regarding the massacres in the villages surrounding Banja Luka, that I was chaplain of the II Poglavnik's Bodyguard Battalion. As such, one night I went with the brigade II PBB into action and allegedly only to search surrounding Orthodox villages, that we suspected were hosting Chetniks.

I emphasize that I was a priest in that area before the NDH. I saw how Ustase soldiers returned bloody from the slaughter, later I heard stories that on that occasion, 2,000 people were killed.

In Jasenovac I was an Ustase officer and administrator of the camp from the end of June 1942 until the end of October 1942. I admit that during public executions, I personally killed about 100 prisoners from the Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska camps. I also admit that during my administration of the camp, mass executions were performed in Gradina, but I didn't participate in that, even though I knew about the killings. I correct myself—I attended these mass executions, but I didn't take part in them. As administrator, I permitted these mass executions, because I had oral orders from Ljubo Milos, and also from Matkovic Ivica, and sometimes even from Maks Luburic. In Gradina, executions were performed by sledgehammers, and in such way that a victim had to climb down into a pit that had already been dug out, which was followed by a blow from the sledgehammer to the back of the head. Besides that, killings were also performed by shooting and slitting throats. During liquidations of women and girls in Gradina, I know that rapes of the younger ones were performed too. Matkovic Ivica permitted that, and rape was, as far as I know, performed by Gypsies, the Gypsy undertakers. I never committed rape.

During my administration, according to my calculations, twenty to thirty thousand prisoners were liquidated in Jasenovac. I especially emphasize that in the beginning of Summer, the liquidation of the Djakovo camp was performed in Jasenovac. The liquidation was organized by Matijevic Joso, an Ustase lieutenant. During the liquidation of the Djakovo camp, I reckon that two to three thousand Jewish women and their children were killed.

From Jasenovac, I went to Stara Gradiska at the end of October 1942 until 27 March 1943. During that time in Stara Gradiska, mass liquidations were performed, usually outside the camp, for instance in Mlaka, Jablanac, but some were sent off to Jasenovac too. Such

large transports for liquidations were carried out by the order of Matkovic Ivica, and in this way two to three thousand people were sent away.

On 16 April 1945 I returned to Jasenovac, where I stayed until the end. I know that at the time corpses of prisoners from Gradina were being exhumed and burned, in order to cover up traces of what had been done. I didn't participate in the liquidation of the last prisoners, but only in exhumation.

* * *

We have presented a fraction of the mass crimes committed by the Ustase in Jasenovac over a period of four years. We repeat that the litany of mass atrocities is not exhausted, and that numerous instances of torture and executions performed by the Ustase on individuals or groups of prisoners were not mentioned. We would again underline that these crimes were committed on a routine, daily basis.

We also mentioned that the number of victims from Jasenovac ranges around the figure of a half million, which means that one out of every ten inhabitants of the so-called NDH left his bones in Jasenovac.

The crimes committed in Jasenovac do not in the least lag behind the crimes committed by the Nazis in Belsen, Auschwitz or Majdanek.

As with all other Fascist organizations, the Ustase terrorist organization also created a criminal mentality among its members, who thus killed out of “conviction.”

It is an unfortunate fact that all members joined the Ustase terrorist organization voluntarily, that they knew in advance the criminal goals of the organization, that the organization was operating by criminal means, that its activity consisted, precisely, of committing criminal acts. Therefore, when they joined this organization, every one of them knew—they knew and they had to know—that they would commit crimes, organized, mass crimes. They knew the consequences of becoming members of such organization. Therefore, they cannot use the excuse that they were ordered to commit a criminal act, and thus shift the responsibility to their commanders.

Evidence of Crimes in Jasenovac

The State Commission didn't find written documentation relating to the atrocities committed in Jasenovac. To erase all traces of this unprecedented torture chamber, which by severity and cruelty was undoubtedly one of the bloodiest of all Nazi camps in Europe, the Ustase destroyed all of their documents. However, even if all the documents written by the camp's administration were preserved, these alone couldn't be counted on for reliable information, at least in regard to the number of victims. From statements given by witnesses it was established that victims who were killed weren't always registered.

During this investigation of the atrocities committed, their timing and circumstances, the State Commission gathered evidence by interviewing witnesses, conducting an investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac and by a photographic survey of the camp and its vicinity.

Sixty-two witnesses were interrogated:

Abinum Yeshua from Sarajevo, Sarac Izmailova street 23,
Aleksic Arsa from Donji Bogicevci,
Auferber Mijo from Osijek,
Balija Branko from Zagreb, Zagorska street 44,
Berger Egon, command of the city of Zagreb, employee of Propodjelo,
Bing Julio from Virovitica,
Breyer Otto from Bjelovar,
Bzik Stjepan from Kupljanova street 12,
Blumschein Zlatko from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 60,
Bednjanec Slavko from Zagreb, Barutanski jarak 25,
Danon Jakob from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 32a,
Devcic Natke from Zagreb, secretary of the Conservatory,
Duzemlic Milan from Drenov Bok,
Dobaj Kario from Sarajevo,
Dominec Ivan from Zagreb, Ilica street 224,
Duvnjak Mato from Kustosija No. 23,
Fajdetic Grgur from Kompolje,
Filipic Ivan from Zagreb, Sava station,
Finzi Jakob from Sarajevo,
Flumiani Milan from Zagreb, Kuslanova street 34,
Gelb Makso from Zagreb,
Grgurovic Vera from Zagreb, Gajeva street 2b,

Grun Walter from Nova Gradiska,
Habijanec Josip from Zagreb, Nova Cesta 38,
Hala Dragutin from Zagreb, Radisina street 8,
Hebner Marijan from Zagreb, Lorkoviceva street 8,
Hersak Josip from Zagreb, Cvjetna Cesta 41,
Ilic Branko from Zivinice 28,
Jovanovic Svetozar from Osijek, Mobil. Department,
Kamhi Sabetaj from Sarajevo,
Katalinic Andreja from Ludbreg,
Kosina Franjo from Zagreb, Jarun No. 82,
Kovacevic Vojislav from Zagreb, Vinogradska street 21,
Krkac Tomo from Jakovlje,
Kuhada Nikola from Pusca,
Kutnjak Srecko from Zagreb, Livadiceva street 22,
Lapcevic Stojan from Zagreb, Ukrinska street 12a,
Kustorin Marijan from Kustosija, Mosorska street 1,
Magdic Misko from Vrapca, Perjavica street 26,
Maric Mihajlo from Obrovnica,
Matas Pavao from Trstenik near Pusca,
Milisa Djordje from Zagreb, Zelengaj,
Novak-Perjarec Mato from Kobiljak near Sesvete,
Orlic Sime from Zagreb, Ilica street 180a,
Pejnovic Djuro from Zagreb, Brigada V. Cetkovica,
Richter Rudolf from Zagreb, Visegradska street 5a,
Rozman Ivan from Zagreb, Rojiceva street 3,
Slovenec Rudolf from Zagreb, Seljina brig. IV divizija,
Solenicki Stjepan from Novaci No. 66 near Donja Bistra,
Srica Dragan from Zagreb, Palmoticeva street 2,
Stajzic Josip from Zagreb, Padovceva street 3,
Steiner Hinko from Zagreb, Nova Ves 83,
Setinc Marijan from Dolenjska Jesenica 7,
Skrgetic Dragutin from Zagreb, Rudes, Trebinjska street,
Schleifer Filip from Zagreb, Marticeva street 47,
Sulina Mato from Crikvenica,
Schwarzenberg Adolf from Zagreb, Ilica street 15,
Tot Ljudevit from Zagreb, now in Garesnica,
Trbojevic Nemanja from Zagreb, Omiska street 2,
Zadravec Vinko from Zagreb, Vranovina 22,

Zauhar Stjepan from Zagreb, Skrlceva street 39,
Zivkovic Jovan from Backo Gradiste.

These former inmates who spent considerable time—some even a full four years—in Jasenovac itself gave their statements based on their personal experiences and direct observations. The arrested war criminal Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav gave a short statement. The most important parts from his statement we appended to this report.

The investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac was conducted by the State Commission with a team of experts. Three investigations were conducted.

The first investigation was conducted by the District Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators in Nova Gradiska on 11 May 1945.

The second investigation was conducted by a special inquiry commission, sent by the State Commission to Jasenovac on 18 May 1945 to investigate the surviving evidence. That commission consisted of one official of this State Commission, three judges of higher courts, and two doctors of forensics.

The third investigation was conducted by this State Commission with the participation of doctors of forensics and two photographic experts.

All these three commissions inspected the town of Jasenovac, Camp IV, and Camp No. III near Jasenovac, and recorded the results of their work.

The first commission conducted an investigation in both Gradina and Ustice.

The commissions inspected the entire terrain and buildings and many corpses of prisoners, which lie on the banks of the Sava River or in the Sava itself, or which were buried shallow in the ground.

According to consistent forensic findings and opinion, all corpses found in the Sava and on the banks of the Sava show the common characteristics of advanced post-mortem decay, which obstructed attempts at identification. Clothing and found objects couldn't be considered as factors for identification.

Attached to nearly every corpse was an iron weight tied by wire, and their hands were tied in front or behind them, or they had fractured bones in the extremities or skull, et cetera. There was a routine occurrence of evidence of some violent act. The cause of death could not be precisely determined in every case, but each had one thing in common: that every cause of death was of a violent nature, such as severe fracture of the skull, drowning, strangulation, et cetera.

...Almost all corpses show the condition of a very pronounced thinness, which isn't concealed even by the bloating of hypodermic tissue, which occurs from gas created during post-mortem decay. Thus, for some corpses which have been discovered a possibility is allowed that the cause of death was due to a very pronounced physical weakness, exhaustion and malnutrition as consequences of severe, chronic starvation.

University professor and court doctor of forensics Dr. Premru substantiates his above opinion by the fact that during his imprisonment in Jasenovac in 1941 and 1942, he personally saw, clearly and well, all manner of torture and killings of a large number of prisoners—from bullet shots to knife stabs, decapitation from an axe, blows from sledgehammers and mallets to the head, drowning in the Sava, incineration of living people, et cetera...

** * **

In the demolished quarters for male prisoners there is the corpse of a man, whose identity could not be determined. The corpse is in a severe state of decay. Near the women's quarters there are many parts of female clothes and underwear, and in the camp area many male and female clothes, male ties and suitcases filled with children's clothing. In one building demolished by explosives which had been used as a barn, four completely charred corpses were found of people who had either been burned alive or killed and then set aflame.

Near the burned down prisoners' quarters there are three electrical posts, on which curved axle-pins could be seen. On each post there are three such pins. According to statements given by witnesses, prisoners were hanged from the axle-pins. Near the posts is one complete device, a gallows, where according to statements from the same witnesses prisoners were hanged.

In an area of the camp right next to the mentioned posts is a larger space that was dug up and which according to statements of witnesses was used as prisoner's graveyard. On 21 April this year, the corpses were exhumed and burned, apparently for the purpose of concealing evidence of the crime—according to statements of witnesses—in a nearby ditch, where even today some ashes can be seen, while rocks in the ditch show signs of combustion. A large pile of coke was found nearby. In many places in the camp area lengths of chains were found, which by their shape clearly show that they were used as shackles for the arms and legs of prisoners.

These were the most important parts of the findings and opinions from the record of 18 May 1945 regarding the investigation at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac, conducted by the special inquiry commission.

The investigation at the scene of the crime by this commission on 18 June 1945 was performed as a result of a significant drop of the the water level of the river in June, revealing several boats that appeared to be filled with corpses. The entire northern bank of the Sava was full of mud in which numerous corpses could be identified.

The commission found corpses of men and women, some naked and some dressed, some with skulls or the forehead or temporal bone crushed, while others had been decapitated or had the hands cut off, while others were complete. All corpses or skeletons had their arms tied behind their backs, upon which iron weights were hanged in the shape of rings or a line of trundles. The weights were approximately three to five kilograms. The court doctor of forensics issued the following finding and opinion:

I believe the corpses are one and a half to three months old and in certain cases even several months. A more accurate determination of age of the corpses isn't possible for several reasons: subsequent decay outside of the water, mechanical activity disrupting the water current, but also because they were being eaten by fish.

It is possible to conclude that the corpses were thrown into water after they had been killed by a dull, hard blow to the temporal region, crushing the skull or were killed in another manner which cannot be correctly determined due to decay of corpses, or that they were thrown alive into water shortly after they were knocked out by a blow to the head, which could be concluded from the fact that corpses were tied and fixed with iron weights.

By an investigation conducted by the district commission in Nova Gradiska on 11 May 1945 at the scene of the crime in Jasenovac without doctors of forensics present, the following was established:

Near the burned down clinic, the skeletons of some nine corpses were found. According to the statement of witness Zivkovic (who was present during the investigation), these were the corpses of prisoners who hanged themselves on 21 April 1945 out of fear of the Ustase, because on the night of 20 April 1945 they had killed with dull, hard objects about 400 prisoners whose bodies were subsequently dumped into the Sava.

On the banks of the River Sava corpses can be seen in many places. It is noted that most of the corpses had their hands tied behind their backs. According to the statement of Zivkovic, these corpses are of prisoners. Corpses floating on the Sava can also be seen.

The same commission went to Gradina and Ustice, which are located on the Bosnian side of the Sava. The following was established:

In the middle of a plum orchard belonging to Mile Bozicic is a space six steps long and thirteen steps wide, covered with ashes and bone fragments which didn't burn out completely. Nearby are shovels and wheelbarrows. Leaves throughout the orchard are completely burned; only here and there at the end of the orchard are there some plum trees with green leaves.

The earth has been plowed to either side. In one corner there are nine empty barrels of

oil, and in several places in the orchard there are traces of spilled oil. Even in areas which have been plowed, sporadic traces of oil, ashes and fragments of human bones that didn't burn out can be seen. Here and there a few whole bones can be seen, a few shoulder blades were found, and from one deep pit the lower part of a human jaw was discovered. Human hair was found in the same place.

In the plowed area, ashes and remains of human bones can be seen, especially in the parts which the plow passed over. Next to the orchard is a field belonging to Lazo Jandric, freshly plowed. Judging by the evidence, it appears that from there, too, corpses had been exhumed and burned in the orchard. We conclude this from a bone that was found, partially caked in dirt, and some bones which were found in pieces. Fragments of human teeth were also found there with three whole teeth, and beside that a few more bones. Pieces of coke were strewn about sporadically.

Behind the orchard is another plowed field, about the same size as the orchard. Four meter wide trails of ashes and bones are spread across. Judging by the trails it can be concluded that the ashes were moved by wheelbarrows and scattered about. A couple of large branches were thrown about, cut off from plum trees in the orchard. The branches are burned out.

Comrade Spanovic, who was here on 6 May 1945, mentioned that in several places in the plum orchard he even saw traces of blood. This was also reported by Mato Jugovic, Stipe Jugovic and Franjo Slafer, all from Ustice.

In the plowed field a box used for carrying things was found. The box was full of ashes and pieces of human bone which didn't burn completely. By following the trail further we reached the Sava, which is 315 steps away. A trail two meters wide leads into the Sava itself. The trail consists of ashes and human bones, but hair was also found. Judging by these trails it is obvious that the ashes and remains of bones were being moved in carrying boxes and in wheelbarrows to the Sava and dumped into the river.

Photographs were made of the corpses and skeletons of prisoners found in the River Sava, on the banks of the Sava, inside the camp, in various buildings of the camp, or that were exhumed. The ruins of the camp, which the Ustase blew up and burned before their escape, were also photographed.



CONCLUSION

SUCH A MANNER OF preconceived and inhumane torture and slaughter of a people has never been recorded in history. The Ustase criminals followed precisely the model of their German masters, most consciously executed all their orders, and did so in pursuit of a single goal: to exterminate as many of our people as possible, and to create a living space as large as possible for them.

The total dependence by the Ustase on their German masters, the foundation of the camp itself, the dispatch of the “disloyal,” the brutal implementation of Hitler’s racist Nazi theories and the deportation to the camps and extermination of the racially and nationally “impure,” the same methods of torture and atrocities with minor varieties of Ustase cruelty, the building of furnaces and incineration of victims in furnaces (the Picilli furnace)—all of the evidence points to the conclusion that both Jasenovac and the crimes committed in it were fashioned from a German recipe, owing to a German Hitlerite order as implemented by their servants, the Ustase.

Subsequently, responsibility for the crimes of Jasenovac falls equally on their German masters and the Ustase executioners.

I.

Aside from the members of the German government and German commanders, first of all the so-called *Poglavnik*, Ante Pavelic, is held responsible.

II.

Secondly, his “deputies” and “state counselors” and all “ministers” who were in office during the era in question are responsible, especially his Ministers of the Interior: Dr. Artukovic Andrija, Dr. Lorkovic Mladen, Dr. Niksic Ante and Frkovic Mato.

III.

The third ones responsible are the heads of the “Main Directorate for Public Order and Security” and chiefs of the “Ustase Secret Service”: Kvaternik Eugen, Jurcic Milutin, Cerovski Bozidar, Tomic Viktor, Lisak Erich, Herencic Ivo, Dr. Zimpermann Ljudevit, Dr. Crvenkovic Filip, Tomasevic Ivan, Dr. Vragovic Josip, Wagner Karlo, Rukavina Joso, Lucic Franjo, Dr. Benak Aleksandar, Dr. Bozinovic Zvonimir, Kirin Ico, Dr. Majic Josip, Vasko Tibor, Fario Fabjan, Paver Vjekoslav, Grzeta Nikola, Rados Franjo, Tomljenovic Stjepan, Turkalj Branko, Mak Miroslav, Ceko Ivan, Fulanovic Miroslav.

IV.

All higher and lower commandants in the Jasenovac camp are also responsible: Luburic Vjekoslav aka Maks, Sarac Ante, Milos Ljubo, Filipovic-Majstorovic Miroslav, Brkljacic Ivica, Sakic Dinko, Picilli Hinko, Matkovic Ivica, Pavlovic Mirko and Dzal Jakob.

V.

Finally, all Ustase officers, non-commissioned officers, Ustase guards and informers and camp prisoners who tortured and killed are responsible, namely:

Alilovic Ivan and Fran, sergeants major; Andricevic Ivica, sergeant, Altarac Ante,

lieutenant;

Bagaric Karlo, Balic Pasko, Basic Stevo Pindzo, Ustase non-commissioned officers; engineer Beretin, technician; Boras Ante, Drago and Ivan, Ustase non-commissioned officers; Bracic Nikola, sergeant; Brkljacic Jurica, sergeant major; Budimir brothers, Ustase non-commissioned officers; Brzica Petar, lieutenant; Buric Brusic Milan and Buntic Stepi and Simun, non-commissioned officers;

Ciprijanovic Jakob, lieutenant;

Cacic Ivan, Ustase officer; Cop Luka, sergeant; Colak Petar, non-commissioned officer; Cotic Mirko, non-commissioned officer; Covicic, Crcek Joza and Cupic Jozo, senior lieutenants;

Cenan Ivan, non-commissioned officer;

Dangubic Milan, sergeant; Delac Petar, official; Diamantstein Bruno, "Free Prisoner"; Cerek Bozo, manager of the "Tannery"; Djulkic Alaga, sergeant; Dimac Luka, officer; Dosen Mato and Dukaric Franjo, sergeants;

Elez Ante, senior lieutenant;

Falcini Vjekoslav, non-commissioned officer; Forentic Stjepan, official; Friganovic Ante, sergeant; and Frkovic Mile, sergeant;

Galic, camp prisoner; Galic Ante, non-commissioned officer; Gasparovic Dragan, sergeant major; Grgosevic Jozo, sergeant major; Glamuzina Marko, lieutenant; Grbavac Ivan, official; Grubisic Jerko and Grgic Jure, sergeants major;

Hadzic Osman, "Free Prisoner"; Hirschberger Nikola, sergeant major; Hodzic Latif, official; Horvat Ivan, major and Horvat Mato, sergeant;

Ivanovic Joso junior, official; Ille, lieutenant from Sibenik;

Jandic Ante, sergeant; Jankovic, "Free Prisoner"; Jarak Petar, sergeant major; Jurcevic Ivan, sergeant; Juricic Jerko, sergeant major; Jusic Mujo, lieutenant; and Jusic Saban, non-commissioned officer;

Kapetanovic Ahmet, senior lieutenant; Kardun Nikica, Senior Lieutenant; Kojic Ante, lieutenant; Kojic Zarko, lieutenant; Keza Mirko, non-commissioned officer; Kolobaric Josip, sergeant major; Kolak Petar, sergeant; Kolaric Zlatko, senior lieutenant; Kordic Tihomir, lieutenant; Kosic Ante, non-commissioned officer; Kresic Tvrtko, captain; Kvesic Stipo, sergeant and Kujundzic Stipe, non-commissioned officer;

Lipovac Zvonimir, military chaplain; Lisac Slavko, sergeant major; Luzic Stjepan, sergeant;

Mackovic Josip, official; Mandusic Ante, captain; Majetic Dane, sergeant; Markotic Stanko, sergeant; Maricic Jerko, senior lieutenant; Markic Ivan, sergeant; Martinovic Slavko, sergeant; Martinovic Stojan, sergeant major; Mataja Josip, major; Matijevic Miro, major; Matijevic Joco, senior lieutenant; Matek Milan, sergeant major; Mihic Pajo, captain; Matkovic Ljubo, officer; Matijevic Matija, camp prisoner; Medvedovic Mato, major; Mihaljevic Marko, sergeant major; Miljkovic Martin, senior lieutenant; Modric Ante, sergeant major; and Musa Mato, non-commissioned officer;

Nekic Ivan, Neorcic Vlado and Novosel Stjepan, sergeants;

Ostojic Mate, non-commissioned officer;

Pavicic Petar, sergeant; Pehar Nikola, non-commissioned officer; Pehar Petar, sergeant; Perkovic Marko, sergeant major; Penaric Mate, second lieutenant; Petek Franjo, captain; Polic Marin, lieutenant; Poldrugi Stjepan, sergeant major; Polic Drago, non-commissioned officer; Dr. Prpic Mihovil, captain, military judge; Prpic Stipe, second lieutenant; Primorac Silvestar, Pudic Dragutin and Prgesa Ante, sergeants major;

Radic Miroslav, major; Remenar Antun, captain; Rendjec, senior lieutenant, and Ruzic Blago, sergeant major;

Sabljić Ilija, sergeant major; Stojcic Jozo, Senior Lieutenant; Spiller Herman, "Free Prisoner"; Skocibusic, officer; Sliskovic Ivan, lieutenant; Stankovic Marko, sergeant major; Sudar Josip, captain; Sudar Mile junior and senior, sergeants;

Sepovic Miro, sergeant; Stimac Dane, sergeant; Svagusa Andrija, officer;

Report of the State Commission: Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp

Tomas Josip, sergeant major; Tomic Jure, lieutenant and Tralic Mirko, sergeant major;

Uzicanin Rasid, official.

Vasilj Ilija, lieutenant; Vasilj Mate and Luka, non-commissioned officers; Vidovic Mile, sergeant; Visakovic Nikola, major; Vlaho Vinko, sergeant major; Vrbani Mate, sergeant major; and Vucic Ivan, non-commissioned officer;

Zokic Ante, camp prisoner; Zrinusic Ante, sergeant major; and Zivanovic Mato, lieutenant, and all other Ustase whose identity was not determined.

The State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces and their Collaborators has determined the above individuals as the worst war criminals, traitors of the people and enemies of the people, and deems that they must be most severely punished for the atrocities and misdeeds they committed.

In Zagreb, on 15 November 1945
Number: 4547/45.

State Commission for the Investigation
of the Crimes of the Occupation Forces
and their Collaborators

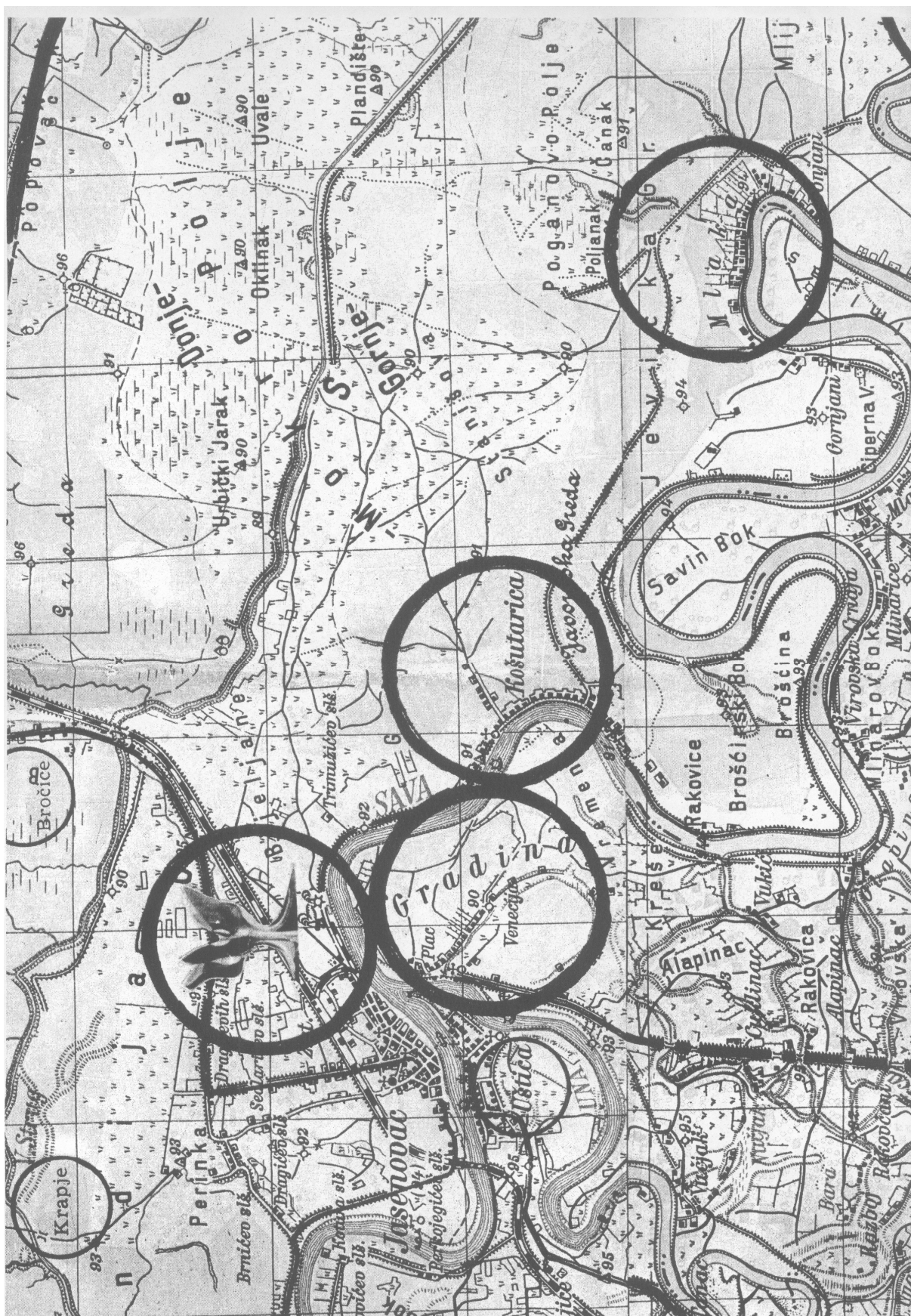
President: Dr. Venceslav Celigoj
[by his own hand]

Secretary: Dr. Ante Stokic
[by his own hand]

ANNEX 5

Map of the Jasenovac Concentration Camps

Source: Antun Miletić, *Concentration Camp Jasenovac (Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac)*, Belgrade, Jasenovac, 1986.



ANNEX 6

Photos from the Jasenovac Concentration Camps

Source: The Genocide Victims Museum, Belgrade and Antun Miletić, *Concentration Camp Jasenovac (Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac)*, Belgrade, Jasenovac, 1986.

Inventarski broj

52

Signatura negativa

52

MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA
BEOGRAD
Fototeka



Inventarski broj

52

Signatura negativa

52

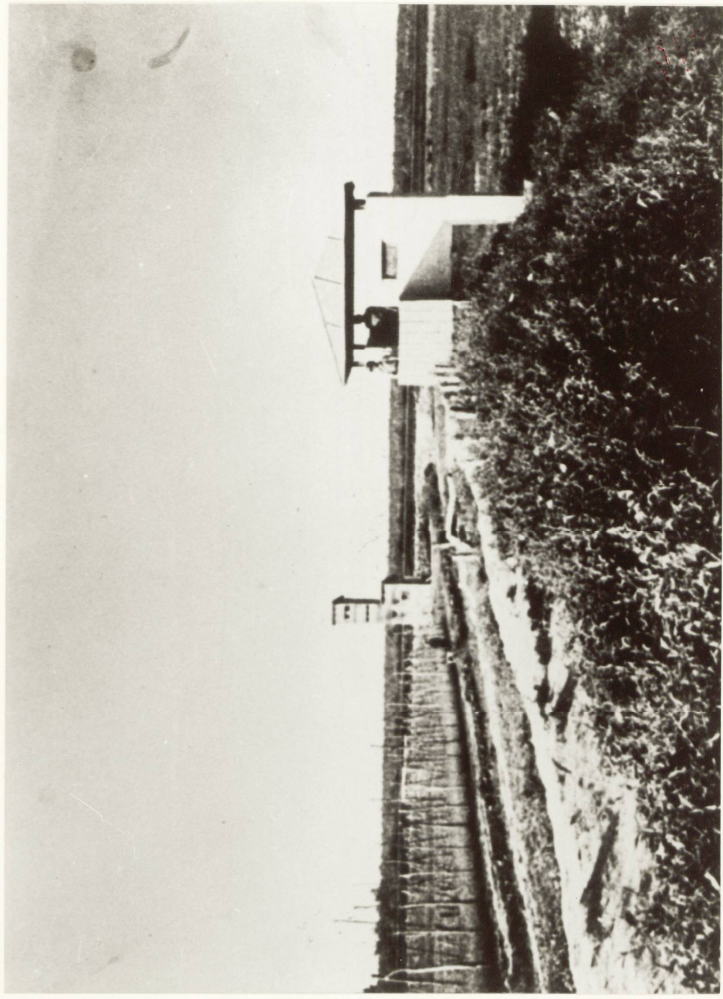
Legenda

Glavna kapija koncentracionog logora Jasenovac

Primedba

MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA
BEOGRAD
Fototeka

Inventarski broj 12
Signatura negativa 12



Inventarski broj 12
Signatura negativa 12
Legenda
Koncntracioni logor Jasenovac bio je opasan bodljikavom žicom nasipom, obalom Save ,betonskim bunkerima,delimično zidom i visokim osmatračnicama s mitraljeskim gnijezdima.
Primedba

Inventarski broj

233

Signatura negativa

233

MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA
BEOGRAD
Fototeka



Inventarski broj

233

Signatura negativa

233

Legenda

Sprovođenje žena iz Srema u Jasenovac, 1942. godine.

Primedba

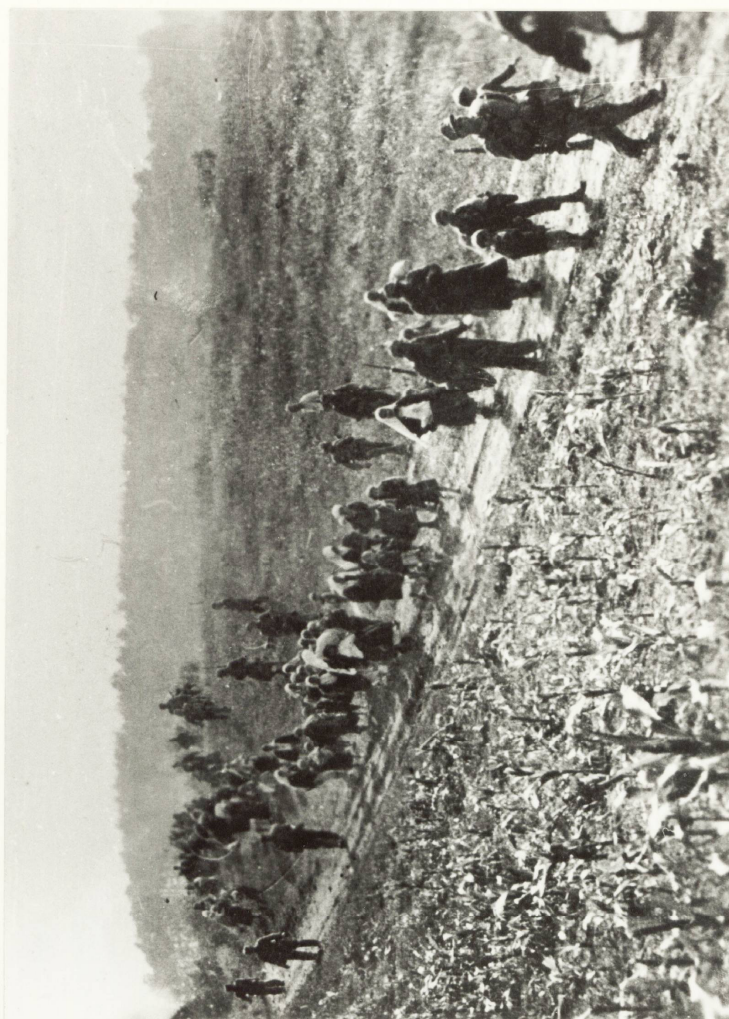
Inventarski broj

79

Signatura negativa

79

MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA
BEOGRAD
Fototeka



Inventarski broj

79

Signatura negativa

79

Legenda

Ustaše sprovode u logor narod sa Kozare uhvaćen za vreme
ofanzive, jula 1942 /Knežpolje kod Bosanske Dubice/

Primedba

MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA
BEOGRAD
Fototeka

Inventarski broj

80

Signatura negativa

80



Inventarski broj

80

Signatura negativa

80

Legenda

Zarobljene žene sa decom u Kozari za vreme ofanzive jula 1942 god

Primedba

Inventarski broj

238

Signatura negativa

238

MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA

BEOGRAD

Fototeka



Inventarski broj

238

Signatura negativa

238

Legenda

Formiranje grupa dece po uzrastu u logoru Stara Gradiška, jul 1942.godina U prvom redu su Ljubo Danilović, Rajko Gličić i Slavko Kotur- dečaci iz sela Miloševa Brda pod Kozarom.

Primedba

Inventarski broj

85

Signatura negativa

85

MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA
BEOGRAD
Fototeka



Inventarski broj

85

Signatura negativa

85

Legenda

Ustaše iz Jasenovackog logora podigle su u leto 1942, na desetine ovakvih vešala pod Kozarom i Prosarom. Fotos je pronašao u džepu ubijenog ustaše, Božidar Lazić i predao Zemaljskoj komisiji za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača u Beogradu
1946. godine.

Primedba

Inventarski broj	Signatura negativa
99	99

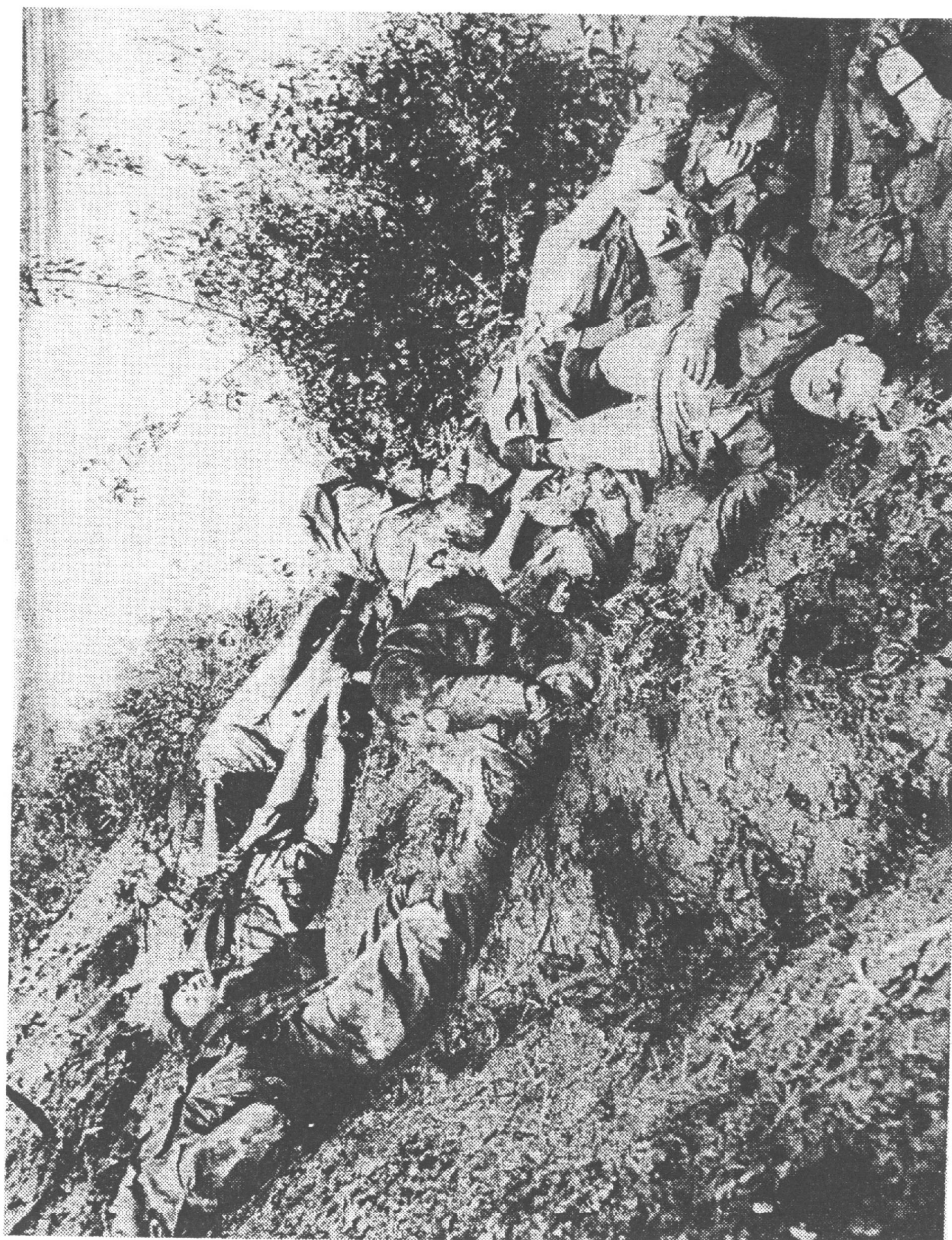
MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA BEOGRAD Fototeka
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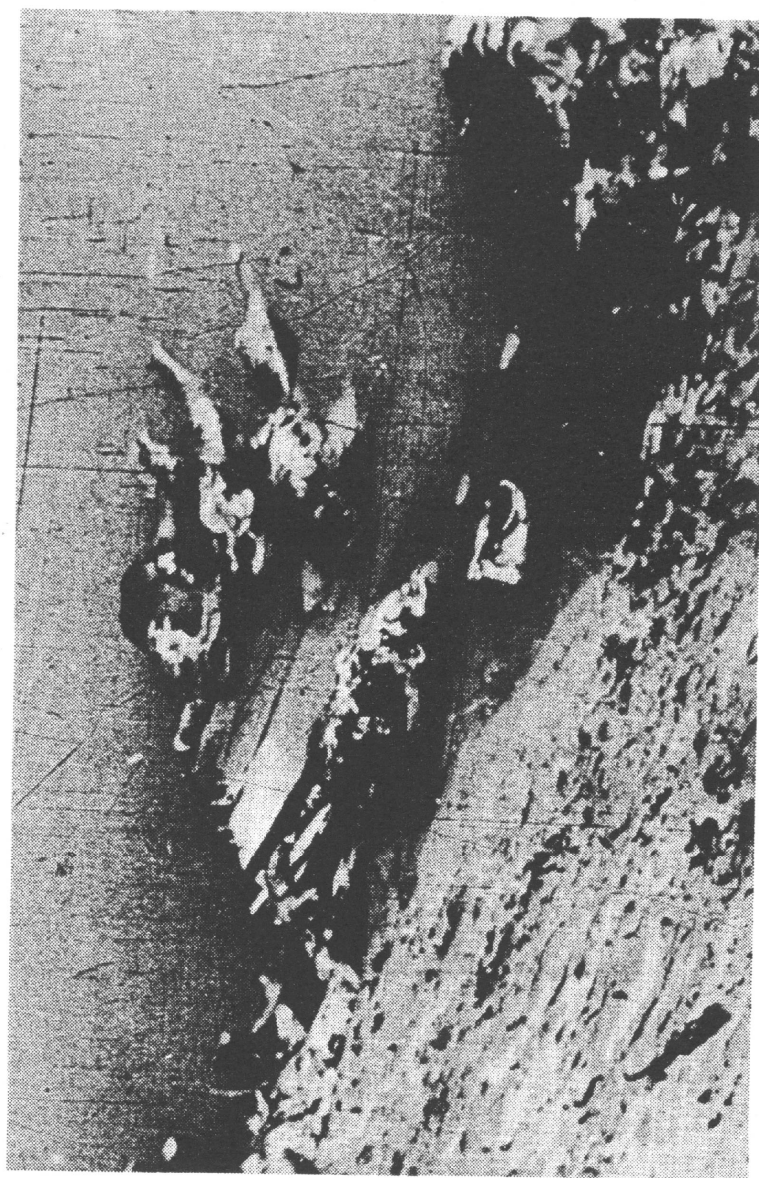
Signatura negativa 99

Legenda: 1942. godine ustaše iz Stare Gradiške su odrezale glavu Branku Jungiću, mladiću iz sela Grabavaca kod Bosanske Gradiške.

Primedba:



Svakodnevnii prizori na obalama Save iz godina ustaških zločina u Jasenovcu.



Prostor ispod Granika u Jasenovcu neprestano je bio prekriven leševima.

Inventarski broj

398

Signatura negativa

398

MUZEJ ŽRTAVA GENOCIDA
BEOGRAD
Fototeka



Inventarski broj

398

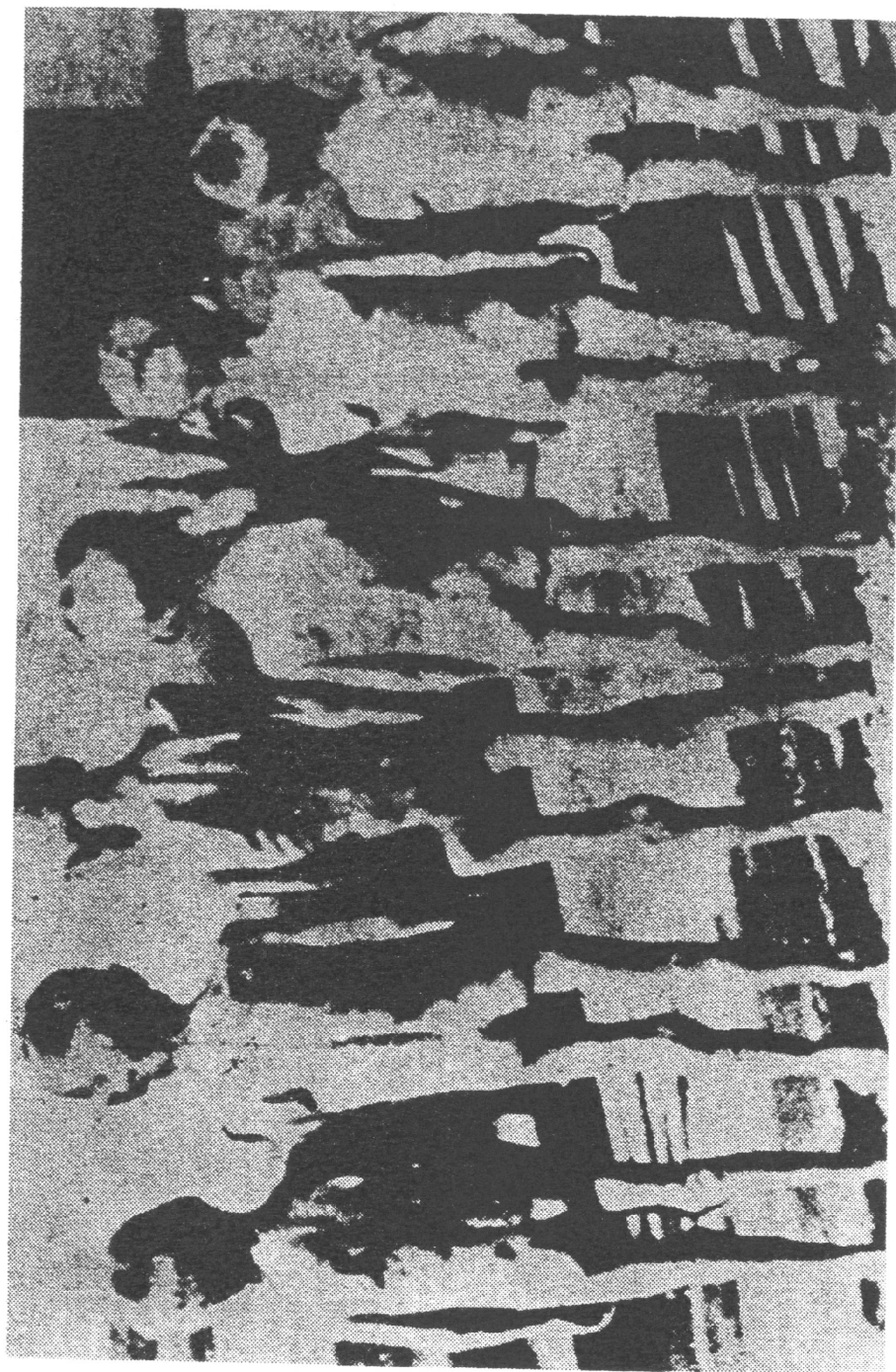
Signatura negativa

398

Legenda

Oreživali zatočeniци ustaškog logora u Jasenovcu. Snimak 2.maj 1945. godine.

Primedba




U Jasenovcu između dece i odraslih u zlostavljanju nije bilo nikakve razlike.

ANNEX 7

Photos of the Children Victims of the NDH Concentration Camps

Source: Catalogue of Exhibition, *They were only children*, edited by Dragoje Lukić and Jovan Mirković, the Genocide Victims Museum, Belgrade, 2006.



II-29796

Catalogo della mostra

**"Erano solo
bambini"**

Jasenovac tomba di
19.432 bambine e
bambini

Catalogue of exhibition

"They were only children"

Jasenovac crypt of 19.432 girls and boys

Catalogo della mostra:

"Erano solo bambini" Jasenovac tomba di 19.432 bambine e bambini

Catalogue of exhibition:

"They were only children" Jasenovac crypt of 19.432 girls and boys

Autori - Editors:

Dragoje Lukić, Jovan Mirković

Terza edizione modificata - Third modified edition

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Editore - Publisher:

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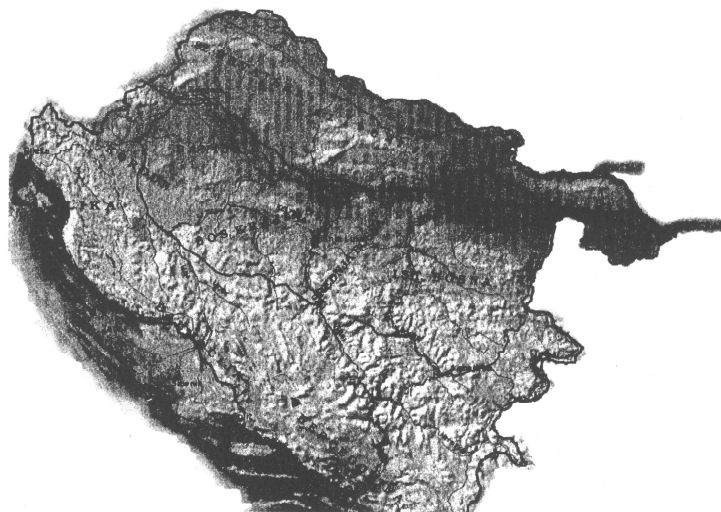
БИБЛИОТЕКА
МИНИСТАРСТВА
ИНОСТРАНИХ
ПОСЛОВА

100. ВР. 77993

II-29796

LO STATO CRIMINALE ALLA LUCE DEI FATTI Facts about the State of crime

0



Più di sei decenni fa, il 10 aprile 1941, sotto gli auspici della Germania nazista e dell'Italia fascista, venne proclamato a Zagabria lo Stato Indipendente Croato. I suoi confini includevano un'area di 102.000 km² e i territori di Croazia, Bosnia ed Erzegovina e Srem. Su circa 6.300.000 abitanti, i Serbi rappresentavano più di un terzo della popolazione dello Stato Indipendente Croato.

La realizzazione del programma di "pulizia del territorio croato" e "purezza della nazione croata" su base nazionale, religiosa, razzista e ideologica, ha trasformato lo stato di Pavelić in un poligono di sterminio di massa della popolazione serba, ebraica e rom.

Nei massacri di ampie proporzioni, gli ustascia ("Gli Insorti") non fecero distinzione tra bambini e adulti. Stando alle vittime identificate nello Stato Indipendente Croato, tra aprile 1941 e maggio 1945, persero la vita 74.762 bambini. I più piccoli erano in fasce e i più grandi avevano 14 anni. Tra di loro sono stati identificati 14.528 morti o assassinati che sono stati dichiarati "vittime di guerra". 41.474 bambini provenienti dalla Bosnia ed Erzegovina persero la vita, la maggior parte (24.392), originari della Krajina bosniaca (13.184 dalla Kozaraj) e della Bosnia orientale (11.643). Vennero uccisi 30.305 bambini del territorio della Croazia. La maggior parte di loro proveniva dalla Slavonia (8.465), da Kordun (7.666), da Lika (4.612) e da Banija (4.248). Furono assassinati 1.590 bambini dello Srem, mentre 1.393 vittime non erano nate nel territorio dello Stato Indipendente Croato.

I peggiori crimini di genocidio furono perpetrati su 60.234 bambini. Vennero uccisi o morirono in altra maniera 32.054 maschi e 28.012 femmine; di 168 bambini non è stato possibile riconoscere il sesso.

La vita di 37.139 bambini fu stroncata in 1.398 campi di sterminio in tutto lo Stato Indipendente Croato. Furono uccisi 23.504 bambini nei campi di concentramento ustascia, tedeschi e italiani. La maggior parte di loro erano serbi (42.791), rom (5.737), musulmani (5.434), ebrei (3.710) e croati (2.289). Non è stata identificata l'appartenenza nazionale di 273 vittime.

More than six decades ago, on April, 10th 1941, under the patronage of the Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, the Independent State of Croatia was declared in Zagreb. The border enclosed 102.000 km² and the area of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Srem. From about 6.300.000 citizens, the Serbs made more than one third of the population of ISC.

The carrying out of the program "the cleaning of the Croatian territory" and the "clean Croatian nation" on a national, religious, racist and ideological base, has turned Pavelić's state into a territory of mass execution of the Serbian, Jewish and Rom population.

In the massacres with wide measures, the Ustashi made no difference between children and adults. According to the information of identified victims in the ISC, from April 1941 till May 1945, there were 74.762 killed children. The youngest were still in infancy and the oldest at the age of fourteen. 14.528 dead or killed were declared as "victims of the war". 41.474 children from Bosnia and Herzegovina lost their lives, most from the Bosnian Krajina 24.392 (13.184 from Kozaraj and east Bosnia 11.643). From the territory of Croatia, 30.305 children were killed. Most of them were from Slavonia 8.465, Kordun 7.666, Lika 4.612 and Banija 4.248. From Srem 1.590 children were murdered and 1.393 killed were not born on the territory of ISC.

The worst genocide crimes were carried out on 60.234 children. 32.054 boys and 28.012 girls were murdered and for 168 kids there was no possibility to identify the sex.

The lives of 37.139 children were taken on 1.398 places of execution all around the ISC. In the Ustashi, German and Italian concentration camps 23.504 children were killed. Most of them were Serbian children 42.791, Gypsies 5.737, Moslem 5.434, Jewish 3.710 and Croatian 2.289. For 273 victims the nationality identity was not found.

1



A Ustiša, sulla riva destra del fiume Sava, dalla metà di luglio 1942, circa 8.000 donne e bambini aspettano il turno per raggiungere Gradina, il più grande campo d'esecuzione di Jasenovac. (Prigionieri al campo di raduno di Uštica, vicino Jasenovac).

In Uštica, on the right bank of the Sava river, by middle of July 1942 some 8,000 women and children waited in line for Gradina, the largest Jasenovac execution site. (Prisoners at the



Per circa 7.000 donne e bambini di Kozara al campo di raduno di Mlaka ogni giorno era un giorno buono per morire. (Campo di Mlaka, vicino Jasenovac, seconda metà di luglio 1942)

For the 7,000 women and children from Kozara at the assembly camp Mlaka every day was a good day to die. (Camp in Mlaka near Jasenovac, second half of July 1942)



Queste due madri e i loro sei bambini non aspettarono a lungo il momento della dolorosa separazione nel campo di Stara Gradiška.

These two mothers and their six children did not have to wait long for the painful separation at the Stara Gradiška camp.



Separazione dei bambini dai genitori nel campo di Stara Gradiška, all'inizio del luglio

Separation of children from their parents in the Stara Gradiška camp, beginning of July 1942.



Lo smistamento dei bambini in base all'età, nel campo di Stara Gradiška, avveniva affinché i prigionieri più piccoli dimenticassero, quanto prima, chi fossero e da dove provenissero.

The purpose of sorting the children by age at the Stara Gradiška camp was that the youngest ones forget as soon as possible who they were and where they came from.



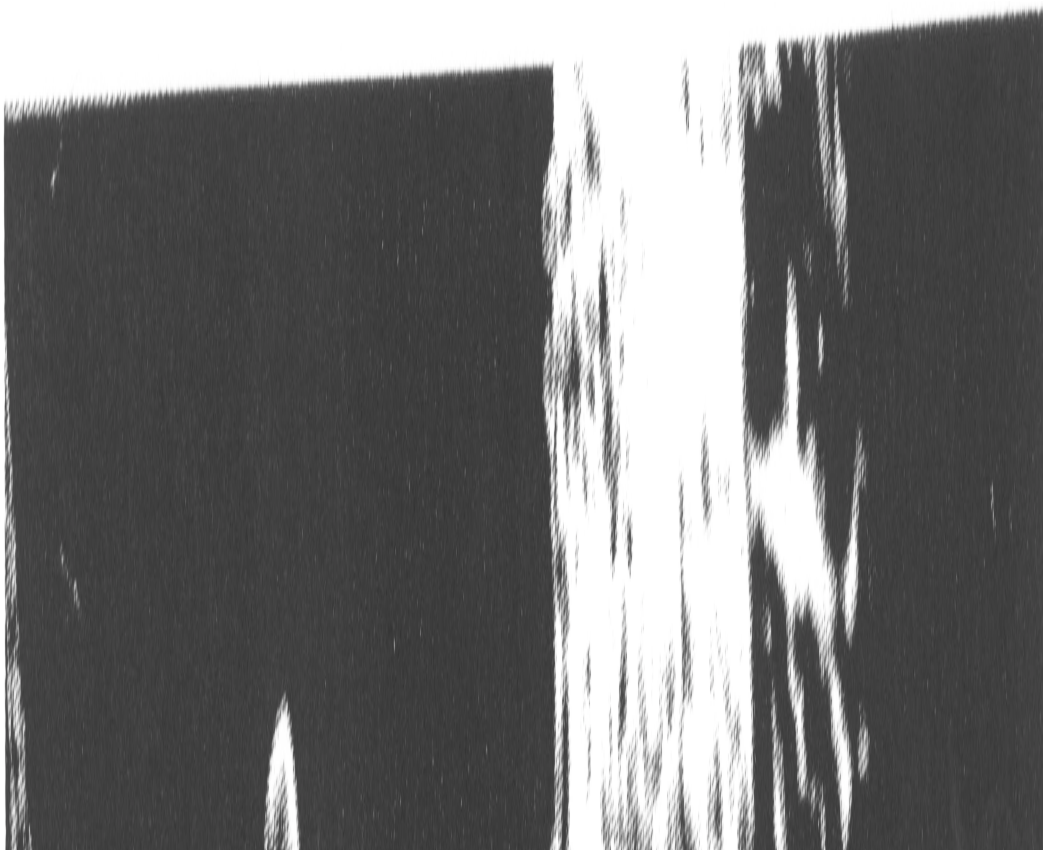
Nella Torre di Stara Gradiška, i bambini piccoli separati dai genitori, si stendevano su suoli bagnati e sporchi. Molti perirono nelle stalle e negli stabbi delle fattorie del campo.

In the Tower of Stara Gradiška small children, separated from their parents, had to lie on wet and dirty floors. Many of these young lives were extinguished in the barns and pounds of the camp farms.



L'estate del 1942 fu segnata da orribili massacri ustascia di donne e bambini in tutti i luoghi di esecuzione attorno a Jasenovac e Stara Gradiška.

The summer of 1942 was marked by horrible Ustasha massacres of women and children on all execution sites around Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška.



The Ustahas turned the area of 942 hectares of the devastated village of Donja Gradina, on the right bank of the Sava river, into the largest execution ground of the Jasenovac prisoners.



Račun za ukopanu djecu iz djepića
 domaći Jastrebarski
 243 komada djeca @ 150 kuna = 36.450 kuna
 uključujući troškove... 1.866
 dva starija... 400
 ukupno 38.816
 969 kupa
 38.816
 37.847 kuna
 Predložak: potpis
 Pričinio: na račun kopanja grobova
 10.000 kuna 22.7.1942.
 100 komada djeca kopane...

Luglio 1942. Campo Stara Gradiška di
 Jastrebarsko. A causa delle torture morivano
 in media una dozzina di bambini al giorno.
 Franjo Ilovar, guardiano del cimitero del
 posto, ha lasciato una testimonianza sulla
 morte dei bambini dei primi gruppi trasferiti
 da Stara Gradiška a Jastrebarsko. Sulla
 prima pagina della sua "Sepoltura
 giornaliera" Ilovar annotava: "22/7/1942.
 Ricevuto per lo scavo delle fosse 10.000
 kune per 100 pezzi di bambini sepolti". Dal
 22 luglio fino al 26 agosto del 1942, è stato
 annotato ogni giorno quanti bambini
 venivano "sepolti". Il totale dei bambini
 sepolti è di 468.

prvi h djeca u kopa @ 100 = 10000
 100 komada ukopano

Redni broj	Pokop djeca	Redni broj	Pokop djeca
23/4	1	38	2
24/4	1	39	2
25/4	1	40	2
26/4	1	41	2
27/4	1	42	2
28/4	1	43	2
29/4	1	44	2
30/4	1	45	2
31/4	1	46	2
1-7/1	1	47	2
2-7/1	1	48	2
3-7/1	1	49	2
4-7/1	1	50	2
5-7/1	1	51	2
6-7/1	1	52	2
7-7/1	1	53	2
8-7/1	1	54	2
9-7/1	1	55	2
10-7/1	1	56	2
11-7/1	1	57	2
12-7/1	1	58	2
13-7/1	1	59	2
14-7/1	1	60	2
15-7/1	1	61	2
16-7/1	1	62	2
17-7/1	1	63	2
18-7/1	1	64	2
19-7/1	1	65	2
20-7/1	1	66	2
21-7/1	1	67	2
22-7/1	1	68	2
23-7/1	1	69	2
24-7/1	1	70	2
25-7/1	1	71	2
26-7/1	1	72	2
27-7/1	1	73	2
28-7/1	1	74	2
29-7/1	1	75	2
30-7/1	1	76	2
31-7/1	1	77	2
1-8/1	1	78	2
2-8/1	1	79	2
3-8/1	1	80	2
4-8/1	1	81	2
5-8/1	1	82	2
6-8/1	1	83	2
7-8/1	1	84	2
8-8/1	1	85	2
9-8/1	1	86	2
10-8/1	1	87	2
11-8/1	1	88	2
12-8/1	1	89	2
13-8/1	1	90	2
14-8/1	1	91	2
15-8/1	1	92	2
16-8/1	1	93	2
17-8/1	1	94	2
18-8/1	1	95	2
19-8/1	1	96	2
20-8/1	1	97	2
21-8/1	1	98	2
22-8/1	1	99	2
23-8/1	1	100	2

 Predložak: potpis
 Pričinio: na račun kopanja grobova
 10.000 kuna 22.7.1942.

As a result of torture at the Stara Gradiška
 camp in July 1942 in Jastrebarsko on an
 average twelve children died daily.
 Franjo Ilovar, keeper of the local cemetery left
 a testimony on the dying of children brought
 to Jastrebarsko from Stara Gradiška. On the
 first page of his "daily burials" Ilovar wrote:
 "Received for digging graves 10,000 kunas
 22.7.1942 for 100 pieces buried children".
 From July 22 till August 26, 1942 the
 gravedigger kept an accurate record on how
 many male and female children had been
 buried. There is a total at the end: "Total buried
 468 children".



Dal 3 agosto fino alla fine di dicembre del 1942, dal campo ustascia di Sisak sono passati in tutto 6.693 bambini di nazionalità serba, provenienti da Kozara, Banija e Kordun; di questi, 1.601 sono morti.

A total of 6,693 children of Serbian nationality from Kozara, Banija and Kordun, of which 1,601 died, had passed through the Ustasha camp in Sisak from August 3 till the end of December 1942.



Il magazzino umido e fatiscente della salina Reis, invaso da sciame di mosche, era il luogo più orribile nel campo di Sisak.

Humid and dank storage of the saltworks Reis, covered by swarms of flies was the most horrible place in the Sisak camp.



DEČJE PRIVATISTE U SISKU

T. br. 626 Logorski br.

Prezime i ime *Zenko Gradinić*

Dan, mjesec i godina rođenja (starost) *2.*

Otac *mali*

Rodno mjesto

Boraviste

Občina

Kolar

Župa



DEČJE PRIVATISTE U SISKU

T. br. 627 Logorski br.

Prezime i ime *Mirko Gradinić*

Dan, mjesec i godina rođenja (starost) *15.8.*

Otac *mali*

Rodno mjesto

Boraviste

Občina

Kolar

Župa



Ante Dumbović, archivista del campo dei bambini a Sisak, assieme al fotografo Budimski e al dottor David Ekstein, ha documentato la mortalità dei bambini, di età inferiore ai 6 anni, condotti dal campo di concentramento di Jasenovac, principalmente dal distretto di Bosanska Dubica, e nelle "cartoline" ha presentato delle fotografie con le indicazioni sui bambini senza nome. In questo archivio viene registrata la morte di 1.152 bambini (613 bambine e 539 bambini) con una documentazione fotografica di 755 foto. Nelle cartoline ci sono i detenuti del campo di concentramento di Sisak: una bambina di 15 mesi, morta il 15 agosto del 1942, alle cinque del mattino e sepolta il giorno dopo alle tre; un bambino di due anni, morto il 31 agosto del 1942 alle dieci di sera, sepolto il giorno dopo alle cinque del pomeriggio.

Ante Dumbović, recorder at the children concentration camp in Sisak, together with the photographer Budimski and dr. David Ekstein, has documented the death of children, who were brought from the concentration camp Jasenovac, all younger than six, mostly from the district Bosanska Dubica and on the "postcards" he gave photographs with facts about the unknown children. In this record were the death of 1152 children written down (613 girls and 539 boys) and he formed a photo documentation with 755 shots. On the "postcards" are the one from the concentration camp in Sisak: a 15 month old girl who died on August, 15 1942 at 5 a.m. and was buried the day after at 5 p.m. and a boy at age of two who died on August, 31 1942 at 10 p.m. and was buried the next day at 5 p. M.

SECTION II

The 1990's Croatian Historical Revisionism and the Revival of the Ustashe Principles

/Excerpts from Contemporary Literature and Original Sources/

ANNEX 8

Chronology of the Ustashe Movement after World War II

Prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia

CHRONOLOGY OF THE USTASHE MOVEMENT AFTER WORLD WAR II

- 1945–1948 – the Ustashe commandos called Crusaders (*Križari*) were engaged by the Western intelligence services and sent to raid into Tito's communist Yugoslavia. Most of their attempts failed. One of the arrested Crusaders who was sentenced to death was the infamous Jasenovac Commander, Ljubo Miloš. Another Jasenovac Commander, Miroslav Filipović-Majstorović (Father Satan), met the same court sentence in 1947.¹
- 1948 – Poglavnik Ante Pavelić and his closest supporters arrived in Argentina via Italy, following the infamous "Ratlines" of the war criminals.²
- 1949 – Pavelić lives openly in Buenos Aires and forms the Croatian Statehood Party (*Hrvatska državotvorna stranka*), which aspires to be the NDH government-in-exile.³
- 1956 – Pavelić forms a new terrorist organization - the Croatian Liberation Movement. Twelve former ministers of the NDH have affixed their signatures to the founding manifesto.⁴
- 1957 – Attempt on Pavelić's life in Argentina by Blagoje Jovović, a Chetnik from Montenegro. Pavelić is seriously injured.⁵
- 1959 – Pavelić dies in Madrid.
- 1962–1966 – Three Yugoslav diplomats are killed in Germany by the Ustashe organization led by Maks Luburić.⁶
- 1968 – Ustashe terrorists plant a bomb inside a cinema in Belgrade: one person is killed and 85 are injured in the attack.⁷
- 1969 – Maks Luburić is massacred in his villa in Valencia by the Yugoslav secret agent.⁸
- 1971 – Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden Vladimir Rolović is assassinated by the neo-Ustashe terrorist Miro Barešić.⁹

¹ US Army declassified file, Central Intelligence Group, The Do Marius Report, dated 6 May 1947, available from <http://pavelic-papers.com/documents/pavelic/ap0031.html>

² US Army declassified file, Reported Arrival of Ante Pavelic in Argentina, dated 2 December 1948, available from <http://pavelic-papers.com/documents/pavelic/ap0031.html>

³ Cali Ruchala & Siniša Djurić, *The Ustashe Movement 1929–1986: An historical overview*, available from <http://pavelic-papers.com/timeline/ustasetimeline.html>

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Tihomir Burzanović, *Two Bullets for Pavelić*, available from <http://pavelic-papers.com/features/tbfp.pdf>

⁶ Cali Ruchala & Siniša Djurić, *Op.cit.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

- 1972 – Ustashe terrorists hijack a Swedish airliner and demand Barešić's release and a cash ransom. Both demands are met. Later in the same year, Ustashe claim responsibility for planting a bomb on board a Yugoslav airliner which explodes in mid-air, killing 26 people.¹⁰
- June 1972, Operation "Phoenix" – Following the suppressed Croatian Spring Movement, 19 members of the neo-Ustashe terrorist group from Australia try to organize an uprising in Herzegovina with the aim to re-establish the Independent State of Croatia. After 37 days, all members were killed or arrested, but 34 members of the Yugoslav army and police forces also lost their lives in the battle on the Raduša Mountain.¹¹
- 1975 – A bomb explodes in a storage locker at New York's LaGuardia Airport, killing 11 and injuring 75 people. The attack has long been attributed by the police and investigative journalists to the Ustashe.¹²
- 1976 – Four Ustashe hijack an American TW plane. One police officer is killed.¹³
- 1980 – The Ustashe plant a bomb in the Statue of Liberty, though no one is injured.¹⁴
- 1980-1983 – RICO¹⁵ trials in the USA for numerous crimes committed and attempted by the Ustashe terrorists, *inter alia*, the conspiracy to carry out attacks on the United Nations Headquarters and the Grand Central Terminal in New York.¹⁶
- 1984 – Before the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo, the West German authorities arrest twelve Croats who are in possession of arms and explosives.¹⁷
- 1986 – Former Minister of Interior of the NDH Andrija Artuković is extradited from the United States, nearly four decades after his illegal entry, following extreme pressure by Holocaust survivors. Suffering from advanced senility, he dies in a Yugoslav prison hospital a year after his trial.¹⁸
- 1993 – Croatian President Franjo Tuđman appoints Ivo Rojnica, the 1941 Ustashe district leader for the area of Dubrovnik and war criminal responsible for numerous crimes against Serbs and Jews, for an Ambassador in the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹⁹

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Milan V. Petković, *VOS i UDBA nisu isto (VOS and UDBA are not the same)*, Belgrade, 2005.

¹² Cali Ruchala & Sinisa Djuric, *Op.cit.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ The Federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupted Organizations.

¹⁶ John Pryor, *Canadian Among Croatian Group Charged with Violent Criminal Operation*, UPI, 19 February 1982, see also *The First Otpor RICO Trial in New York City*, 25 January 1983, Lexis/Nexis.

¹⁷ The FBI declassified file, San Francisco Office, 7 February 1984, available from <http://pavelic-papers.com/documents/odpor/odp0012.html>

¹⁸ New York Times, *Croat, at Trial, Defends Concentration Camps*, 18 April 1986.

¹⁹ Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, 24 September 1993.

- 1994 – Ivo Rojnica is honored by the Croatian President Tuđman with a „Great Order Medal of Duke Trpimir with Necklace“.²⁰
- 1994 – Franjo Tudjman meets Dinko Ljubomir Šakić, one of the former Commanders of the Jasenovac Death Camp in Buenos Aires.²¹
- February 1995 – in an interview published in Zagreb, Šakić says: „The NDH formed a ground on which the present-day Croatia has been built“.²²
- 1998 – Following the pressure by the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Šakić is extradited to the Republic of Croatia. He is sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, but he dies the same year. He is buried in Ustashe uniform. At his funeral, Croatian Dominican priest Father Vjekoslav Lasić made a speech in which he said that "the court that indicted Dinko Šakić indicted Croatia and Croats", and that "every Croat should be proud of Šakić's name".²³
- 2007 – At the rock concert of Marko Perković Thompson the crowds openly display Ustashe symbols and sing song glorifying the crimes committed by Maks Luburić. His concerts as neo-Nazi ones were banned in The Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland, but not in Zagreb, where he drew a crowd of 60,000 fans.²⁴
- 2008 – In Zagreb, a mass was held for the Ustashe Poglavnik Ante Pavelić.²⁵

²⁰ Nenad Antonijević, *Ustaški stožernik Ivo Rojnica i njegova uloga u zločinima u Dubrovniku 1941. godine (Ustashe Leader Ivo Rojnica and his role in crimes in Dubrovnik 1941)*, in Hans-Georg Fleck & Igor Graovac, *Dijalog povijesničara-istoričara (Dialogue of Historians)*, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, No. 6, Zagreb, 2002, p. 335.

²¹ Drago Hedl, *Čuvar logora u ustaškom periodu (Camp guard during the Ustashe time)*, AIM - Alternative Information Network, France, 12 April 1998, available from <http://www.aimpress.ch/dyn/pubs/archive/data/199804/80412-001-pubs-zag.htm>

²² Aleksa Crnjaković, *Obavljao sam svoju dužnost (I did my duty)*, Interview with Dinko Ljubomir Šakić, published in Magazin, Zagreb, February 1995.

²³ Hrvoje Šimičević, *Zuroff Mesiću: osudite organizatore Šakićevog sprovoda (Zuroff to Mesic: Condemn the organizers of Šakić's funeral)*, Nacional, 29 July 1998, Zagreb, available from <http://www.nacional.hr/clanak/47685/zuroff-mesicu-osudite-organizatore-sakicevog-sprovoda>

²⁴ Wiesenthal Centre Expresses Outrage at Massive Outburst of Nostalgia for Croatian Fascism at Zagreb Rock Concert; Urges President Mesic to Take Immediate Action, available from www.wiesenthal.com/site/apps/nl/content2.asp?c=fwLYKnN8LzH&b=245494&ct=3969137 ; Thompson greeted Norac, Swarm chanted „ Kill the Serb“, available from www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/thompson-pozdravio-norcu-rulja-uzvikivala-ubij-srbina/388987.aspx).

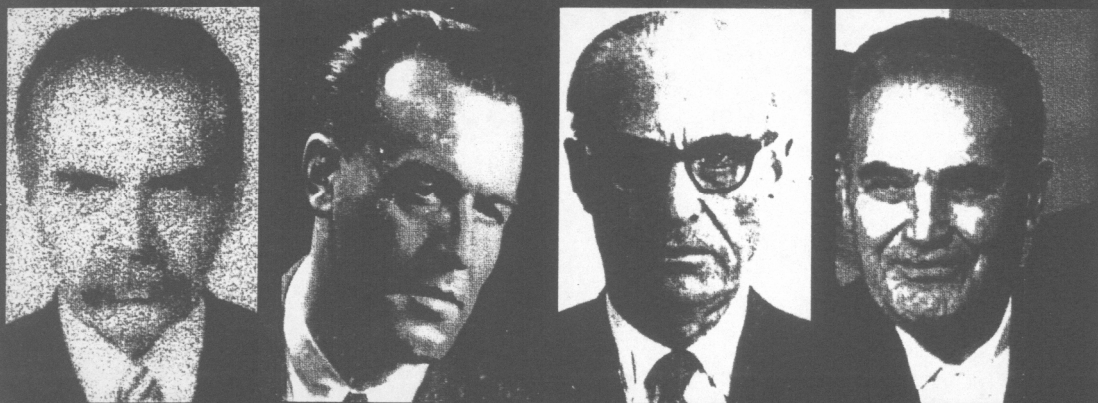
²⁵ Available from www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/u-zagrebu-odrzana-misa-za-ustaskog-poglavnika-antu-pavelica/415281.aspx

ANNEX 9

**Efraim Zuroff, *Operation Last Chance*,
New York, 2009, pp. 131–150**

OPERATION LAST CHANCE

ONE MAN'S QUEST TO BRING
NAZI CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE



EFRAIM ZUROFF

CHIEF NAZI HUNTER,
SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER

OPERATION LAST CHANCE

**One Man's Quest to Bring Nazi
Criminals to Justice**

Efraim Zuroff

**palgrave
macmillan**

THIRTEEN

CROATIA'S PAST AND THE SEARCH FOR DINKO ŠAKIĆ

IN RETROSPECT, I have to admit that there were quite a few surprises in my career in terms of the results achieved in various countries and with different cases. In this regard, the country where I had the greatest number of successes, in absolute contrast to my extremely low initial expectations, was Croatia. Although I had never visited Yugoslavia while it existed, from the beginning of my studies of the Holocaust I had a very clear image of the Croatians as cruel, fanatic fascists who brutally annihilated their Jewish community almost in its entirety.

That image was no doubt reinforced by the Artuković case, during which I learned in greater depth of the cruelty of and horrible crimes committed by the Ustasha Croatian fascists. Andrija Artuković had served as the minister of the interior and minister of justice in the independent Croatian state established by the Nazis and their Italian allies in 1941. It was in this capacity that he established a series of concentration camps all over Croatia, in which hundreds of thousands of innocent Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and anti-fascist Croatians were incarcerated, very often with lethal results. The most notorious of these concentration camps was Jasenovac, which was nicknamed “the Auschwitz of the

Balkans” and in which at least 90,000 civilians were murdered, although it is highly possible that the number of victims was much higher. In addition, the camp was notorious for the cruelty of the guards and the uniquely horrific tortures they devised for use on the inmates.

Artuković had escaped to the West together with many other prominent Ustasha after World War II. Among them was their Poglavnik (supreme leader), Ante Pavelić, who eventually fled to Argentina. Artuković initially went to Austria and from there to Switzerland, from which he reached Ireland and, a few years later, the United States. He was one of the first Nazi war criminals discovered to be living in America, and Yugoslavia asked for his extradition as early as 1951. Artuković was finally deported from the United States in 1986 and sent back to Zagreb, where he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death on May 14, 1987, by a Yugoslav court. The implementation of his sentence was postponed, however, due to ill health, and he ultimately died in a Zagreb prison hospital at the age of 88 on January 16, 1988.

My own active involvement in Croatia began a few years after Artuković's death, when we learned that several unprosecuted suspected Croatian Nazi war criminals were alive and well in various countries, including their newly independent homeland. The most prominent of these was Dinko Šakić, a former commandant of the Jasenovac concentration camp, who had reportedly returned to Croatia from his postwar haven in Argentina. Others on the list that I had compiled by 1995 were Ivo Rojnica, the Ustasha “governor” of Dubrovnik; Vinko Nikolić, one of the leading ideologues of the Ustasha movement who had been appointed to the Sabor (Croatian parliament); Mate Šarlija, an officer in the Ustasha movement; and Srećko Pšeničnik, Ante Pavelić's son-in-law, who had headed the émigré Croatian Liberation Movement.

In Jerusalem, in mid-June of 1995, I met a person who would play a very important role in what ultimately turned out to be one of our major successes—Dr. Milan Bulajić, the director of the Museum of Genocide Victims in Belgrade and an expert on the Jasenovac concentration camp. He had come to Israel to visit all the Holocaust museums in the country in order to help him establish his museum in Belgrade, which at the time of our meeting consisted solely of a team of researchers. (There was

already a site for the project but they did not yet have sufficient funds to build the museum.) The focus of our meeting, however, was on what was happening at the site of the Jasenovac concentration camp. The Croatian president Franjo Tuđman was trying, according to Bulajić, to convert the camp into a memorial for all the victims of totalitarian regimes rather than for just those murdered by the Ustasha. I also asked him about the possibility of obtaining evidence against the Croatian Nazi war criminals who had returned to Croatia and those we had discovered elsewhere.

It did not take long before a dossier sent by Bulajic arrived in Jerusalem. It was the file on Dinko Šakić (File No. F-3376) from the "Yugoslav State Commission for the Crimes Committed by the Occupiers and their Collaborators," which was housed in the Yugoslav State Archives in Belgrade. The file outlined Šakić's crimes in his capacity as the head of the general department of Jasenovac (1942–1944) and the commander of the camp (1944–1945). It listed the names of 13 of his victims, noting that there were also several thousand unknown victims as well, and briefly described the crimes attributed to him, listing the names of the witnesses against Šakić and the dates (with one exception) of their interrogations. This information was to serve us well when we tried to facilitate Šakić's prosecution.

Several months later, I was given my first lesson in Croatian history by Igor Alborghetti, a journalist with the popular Croatian weekly news-magazine *Globus*, who came to Jerusalem in December 1995 to interview me. He was the first Croatian journalist to contact us regarding unprosecuted Croatian World War II criminals and was actually the first Croatian non-Jew I had ever met face to face. I have to admit that he opened my eyes to several important aspects of Croatian history that I was not aware of—for example, the large number of Croats (among them Igor's relatives) who joined Tito's partisans and fought against the Ustasha. He also cleared up several misconceptions I had regarding aspects of the new democratic Croatia, explaining, for example, that the name given to the new Croatian currency (kuna) had its origins hundreds of years before the Holocaust and had merely been adopted by the Ustasha based on historical precedent. All this, while unequivocally acknowledging the guilt of the Ustasha in the mass murder of Croatian

Jewry. In short, he was able to present a somewhat more balanced picture of Croatia's World War II history and its current impact on the newly independent democracy, which helped me enormously in my subsequent dealings with Croatian officials and media. Igor, in fact, became a good friend and has been extremely helpful, in his role as editor of *Globus*, in our efforts to help Croatian society confront its Ustasha past.

The problem, however, was that Igor was not a typical Croatian, and just to remind me of this fact, the reaction in certain quarters to his interview with me in *Globus* was unbelievably outrageous. On January 11, 1996, Mirsad Bakšić, a political commentator for the Croatian daily *Slobodna Dalmacija*, which at that time pursued a very nationalistic position, accused me of heading and organizing all three pre-State of Israel Jewish underground movements, the Hagana, Etzel, and Lehi, all of which were disbanded even before I was born. He also accused me of leading the massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps—an event that took place during the 1982 war in Lebanon and was carried out by Christian militias without the participation of a single Israeli. In other words, while Igor represented enlightened Croatian public opinion, there were other voices whose opinions fit the fascist image I originally had of Croatia before I began my hunt for war criminals in that country. Since leading Croatian public figures were among those fostering nationalistic sympathies and nostalgia for the Ustasha, it became increasingly clear that we faced a very difficult uphill battle.

THE PERSON WHO personified these problems more than anyone else was the Croatian president Franjo Tudjman, who had led Croatia to independence in 1991. Ironically, he had served with Tito's partisans during World War II fighting against the Ustasha, who had even murdered one of his brothers. But when he became a politician in the late 1980s, he adopted an extremist nationalist line that glorified the Ustasha and sent a very negative message to Croatia's minorities. In one of his more famous speeches he expressed his joy that "Thank God, my wife is neither a Serb nor a Jew."¹

Tudjman was particularly active in attempting to shape historical memory in the new Croatia in accordance with his extremist nationalist

views. One of his more outrageous proposals, which I mentioned earlier, was to turn Jasenovac into a national memorial for all the Croatian victims of political violence. Under his proposal, victims of Communism would have been buried at the same place where at least tens of thousands of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and antifascist Croatians were murdered by the Ustasha. Needless to say, this initiative enraged the Serbian and Jewish communities and was one of the factors in Israel's decision not to establish diplomatic relations with Croatia, although it did recognize its independence.

Another very important factor behind this decision was Tudjman's claim in his book *Wastelands of Historical Reality* that the Jews had intentionally exaggerated the number of the victims of the Holocaust from 1 million to 6 million and that the Jasenovac concentration camp had in fact been run by Jewish inmates. It was only after Tudjman took out these offensive passages (from the English edition of his book) that Israel finally agreed to establish diplomatic relations with Croatia in the summer of 1997. Apparently, one of the considerations involved in the Israeli government's change of heart was an extremely large deal to sell a million U.S. dollars' worth of arms to Croatia, a fact that I considered shameful and a betrayal of the victims of the Holocaust. This prompted me to write to Foreign Minister David Levy, urging the government to reconsider. Among my arguments was the shocking revelation that while Tudjman had removed the offensive passages from the English edition of his magnum opus, he had failed to do so in the Croatian edition as well as in the French and German editions, which clearly indicated his lack of sincerity in this matter. "Imagine," I wrote to Levy, "how embarrassing it will be for Israel and the entire Jewish world if Tudjman comes to Yad Vashem without having completely repudiated his comments casting doubt on the scope of the Holocaust and unequivocally admitting that what he wrote was factually incorrect and totally misleading."²

While our protest, which had considerable support from Israeli public opinion, did not stop Israel from establishing diplomatic relations with Croatia, it did help prevent a visit to Israel by Tudjman, which would normally have taken place shortly after the forging of diplomatic

ties between Croatia and the Jewish state. This issue did not end here, and time and again I found myself marshaling whatever influence I could in Israel to ensure that the protofascist and Holocaust-denier Tudjman never actually set foot in Jerusalem. And at least in this respect, we won a resounding victory.

OUR SUCCESS IN preventing President Tudjman from visiting Israel was not the only victory that we can claim in Croatia. Even more important was our campaign to facilitate the prosecution of Dinko Šakić, who by the winter of 1998, we now knew, was living somewhere in Argentina (contrary to previous media reports that he had returned to Croatia). Our first step was to look for survivors of the Jasenovac camp in Israel. With the help of Sarajevo survivor Miriam Aviezer, we obtained a list of all the Israelis who had survived Jasenovac and also turned to the Yugoslav authorities through their ambassador in Tel Aviv, Mirko Stefanovic, to consider seeking Šakić's extradition to stand trial in Belgrade for his heinous crimes.

In the meantime, my colleague Sergio Widder, the director of our Buenos Aires office, was working with a local journalist named Jorge Camarasa to trace Šakić's current whereabouts. At the same time, in preparation for Šakić's exposure, I helped arrange for Camarasa to meet in Belgrade with survivors of Jasenovac. They shared their horrific experiences in the camp as well as their recollections of Šakić with the Argentinean journalist, preparing him for his encounter with the Ustasha Nazi criminal. In early April 1998, that critical information was obtained, and Šakić was found living in the seaside resort town of Santa Teresita, slightly less than 300 kilometers south of Buenos Aires on the Atlantic Ocean. Camarasa went to Šakić's house, accompanied by a television crew, without any prior notification, and the conversation recorded by the cameras of Argentinean television went something like this:

CAMARASA (to the person answering the door): Are you Dinko Šakić?

ŠAKIĆ: Yes.

CAMARASA: I believe that you were the commandant of the Jasenovac concentration camp in Croatia. Can I ask you a few questions?

- ŠAKIĆ: By all means, come in.
- CAMARASA: (seated in Šakić's living room) Mr. Šakić, as a person who served as *commandant* of the Jasenovac concentration camp, how do you explain the terrible things that took place there?
- ŠAKIĆ: Jasenovac was a penal colony and all the people incarcerated there deserved to be there. It was actually a work camp where the Jews managed themselves. We never laid a hand on any of the prisoners in the camp.
- CAMARASA: But how do you explain the cruel atrocities which took place there, the terror, the executions?
- ŠAKIĆ: The people died a natural death. There was a typhus epidemic, for example, but there were no cremation ovens that killed anybody. I think that you are the one who does not understand. The real problem with Jasenovac was that we were not able to finish the job. I sleep like a baby. If I were offered the same post today, I would accept it.

This shocking exchange, which was filmed and broadcast on April 6, 1998, on the Channel 13 evening news in Argentina, along with an interview with me from Jerusalem, in a sense marked the public "breaking" of the story.

Once that happened, I went into high gear in order to try to make sure that Šakić would indeed "face the music." In that respect, exposing him publicly was a big risk since in theory, once revealed, he could try to flee, but I felt fairly certain that we had no real choice. The only way we could convince both the Argentineans and the Croatians to take the necessary steps in this case was to create a public scandal, which was exactly what happened. The interview with a totally unrepentant Šakić was shown together with footage on Jasenovac and interviews with survivors of the camp, whose testimony on the horrible conditions, barbaric executions, and the cruelty of the Ustasha camp personnel all made an enormous impression on the viewers and reinforced my call for the former commandant to be prosecuted for his crimes.

Yet as shocking as the initial broadcast was, a trial was a relatively remote possibility at this point, since Šakić obviously could not be prosecuted for his crimes in Argentina, which had no legal basis to do so, and it was not clear whether any country would seek his extradition. Our policy always was to give priority to the country in which the criminal committed his crimes. But in this case, the territory of the Jasenovac concentration camp was actually in two different countries (Croatia and the Serbian enclave of Bosnia-Herzegovina), and a third country (Yugoslavia), whose citizens had been murdered there, could in theory also seek his extradition.

As noted earlier, I had already approached the Yugoslavs in this regard, but even though I was almost certain that they would jump at an opportunity to be able to prosecute and punish a commander of Jasenovac, I began to feel very strongly that we would be making a big mistake if we helped facilitate Šakić's extradition to Belgrade. If Šakić was tried in Serbia, such a proceeding would most likely have absolutely no impact in Croatia, the land of the Ustasha and the place where such a trial could fulfill the absolutely vital function of exposing Croatian society to the full scope of Ustasha criminality. If he was prosecuted in Belgrade, Croatians could simply ignore the entire proceeding as Serb propaganda, thereby robbing it of its incredible educational and moral potential.

Given these circumstances, I opted for a far more difficult option, but one that could have a watershed impact: extradition to Croatia, a country with a bloody Holocaust past and a Holocaust-denier president.

On the day following the broadcast of Šakić's interview, I wrote to the ambassadors of Argentina (Vincente Espeche Gil) and Croatia (Dr. Svjetlan Berković), calling upon the government of the former to immediately arrest him and upon the authorities of the latter to seek his extradition in order to prosecute him for his crimes, a step that was "an opportunity not only to achieve a measure of justice for the victims of that infamous concentration camp, but also to honestly confront the painful issue of Croatian participation in the crimes of the Holocaust."³

It did not take long for the Argentineans to take action. On the day of my letter to their ambassador, the minister of the interior, Carlos Corach, asked a federal judge to order Šakić's arrest, based on an order from President Menem in response to our request. But all of a sudden things went wrong. Šakić disappeared before he could be arrested by the Argentinean police. According to his wife, Nada, he had gone to Buenos Aires to seek the assistance of the Croatian embassy. Asked about his wartime role, his wife, who was the sister of the notorious Ustasha commander Vjekoslav (Maks) Luburić, who was responsible for running all the concentration camps in Croatia, replied that Dinko was as innocent as a newborn baby.

Šakić's temporary disappearance did not, however, stop the progress of the case. The Croatians, apparently afraid that Šakić might be extradited to Yugoslavia and awaiting the imminent arrival in Zagreb of Eytan Benstur, the director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, moved quickly to submit their own extradition request. (The Yugoslavs indeed submitted such an extradition request shortly after the Croatians sent theirs to Argentina.)

In the meantime, with the Šakić story making headlines all over the world, more and more information started coming to light regarding Šakić's life and political views. One of the things that emerged very clearly is that while he was virtually unknown outside his homeland, in Croatia it was no secret that he was alive and well in Argentina. In fact, slightly more than three years before we finally exposed him and pressed for his extradition, Šakić gave an extensive interview to the Croatian journal *Magazin*, in which he made the following comments:

1. I regret that we didn't do all that is imputed to us, for had we done that, then today Croatia wouldn't have problems, there wouldn't be people to write lies!
2. Jasenovac was a legal institution based on law, where all those proved to have worked for the destruction of the Croatian state, and who had been dangerous for public order and safety, were interned.
3. There are no states in the world that don't have prisons and camps, and somebody has to perform this thankless duty.

4. For the hundredth time I have to say that there were no mass executions in Jasenovac. Considering the duration and the population of the camp, the death rate was natural and normal; at any time there were 3,000 inmates in the camp.
5. If we shot people, we did it on the basis of the law. I only want to tell you that the legal state and the rule of law was functioning.
6. ... Dr. Franjo Tuđman is, to put it metaphorically, on the top of the cathedral and his horizons are wider and larger. Nobody in Croatia is of his caliber.
7. I am proud of everything I did.
8. If I were offered the same duty today, I would accept it!⁴

One would assume that such outrageous comments would have helped pave the way for his prosecution, but in Tuđman's Croatia, the tendency was to glorify the Ustasha rather than hold them accountable for their crimes.

For this reason, we were the ones who engineered Šakić's arrest in Argentina (he was caught several days after he disappeared) and facilitated his extradition to stand trial in Zagreb, when, in effect, Croatia should have dealt with his case many years previously. According to one media report, President Tuđman himself met with Šakić during his 1994 visit to Argentina, and Šakić visited Zagreb in 1995, at which time he easily could have been arrested. Since he gave an extensive interview at that time regarding his role at Jasenovac, no one can honestly say that they did not know who he was and where he was living.

The simple truth is that Croatia, like practically all the post-Communist, and especially post-Soviet, societies of Eastern Europe, has been extremely reluctant to take legal action against its own unprosecuted suspected Nazi war criminals. And while this is true to a very large extent elsewhere in Europe as well, the situation in Croatia was particularly problematic under the Tuđman regime, which actively tried to glorify the NDH, the quisling satellite state run by the Ustasha.

As it turned out, the decision to prosecute Šakić did not exist in a vacuum. Croatia was extremely anxious to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel, which it considered critical to its main foreign policy objectives of joining NATO and the European Union, and the

prosecution of Šakić was clearly perceived in Zagreb to be part of the price, besides the obligatory acknowledgment of Holocaust guilt and requisite apology for the participation of Croatians in the crimes. The timing and the political circumstances for what turned out to be the most significant trial of a local Nazi war criminal in post-Communist Europe were absolutely perfect.

FOURTEEN

A HISTORIC TRIAL IN THE LAND OF THE USTASHA

WHEN ASKED TO describe my job or how I carry out my work, I usually say that I am one-third detective, one-third historian, and one-third political lobbyist, all of which together combine to constitute a twenty-first-century Nazi hunter. The Šakić case is a perfect example of how I had to use all those skills to complete the job, the first part of which was finished on June 19, 1998, when Šakić was extradited from Argentina to Croatia, less than three months after his television interview was broadcast. He was imprisoned while awaiting trial, and I was really overwhelmed with cautious joy. For the first time, a Nazi was going to be judged in a country of the former Eastern bloc. It was a truly historic moment, but there always was the fear that the trial would not go as we hoped and that the criminal would be either acquitted or spared punishment. My first step, therefore, was to go to Croatia immediately to provide the prosecution with all the documents that I had concerning him.

On the evening of July 4, 1998, I was in Zagreb with my wife, Elisheva. The quarterfinal of the World Cup between Croatia and Germany was being played. Croatians were all glued to their television sets watching this match, which was taking place in Lyons, France.

With each goal, the crowd went so wild with enthusiasm that the earth seemed to tremble. Ninety minutes later, madness gripped an entire country: the Croatians had just won 3–0, qualifying for the semifinal of the World Cup. After the match, I suggested to my friends that we go out to witness the general euphoria. That was a big mistake: While we were walking around, a group of young men—seven, to my memory—came our way. Their arms linked, they were not chanting “We won! We won!” or cheering Davor Šuker, the magnificent striker who had scored the third goal. No, they had a single refrain in their mouths, which was so out of context and so atrocious that I could not believe my ears. These young men were chanting “Din-ko Ša-kić! Din-ko Ša-kić! Din-ko Ša-kić!” They were celebrating the former commandant of Jasenovac, the mass murderer of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and antifascist Croatians. And there I was, on that warm summer’s evening, going for a walk with a *kippa* on my head.

They were glorifying one of the worst figures of the Ustasha regime and they were rapidly headed in my direction. I did not know what to do. I was afraid of being lynched. I removed my *kippa* and was about to put it in my pocket, when I hesitated. Changing my mind, I put it back on my head. I had never taken my *kippa* off and I was not going to do so then. I turned around and headed back to the hotel. Incredulous and horrified, I watched them go by. Why were they giving Šakić this accolade? Doubtless because in their eyes he embodied the Croatian spirit, of which they were so proud that evening. The trial that would soon begin was vitally important for this country.

The debate about Šakić would overwhelm Croatia more than any other that had occurred since independence, highlighting the profound division that still existed between fascists and antifascists. It would also allow Croatian society to learn the painful truth about the atrocities committed by the Ustasha during the World War II.

Innumerable articles in the press—often far from complimentary—were devoted to me. I met numerous personalities—religious (the archbishop of Zagreb, Josip Bozanić; the chief rabbi, Kotel Dadon), diplomatic (the American consul), and political (the Croatian ministers of foreign affairs and of justice)—but not Tadjman. I was often asked

the question, "Why won't you meet the president?" Each time, I gave the same reply: "I have respect for his behavior during the war. But he has, as head of state, denied the Holocaust. I want nothing to do with people like him. And if I am asked whether or not he should visit Israel, I oppose it."

THE TRIAL OPENED in Zagreb on March 4, 1999. I arrived there the day before. In the courtroom, I stared at Šakić. Sometimes one can discern in someone's features, in their expression and bearing, the traces of the horrors they committed long ago. This was not the case with Šakić. This man was a monster, and yet it did not show. He looked like any other old man, an elderly average Joe. The atrocities of the Holocaust were committed by ordinary people. That is one of the mad elements that characterizes it. It is why, when Allan A. Ryan Jr., the former director of the OSI, wrote a book on the hunting of Nazi criminals, he entitled it *Quiet Neighbors*.

On the opening day of the trial, I had succeeded in getting an Israeli diplomat to come to the trial, to emphasize Israel's interest and concern. Representatives of the Croatian Jewish community were beside us. It was a historic day, the realization of so much effort, of so many hours spent searching for him and researching his crimes, of setting a trap into which he had stupidly fallen, and, above all, of helping convince Argentina and Croatia to cooperate and carry out his extradition.

There was, however, an initial delay. As could be expected, Šakić tried to inspire pity. It is incredible how these old Nazis always try to present themselves as sick and frail as possible as soon as they face trial. Pronounced too ill to appear before the court, Šakić obtained a suspension of the hearing until March 15, 1999. Once the trial began, however, the proceedings were transformed into a veritable history lesson, as the procession of survivors on the witness stand described in detail the horrors perpetrated in the camp. The charges related to the murders committed in Jasenovac under Šakić's command. He was charged with crimes against humanity but not with genocide, which was probably a political decision, perhaps to appease pro-Ustasha

elements, but which had no practical impact on the trial. Šakić pleaded not guilty, expecting his country's judicial system to give him favorable treatment.

THE TRIAL WAS punctuated by revealing incidents. One day, at the end of the afternoon session, the judge went into a corner of the room to talk to someone while Šakić, flanked by two policemen, prepared to return to prison. As he did every day, the defendant turned toward his supporters to look at them. When they saw that the judge had his back turned, they gave Šakić a fascist Ustasha salute (very similar to a Nazi salute with an outstretched arm), before my very eyes and in the middle of the courtroom.

Another remarkable moment in the trial, which I personally witnessed, was when Yaacov Finci, who refused to be photographed during his testimony for fear of possible reprisals, recounted how he had been arrested by the Ustasha during a roundup and deported to Jasenovac with several other Jewish teenagers from Sarajevo. Several days after their arrival in the camp, the boys were forced to gather up the bodies of prisoners who had been mutilated and killed by the Ustasha and to throw their remains into the Sava River. An appalled Finci, who had not yet totally grasped the laws of the concentration camp world, went up to a guard and dared ask him why they were being forced to carry out such an atrocious task. Finci reported the guard's reply: "Because you killed Jesus!"

Hearing Finci say these words on the witness stand, Šakić burst out laughing. He laughed a lot during the trial, as he listened to testimonies, each one more horrible than the last. At this latest outburst, Judge Dražen Tripalo was forced to call him sharply to order. After that incident Šakić did not laugh again but maintained an almost permanent sardonic smile on his face. It was only toward the end of the hearings, when the judge spoke of Šakić's 55 years of marriage to his wife, Nada, with whom Šakić had fallen in love in the camp, that his smile faded. The sadistic director of Jasenovac was overcome by just one thing: his separation, through his 16 months of imprisonment so far, from Nada, another suspected torturer whose committal to trial we would attempt to facilitate.

IN ONE OF the last sessions of the trial, when Šakić was given an opportunity to address the court, he focused primarily on Milan Bulajić, a Serbian historian who had assisted me during the case, and to me: “Behind everything that happened to me are Milan Bulajić, director of the Belgrade Museum of Genocide Victims and Efraim Zuroff, liar and marginal person better known in Croatia than in Israel...”¹

The following day, October 4, the packed courtroom was divided in two: Šakić’s supporters on one side and on the other side we, the Jews, and several other people convinced of the importance of the trial. For several hours, contradictory rumors circulated; the most persistent one was that Šakić would be acquitted, as his lawyer had sought. I was wracked with anxiety.

Finally, Judge Tripalo delivered the judgment. He declared Dinko Šakić, then aged 78, guilty, and sentenced him to the maximum penalty: 20 years in prison. Šakić would pay for murdering at least 2,000 people during the months when he was the head of the camp. The decades that had passed had not attenuated the guilt of the former commanding officer. Šakić burst out laughing and applauded. It was all an act, nothing more. But I couldn’t care less. I was wild with joy. We had succeeded: The man who had headed Jasenovac would end his days in prison.

But we were not able to celebrate our victory for long. The atmosphere around the court was electric. When I left the courtroom, a man accosted me. In impeccable American English, he yelled: “You would have done better to concern yourself with Israeli criminals! And what are you doing about the millions of displaced Palestinians?”

Šakić’s lawyer, Ivan Kern, told the press: “We are going to appeal the verdict and we will stress the fact that in the verdict the exact number of victims was not established, which could mean that there were no victims at all and in this case there was no crime.”² At the same moment, some men knocked into Zoran Pusić, the director of the Croatian Civic Committee for Human Rights, a very important local NGO, who was a strong supporter of our efforts to bring Šakić to justice, and spat in his face before running off. The police intervened.

Another man approached me; this one was friendly. He was tall and well dressed. He introduced himself as the brother of Dr. Mile Bošković, who had been executed by Šakić himself at Jasenovac. This murder, a key element in the prosecution's case, had given rise to one of the most dramatic testimonies of the trial. In September 1944, after two young Jews had attempted to escape, Šakić assembled all the prisoners into the central courtyard and chose men at random. It was clear that these men were going to be executed as punishment for the escape attempt. When he pointed to Bošković, the man explained that he was from Montenegro, where hanging was incompatible with the code of honor. Šakić then got out his revolver and shot him where he stood. Three bullets in the head, in front of everyone.

Mile Bošković's brother looked me straight in the eyes and said: "I have only one word to say to you: thank you." It was an overwhelming, unforgettable moment—one of the most moving of my life. I had fought for so long to ensure that the victims were not forgotten and to obtain justice after their death. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than this simple thank-you. That day, historic for Croatia, was a memorable one for me, too. The journalist Igor Alborghetti, of the popular weekly newsmagazine *Globus*, would later tell me that the Šakić trial had been a watershed event in the history of Croatian democracy, an assessment that I consider to be the highest possible form of compliment from such a knowledgeable observer of local society.

AFTER THE TRIAL, President Tudjman's HDZ (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica) party suffered a first partial defeat at the elections and its government was replaced by a coalition of liberals and social democrats.

Then Stjepan Mesić, one of the foremost antifascist political figures, was elected president in 2000 in place of Tudjman, who had just died. He gave me a warm reception on January 16, 2001, in his presidential palace, before traveling to Israel. That visit demonstrated the extent of the change that had begun in Croatian diplomacy. During his stay in Israel, Mesić gave a public apology, using unambiguous language, for the crimes perpetrated by the Ustasha thereby opening a new chapter in relations between the two countries as well as between Croats and Jews.

Our work in Croatia did not end, however, with Šakić's conviction. I was informed that a street in Split bore the name of Mile Budak, the education minister and also deputy prime minister under the Ustasha. After a visit to Split and much lobbying, we succeeded in getting the street renamed, and a monument in Budak's honor was also later destroyed. I also lobbied to have an annual mass in honor of Ante Pavelić, the head of state of the NDH and the leader of the Ustasha movement, cancelled, another campaign that succeeded.

IN JUNE 2007, Marko Perković, known as Thompson, the most popular Croatian singer, gave a gigantic concert in Maksimir Stadium in Zagreb before of an audience of 50,000. Among the crowd, numerous spectators were wearing Ustasha uniforms and sporting their symbols, and others gave the fascist salute. Two years earlier, Perković, an ultranationalist, had sung a song called "Jasenovac-Stara Gradiška," the name of the women's camp at Jasenovac, which called for all the Serbs to be sent to camps and then killed. My protest to President Mesić set off a wave of complaints by nationalists who defended Perković, claiming that he was simply a Croatian patriot who loved his country and his people.

In response, on July 11, 2007 I published an open letter to the singer in *Globus*, calling upon him to denounce the crimes of the Ustasha and to tell his fans to stop glorifying the killers, that contrary to the opinion of the ultranationalists, one did not have to support the Ustasha to be a loyal patriotic Croatian.³ Perković's failure to respond proved my point about his own unacceptable chauvinistic views, and at his next concert, held in Split on July 27, the police confiscated all Ustasha paraphernalia.

Despite these victories, the struggle for truth continues in Croatia, as was clearly seen in the wake of Dinko Šakić's funeral. Dinko Šakić died in prison on July 20, 2008. His body was dressed in his Ustasha uniform, and during the mass, Vjekoslav Lasić, the priest who had conducted the annual mass in honor of Pavelić, described him as an "example to all Croatians." No official representative of the Croatian state expressed anger at this exhibition or at these indecent declarations. I

therefore asked President Mesić in a public letter to formally condemn the organizers of the ceremony, as well as the pro-Ustasha priest. In a press release, Mesić asked “all the institutions concerned to take the necessary measures to ensure that the burial of Dinko Šakić, shamelessly used to rehabilitate the Ustasha regime, does not undermine the world-wide reputation of Croatia.”⁴ Šakić did not get away with it.

ANNEX 10

Karl Pfeifer, *Croatia – Tadjman and the genesis of Croatian revisionism*, Searchlight Magazine, 2003

<http://www.searchlightmagazine.com/index.php?link=template&story=30>

Croatia - Tudjman and the genesis of Croatian revisionism

On 31 October 2001, President Stipe Mesic of Croatia delivered a speech to the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, which signalled a major change in attitude of his country towards its wartime history.

Mesic said, and it is worth quoting him at length:

"I am speaking of behalf of democratic Croatia, which upholds the traditions of anti-fascist and freedom-loving Croatia from the times of the Second World War. I am speaking of behalf of that Croatia which bows with respect and reverence to the memory of the millions of the victims of the Holocaust ... I am using every opportunity to ask for forgiveness from all those who were harmed by the Croats at any time. Of course, from the Jews in the first place. As President of the Republic of Croatia, I profoundly and sincerely regret the crimes committed against the Jews during the Second World War on the territory of the Quisling entity called the Independent State of Croatia that was neither independent nor Croatian. Just as the majority of the Croatian people knew at the time that their place was with the anti-fascist resistance, also led by a Croat, Marshal Tito, present-day Croatia knows that it can build its future and its relations with other countries only on the basis of firm commitment to democracy and freedom, the foundations of which include the imperishable values of anti-fascism. Over a short period of time, in the struggle for independence and directly thereafter, the tragically misdesigned concept of unity of all Croats resulted, on the one hand, in the denial of the dark pages of our history, and, on the other, in the search for models precisely in such pages."

There can be little doubt that Mesic had his presidential predecessor Franjo Tudjman in mind. The case of Tudjman, the Croat partisan who made a career in the Yugoslav army as a communist, is indeed extraordinary because in the 1960s he converted to Croat nationalism and was imprisoned for several years. As president of the right-wing nationalist HDZ party, he published a book, *The Horrors of War*, in Zagreb in 1989.

By 1993 Tudjman was president of Croatia and his book had been translated into several languages. It is a horrific example of Croat revisionism. In particular, the Ustasha's Independent State of Croatia (NDH) which from 1941 to 1945 incorporated Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, appears in a relatively positive light despite its Nazi basis and the appalling crimes of genocide committed under it.

With regard to Jews, Croatian revisionists such as Tudjman developed a number of theses, either manipulating facts or telling outright lies. Thus, it was true, they said, that the NDH had adopted racial legislation under Nazi pressure, but the legislation had never been implemented; Jasenovac

was not a death camp but a work camp to which only legally convicted opponents of the regime were sent; proportionally the largest number of Jews in all European countries were saved in the NDH and, incredibly, the Ustasha movement was never antisemitic. Liars like Tudjman cast doubt on whether any genocide of Jews had taken place in the NDH at all.

In 1992, the Croatian parliament formed the Commission for Establishing War and Postwar Crimes, which in autumn 1999 presented an utterly scandalous report. After seven and a half years of work this commission managed to establish that only 331 Jews by religion and 293 Jews by nationality had been "victims of war". The report's section on the Jasenovac death camp provides a figure of only 2,238 dead, but lists neither their religion nor their nationality. Significantly, the Croat parliament did not adopt the report.

More objective historians have dealt with these matters in a way that shows greater regard for the truth. They have established that over 30,000 Jews were murdered in the genocide carried out by the NDH between 1941 and 1945 and that only 9,000 Jews survived the war. In other words, 76% and 80% of the Jewish community, in what are today Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina respectively, were murdered.

Tudjman's book pretends to be a rebuttal of the so-called "Jasenovac myth" of the genocidal nature of the Croatian people. He often uses the example of the Jews to support his ridiculous thesis that nations have suffered from, and inflicted genocide on, other nations since time immemorial, and that this is the very destiny of nations. For example he makes a facile comparison between the Holocaust Jews suffered and Israeli violence towards Palestinians, asking, "What does this small step from Nazi fascism to Judeo Nazism teach us?"

The Horrors of War contains about 80 pages on Jews and Jewish matters together with numerous misquotations of sources with which Tudjman was clearly unfamiliar and on the basis of which he drew false conclusions. Tudjman's patently selective choice of data reduces to the barest minimum the number of victims of Croatian Nazism, especially Serbs, with the claim that "in fact only several thousand (probably 3,000-4,000) prisoners of Jasenovac camp were killed, mostly Gypsies, followed by Jews and Serbs, and also Croats".

He also adopts a bizarre "distribution of guilt" approach to minimising the responsibility of the murderous Ustasha and claiming that the Jews, except as Jasenovac victims, were joint culprits in the crimes inflicted upon them. Discussing the conduct of Jews in Jasenovac, Tudjman relies exclusively on the fabricated evidence of three former Jasenovac prisoners who claimed that Jews had held a privileged position in the camp, that the "camp administration was run by Jews [and] they were the inner authority in the camp", that Jewish camp officials had "participated in the killing" and "were greatly responsible for 'selecting' prisoners for 'liquidation', and partly even its implementation ...".

One source of Tudjman's account of the Jews' conduct in the Jasenovac slaughterhouse is *Through Europe Alone during the War (1939-1945)* by the controversial Croat politician and publicist, Ante Ciliga (1898-1992). Ciliga, a renegade communist, was arrested in the Soviet Union under Stalin during the 1930s but was later released because he was an Italian citizen. At that time he was accused of being a Trotskyist. After 1945 he successfully pretended to have remained so, while still maintaining close connections with Croat clerical-fascist circles.

These links were probably formed when Ciliga was held in Jasenovac, where he enjoyed special treatment, had a room to himself and was even allowed to write an anti-communist book. In 1942 he was released and reached Vienna, where he had an eye operation, with the help of Hitler's Gestapo. He then went to the Croat embassy in Berlin and left the city with the last Ustasha diplomats. After the war he found refuge in France, where no one knew about this dark part of his past.

Ciliga was obsessed by Jewish themes. Almost a quarter of his 580-page book on his strange odyssey through war-torn Europe is devoted to Jews and Jewish matters. Tudjman echoes some of Ciliga's views, which were based, so he claims, on observing Jews in the camps of Stara Gradiska and Jasenovac, where Ciliga was incarcerated from December 1941 to December 1942.

Among other things, Tudjman quotes Ciliga to the effect that the Jews in Jasenovac were under the influence of Moses's teaching "that, as the chosen people, they were allowed", so other people envied and hated them, but in fact they are "the unhappiest people on earth ... victims of their own pretensions and those of others" and the authors of their own misfortunes.

"Moses's most extreme commandment ... 'God commands you to exterminate others and take their place because you are the chosen people' is always alive in Jews – it is the root of their 'ruthless and overbearing self-assertiveness' which tells them 'you are killing others to save yourselves and your group'." wrote Ciliga. Thus the Jews in Jasenovac, said Tudjman quoting him, "took the initiative in preparing and provoking not only the individual but also the mass slaughter of non-Jews, communists, partisans and Serbs". Tudjman expressed no reservations when making these and similar claims in the late 1980s, but must surely have given some thought to their patent falsehood and absurdity.

While he refrains from quoting Ciliga's even more fantastic hallucinations, Tudjman omits anything positive Ciliga wrote about the Jews. Finally, he disregards hundreds of testimonies and thousand of documents that demonstrate the solidarity of the great majority of Jewish prisoners with other prisoners, and the "privileged treatment" that ended in the murder of all Jewish prisoners.

It is this part of *The Horrors of War* that provoked the most public indignation. Under pressure from Israel, and American and West European Jewish institutions, Tudjman eventually made a formal apology to the American Jewish B'nai B'rith organisation, carefully expurgating all antisemitic invective from the abridged American edition of his book and reducing it in the most sensitive parts of its fifth Croatian edition.

But these changes do not and cannot mitigate the consequences of Tudjman's revisionism. Many of his followers among Croatian journalists and publicists in the 1990s routinely adopted his views from the first editions of *The Horrors of War*, making abundant use of them in their defence of the Ustasha NDH.

Tudjman's personal responsibility for the promotion of Croatian revisionist historiography has to be placed alongside his even greater responsibility for being the main patron of revisionism in political and public life. Military terminology, the terminology of government documents and the new names given to state institutions were a further sign of continuity with the NDH. Under Tudjman, monuments and memorials (2,964 in all) to fighters killed in National Liberation Struggle of the Second World War and to victims of Ustasha and Nazi terror were destroyed or removed. Streets, army barracks and institutions in various towns were named after Ustasha officials and army commanders. Worse, notorious Ustasha songs became part of public celebrations and other events. Revisionist terminology eventually found its way into lexicographic works, which otherwise had no connection with revisionism, as well as into many other publications.

The situation changed after Tudjman's HDZ party was defeated in the elections on 3 January 2000. Even so, much more effort will be required before the consciousness of real events and relationships, the consciousness of what was really going on, who was on the right side and who was on the wrong side in the Second World War, seeps into and prevails among the Croatian general public.

This article is based on the article "Croatian President apologises for Croatia's Nazi past" and a chapter of Ivo and Slavko Goldstein's book, *Holocaust in Zagreb*, published in English by Voice of the Jewish Communities in Croatia, No 4, Zagreb, winter 2002/2003.

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ANNEX 11

**Viktor Ivančić, *Točka na U*,
Split, 1988, pp. 113-115, 132-133**

VIKTOR IVANČIĆ

TOČKA NA U

SLUČAJ ŠAKIĆ:
ANATOMIJA JEDNOG SKANDALA

Feral Tribune
Split
1998.

Fotografija na koricama
Rino Belan

Viktor Ivančić

Točka na U

Split, 1998

pp. 113-115

a) Carcasses and scavengers

The most succinct answer to the charges of the genocidal nature of the Croatian people, which was elaborated by Franjo Tudjman on 500 pages of his book “Wastelands of Historical Reality”, is: genocide does not always have to be so bad!

This ingenious revelation of the Croatian historian (published in 1990, just before taking off his historian’s house-arrest cloak and jumping into his statesman’s *Mercedes*) was not presented on those 500 pages of a quasi historical mess just in indications, but as something to be read between the lines or grasped from “the overall impression” after having digested the whole work; on the contrary, it was presented most directly as unveiled knowledge, as truth of all truths. This Croatian historian and future statesman claimed that genocide could have its full social meaning and be beneficial to the future of the nation!

“(…) All this successive pogrom-like violence against big foreign ethnic populations numbering even millions of people”, wrote Tudjman in his “Wastelands”, “have always been aimed at “final” solution: removing a foreign – if not an enemy fifth column or some historically separate and disharmonious element from the ethnic/territorial corpus of one’s national being. Seen from this point of view – and this can only account for the incessant repetition of historical events – such violent even genocidal changes that were made also after the end of the Second World War always bring about dual consequences. On the one hand, they inevitably deepen historical discord. (...) On the other hand, they bring about ethnic homogenization of some peoples, leading to more harmony in the national composition of the population and state borders of individual countries, thus also having possible positive impact on developments in the future, in the sense of fewer reasons for fresh violence and pretexts for the outbreak of new conflicts and international friction.” (Franjo Tudjman, “Wastelands of Historical Reality”, Nakladni Zavod Matice Hrvatske, p.163).

- What consequences, after all, “on the other hand”, do genocide or “genocidal changes” *always* bring?
- They *“lead to ethnic homogenization of individual peoples”*.
- And what else?
- *“They lead to more harmony in the national composition of the population and state borders of individual countries.”*
- What could then be the impact of genocide?
- *“It may also have a positive impact.”*
- On what can genocide have a positive impact?
- *“On developments in the future.”*
- In what sense?
- *“In the sense of fewer reasons for fresh violence and pretexts for the outbreak of new conflicts and international friction.”*

This locked historical circle where - like in a perfect ethical trap, genocide is suppressed by genocide – is the gist of Tudjman's scientific position, of his perception of history and the development of human society. This is a vicious circle: where a *prophet's part* is indispensable to enable him to foretell a future way out of this limbo.

The future, of course, lies in the nation state as the ultimate happiness which will secure all preconditions for "positive performances" in the future: the greatest possible "ethnic homogenization" and the greatest possible "harmony in the national composition of the population and state borders". The vulgarized version of Tudjman's theory, if there is anything more vulgar than that, could be summed up as: genocide will take us to a tranquil future! or putting it even more graphically: "from victory to prosperity!" as echoed in his party's slogan after the war operation "Storm" and the expulsion of 200,000 Serbs from Croatia.

pp. 132, 133.

On several occasions, Franjo Tudjman solemnly declared his idea – supported by colourful details and brilliant practical proposals – to erect at Jasenovac a shrine to Croatian reconciliation and to bury the bones of all those fallen for the fulfillment of the dream of a statehood. At the second congress of his party, in October 1993, he rightfully declared this project as an act of courage:

"I was the one who had the courage to propose to you and the HDZ a programme of reconciliation of both Domobrani, Ustashi and Partisans who happened to be locked in a mutual struggle due to historical circumstances stemming from their ideological or national reasons, although most of them were neither fascists nor indoctrinated by communists, and simply fought for Croatandom.

Consequently, let us complete this act of reconciliation by moving to the place where we already have a memorial to the victims of the NDH within that complex, the victims found in the unexplored ravines and transfer them to Jasenovac. Let there rest also the victims of fascism, *as they say* (emphasis added by the author), but also by communists....Let it be a place of honouring all victims, especially those in this homeland war...rather than honouring in any way and serving the purpose of adding fuel to the old quarrels and ancient hatred."

During his only visit to Jasenovac in June 1996, Tudjman announced his Grand Idea in a tone of a seasoned pragmatic: "Like we sorted out all other problems, we are going to sort out the problem of Jasenovac too!" In other words, the outcome was certain, *the problem* would be removed. He was the undisputed ruler over other people's lives and he was on the best way to put his statesman's mark on yet another historical agreement that will turn him into the master of history itself: he would make a pact with the dead.

On je brzo odgovorio sa otvorenošću koja me zaprepastila. 'Nemoj mi o tome govoriti', rekao je, 'jer sam sasvim svjestan što me čeka za moja djela u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Ja ću završiti u paklu, ali ću barem gorjeti zbog Hrvatske.'

Hrvatska državotvorna epopeja, kao motor s unutrašnjim sagorijevanjem, naknadno je zamišljena takvom da ničije bacanje u plamen ne bude uzaludno: važno je samo da ispušni dimovi budu gusti i neprozirni. Ali to *dijeljenje zajedničkog ložišta* ima svoju konkretnu moralnu cijenu.

Moglo bi se reći da je upravo Milan Vuković istinski simbol moralne drame suvremenog hrvatstva. Činjenica da se zatekao na mjestu predsjednika Vrhovnog suda omogućit će mu pogodnost da to proživi i kao privatnu kušnju. Logikom procedure, naime, spis u kojemu se spominju zločini *stanovitog* Dinka Šakića pouzdano će završiti i na njegovome stolu.

Što će učiniti bard nacionalnog pravosuđa? Hoće li primijeniti *pakrački poučak* i čitavu stvar proglasiti "izmišljotinom"? Ili će vrhovni politički autoritet — pod pritiskom "međunarodnih okolnosti" — od njega tražiti drukčiju nezavisnu odluku? Kamo će tada sa svojim "idealima" "hrvatskim motivima"? Ili s onim polugama i leševima koje je proglasio nepostojećim a sada su opet tu?

Uopće, kakav je to osjećaj kad se on, prvoborac revolucionarnog *državotvorstva pod svaku cijenu* i glasnogovornik avetinjske armije hrvatskih mučenika, zatekne u ulozi potencijalnog krvnika, a naspram njega šuti i gleda ga u oči potencijalna hrvatska žrtva, *stanoviti* Dinko Šakić, milijun i četrdeset šest tisuća tristo dvadeset i prvi?

VIII.

SLUČAJ TUĐMAN (1): DOBRI DUH GENOCIDA

ili što se može začeti kada najgori đak u razredu
siluje učiteljicu života

*“Lice (Anđela povijesti) je okrenuto prošlosti. Tamo
gdje mi vidimo lanac zbivanja, on vidi jednu jedinu
katastrofu koja neprekidno gomila razvaline na
razvaline i baca mu ih pred noge.”
(Walter Benjamin: “Iluminacije”)*

a) Strvine i strvinari

Najsažetiji odgovor na optužbe o genocidnosti hrvatskoga naroda — što ga je Franjo Tuđman elaborirao na 500 stranica svoje knjige “Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti” — glasi ovako: genocid nije uvijek tako loš!

To ingeniozno otkriće hrvatskog povjesnika (objavljeno 1990. godine, neposredno uoči skidanja znanstveničkog kućnog haljetka i uskakanja u državnički *mercedes*), nije na tih pet stotina stranica kvazihistoričarskog kupusa ponuđeno u naznakama, kao nešto što ćemo pročitati između redaka ili naslutiti iz “ukupnoga dojma” nakon teškog probavljanja cjelokupnog djela, već je isporučeno u najizravnijoj formi, kao neprijeporno saznanje, kao istina nad istinama. On, hrvatski povjesnik i budući državnik,

tvrdi kako genocid može imati svoj puni društveni smisao i blagotvorno utjecati na budućnost nacije!

"(...) Sva ta izmjenična pogromaška nasilja nad velikim pa i milijunskim mnoštvom ino-etničkog pučanstva", piše Tuđman u "Bespućima", "imala su uvijek za cilj neko 'konačno' rješenje: uklanjanje stranog — ako ne neprijateljski petokolonaškog, a ono zbog nečeg povijesno odvojenog i neusklađenog elementa iz etničko-teritorijalnog korpusa vlastitog nacionalnog bića. Promatrane s tog zreništa — a jedino se u njemu može naći objašnjenje neprestana opetovanja te povijesne pojave — ovakve nasilne, pa i genocidne promjene, kakve su izvršene i po okončanju drugog svjetskog rata, donose uvijek dvostrane posljedice. S jedne strane, neizbježno produbljuju povijesne razdore. (...) S druge strane, dovode do etničke homogenizacije pojedinih naroda, do većeg sklada nacionalnog sastava pučanstva i državnih granica pojedinih zemalja, pa to može imati i pozitivne učinke na kretanja u budućnosti u smislu smanjivanja razloga za nova nasilja i povoda za nove sukobe i međunarodne potrebe." (Franjo Tuđman, "Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti", Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, str. 163)

— Kakve dakle posljedice, "s druge strane", uvijek donose genocidi, odnosno "genocidne promjene"?

— One "dovode do etničke homogenizacije pojedinih naroda"

— I do čega još?

— "do većeg sklada nacionalnog sastava pučanstva i državnih granica pojedinih zemalja"

— Kakve onda učinke genocid može imati?

— "to može imati i pozitivne učinke"

— Na što genocid može imati pozitivne učinke?

— "na kretanja u budućnosti"

— U kojem smislu?

— "u smislu smanjivanja razloga za nova nasilja i povoda za nove sukobe i međunarodne potrebe".

Taj zatvoreni historički krug — u kojemu se, kao u savršenoj etičkoj zamci, genocid genocidom suzbija — predstavlja

sukus znanstveničke pozicije Tuđmanove, njegovog doživljaja povijesti i razvoja ljudskog društva. To je krug iz kojega nema spasa: zato je neophodan *udio proroka* koji će u njemu, u tom bezizlazu, raspoznati budućnost.

Budućnost je, naravno, u nacionalnoj državi kao konačnoj sreći, i to onoj koja je osigurala sve predispozicije za "pozitivne učinke" u futuru: što veću "etničku homogenizaciju" i što veći "sklad nacionalnog sastava pučanstva i državnih granica". Vulgarna verzija Tuđmanove teorije, ako je vulgarniji oblik od njegova izričaja uopće moguć, mogla bi glasiti: S genocidom u mirnu budućnost! Ili još slikovitije: "Iz pobjede u blagostanje!" — kako je glasila izborna parola njegove stranke nakon ratne operacije "Oluja" i izгона dvjesto tisuća Srba iz Hrvatske.

Ono čime se Tuđman u "Bespućima" uistinu bavi jest dakle *osmišljavanje zločina*, čiju pojavu on — u najboljoj maniri povjesnika fatalista — doživljava kao zadano stanje, kao historijsku predodređenost uz "neprestana opetovanja". Predmet njegova znanstveničkog upliva nije istraživanje korijena i nastajanja zla — koje je neizbježno, je li, kao zemlja po kojoj hodamo — već određivanje tome zlu primjerenog razloga i smisla, koji mogu biti pozitivni ili negativni, kako to već odredi naš znanstvenik iz svoje naknadne pozicije, bilježeći činovničkim marom svoje plusse i minuse uz svaki pojedinačan primjer.

To je linija razgraničenja kod koje se naš historik od promatrača pretvara u kreatora, puštajući svoju "znanost" da skakuće po živopisnim predjelima ideologije i njezinih floskula. Ali predložak za njegova "tumačenja" uvijek je neumitna prirodna i povijesna rijeka. Jer stanje nasilja je stanje konstante. Jer:

"Nenasilni oblici povijesnoga života mogli su 'carevati' tek onda kad su imali oslon u nadmoći svoje sile, u zavjetrini sigurnosti." (str. 133)

Radost preživjelih. Potkrala se tek sitna greška u simbolici: u Jasenovcu su masovno ubijani Hrvati, ali manje nego drugi.

“Rečeno nam je da ovo počistimo i dovedemo u funkciju, ali još ne znamo kakva će biti službena namjena prostora.” Tako je prije dvije godine, ne bez zbunjenog kolutanja očima, novinaru govorila upraviteljica Memorijalnog centra u Jasenovcu, u sklopu kojega je smješten i muzej posvećen žrtvama koncentracionog logora. Do danas, “službena namjena prostora” nije određena. Radovi su u fazi čišćenja.

Već pripremljeni operativni planovi o redizajnu Memorijalnog centra u Jasenovcu — o njegovoj prenamjeni u “Muzej svehrvatske pomirbe”, s pridruženim grobištem u koje bi se imale deportirati kosti raseljenih domovinskih mučenika — privremeno su sklonjeni u ladice Ministarstva kulture i Ureda predsjednika Republike. Dogodilo se to nakon što je skandal poprimio međunarodne razmjere i nakon što su pristigla ozbiljna upozorenja — između ostalih i od direktora Muzeja holokausta u Washingtonu — da se “zaustavi suludi pokušaj hrvatskog predsjednika da lopatom falsificira povijest”.

U nekoliko navrata Franjo je Tuđman svečano obnarodovao ideju — potkrijepljenu maštovitim detaljima i blistavim praktičnim prijedlozima — da se u Jasenovcu podigne svetište hrvatskoj pomirbi i pohrane kosti svih koji su pali za ostvarenje državotvornog sna. Na II. općem saboru svoje partije, u listopadu 1993., takav je projekt ispravno proglasio činom hrabrosti:

“Ja sam taj koji je imao hrabrosti da vama, HDZ, predložim takav program pomirbe i domobrana i ustaša i partizana koje je stjecaj povijesnih okolnosti doveo iz idejnih i nacionalnih razloga u međusobnu borbu, iako najveći broj njih nisu bili ni fašisti, ni indoktrinirani komunisti nego su se u toj borbi našli i zbog hrvatstva.

Prema tome, dovršimo to djelo pomirbe na taj način da ćemo baš tu gdje već imamo taj spomenik žrtvama NDH na tom području prenijeti, gdje otkrijemo u tim zapuštenim jamama žrtve, pa ćemo ih prenijeti na područje Jasenovca, neka se tamo nađu i žrtve fašizma *kako kažu* (kurziv V. I.), ali i komunizma... Neka to bude mjesto ođavanja počasti svim žrtvama i posebno u ovom domovinskom ratu... a ne da davanje počasti u bilo kojem smislu služi obnavljanju starih zavađa i starih mržnji."

Za svoga jedinog posjeta Jasenovcu, u lipnju 1996., Tuđman je Veliku Ideju plasirao tonom okorjelog pragmatika: "Kako smo riješili sve druge probleme, tako ćemo riješiti i problem Jasenovca!" Ishod je dakle izvjestan, *problem* će biti otklonjen. On, neprikosnoveni vladar nad živima, na najboljem je putu da udari svoj državnički pečat na još jedan historijski sporazum, koji će ga učiniti gospodrom nad poviješću samom: sklopit će pakt s mrtvima.

Opsesija smrću tako je tipična za društva u kojima život nije na cijeni. Sveobuhvatnost državotvorne ideologije nametnula je potrebu *posthumnoga utvrđivanja identiteta* nacije. Veliki ujedinitelj — nošen sirovom energijom svoga mesijanskog poslanja — definirao je novi identitet hrvatskoga naroda i sada je u taj ogradaeni prostor trebalo uklopiti sve, čak i mrtve, ili naročito mrtve, jer oni su ti koji će biti hrana živima.

Zato dramska situacija ima biti tako biblijski čista: narod koji pronalazi smisao življenja pred grobnicom *svih* svojih palih predaka. Glas mrtvih poziva na nova žrtvovanja. Grobnica mami da na crnom mramoru uklešemo svoje ime. Smrt je konačan izraz ljubavi za domovinu. U smrti smo svi jednaki, naime, svi smo Hrvati.

Dežurni dvorski prozaik Ivan Aralica, jedan od velikana hrvatskoga udvorničtva, prijeteći je pozvao *neuklopljene* da se privedu pameti: "Trebamo se okupiti oko državotvorne

ANNEX 12

Excerpts from Aleksa Crnjaković, Interview with Dinko Ljubomir Šakić, former Commandant of the Jasenovac Concentration Camp: *I did my duty (Obavljao sam svoju dužnost)*, Magazin, Zagreb, 1995

Dinko Šakić, commander of the Jasenovac concentration camp:

I did my duty

(Magazin, Zagreb, February 1995)

[Excerpt]

What was your job at Jasenovac?

DŠ: I supervised the general department. I was deputy to the camp commander. I came in November 1942 and was appointed commander of the Jasenovac camp in 1944. I stayed on until November 1944, whereupon I was transferred to Zagreb to the intelligence centre of the defence forces, as second in command of special operations under General Luburic.

[...]

DŠ: As Dr. Starcevic used to say: "I would not mind if the Croatian state were one hour wide and an hour long only." Today, one can mathematically prove that had it not been for the NDH during the four war years, we would never have had 30 May 1990. **The NDH was the cornerstone upon which today's Croatia was built.** [emphasis added]

DINKO ŠAKIĆ: OBAVLJAO SAM SVOJU DUŽNOST...



Treba li razgovarati sa svjedocima nekog vremena, pa makar ta vremena bila mračna, a sudionici upitni? To smo se pitali i onda kad je razgovor s Dinkom Šakićem, upraviteljem jasenovačkog logora u vrijeme NDH, već bio ugovoren, pa i u trenutku kad je ostarjeli, ali još uvijek dobro držeći, sedamdesetogodišnjak u smedem građanskom odijelu prilazio našem stolu, u argentinskom elitnom hotelu Alvear.

Kad smo ga prvi put vidjeli, sjedio je u jednom uglu, sa suprugom koja je poznatija kao sestra Maksa Luburića nego žena Šakićeva. Doimali su se kao dva potpuno izmisljena bića među svjetinom. Očito, i danas, kao i nekada tamo daleko, Šakićevi imaju i među svojim brojne neprijatelje, ili barem neistomišljenike.

Na licima supružnika nije bilo uznesenosti što se vidi na

Najbliži suradnik i rođak Maksa Luburića, upravitelj logora Jasenovca, čovjek koji je organizirao zamjenu Andrije Hebranga i drugih partizana zatvorenih u tom logoru, Dinko Šakić danas je emigrant u Argentini. Ne kaje se, ništa sebi ne predbacuje, spava mirno. Ne prihvaća tvrdnje o ubojstvima i broju stradalih u Jasenovcu. Bila je to pravna država, kaže Šakić, u kojoj je on samo obavljao svoj posao!

slikama koje smo kasnije dobili od sugovornika. To su ljudi bez domovine. Pa ipak, Dinko Šakić, premda možda usamljen, doimlje se vrlo sigurnim. Nema sumnje, ostao je do kraja svojih dana. Nije bio je i skori izlazak svoje knjige 'S poglavnikom preko Alpa'.

• Vi ste gospodine Šakiću, bili egzekutor?

— Ne, ja sam za vrijeme NDH bio časnik hrvatskih oružanih snaga, pobočnik ge-

nerala Luburića i njegov najpovjerljiviji i najbližiji suradnik, pa i rod jer sam se oženio njegovom sestrom. Kao osoba od posebnog povjerenja uvijek sam bio na raspolaganju i poglavniku.

• Gdje ste se s njim upozнали?

— S generalom Luburićem upoznao sam se 8. veljače 1942. Došao sam iz Zagreba u Jasenovac. Htio sam se uključiti u ustašku postrojbu.

• Koliko ste tada imali godina?



Fotografije Dinka Šakića iz 1943. godine kad je bio upravitelj logora u Jasenovcu

zamjenu zatočenika: tražili smo dva naša dužnosnika, dr. Karla Wagnera i Mirka Vutuća koje su zarobili partizani, a mi smo njima predali dr. Andriju Hebranga, njegovu (kasniju) suprugu Olgu, Seku Podunavac, Mladena Ivekovića, Vladu Lončarića, Pubu Kempfca, Maju Komar i još trinaest zatočenika. Bilo je to 23. rujna 1942. u selu Čaga kod Okučana.

Uoči te zamjene zbila se jedna zanimljiva i dosad neobjavljena epizoda. Bio sam prisutan razgovoru između Luburića i Andrije Hebranga, koji je tekao otprilike ovako:

— Eto, Andrija, odlaziš na slobodu, među svoje. Dosta

— Navršio sam 21 godinu. U Jasenovac sam došao 18. veljače 1942. i bio sam raspoređen u Prvi ustaški obrambeni zdrug. Nadao sam se da će me rasporediti u neku borbenu jedinicu, no stavili su me u administrativni ured. Tamo sam ostao mjesec dana, nakon čega su me premjestili u logor Stara Gradiška gdje sam bio pobočnik zapovjednika logora Mile Orešića.

Odredili su me da vodim

A high-contrast, black and white portrait of a man in a military uniform. He is wearing a peaked cap with a circular emblem on the front. He is looking slightly to the right and has a cigarette in his mouth. The image is heavily stylized with high contrast, making the features appear somewhat graphic and less naturalistic.

prati, mi ne smijemo priznati i pristati na tu tezu. Razumljivo je da nam Srbi podmeću i podvaljuju. Ljudi su se zgražali kada sam svojevremeno rekao da sam ustaša. Jesam i doživotno to ostajem. Pono sam što sam bio obavljao dužnosti koje su bile povjeravane samo najsigurnijima. Ako mi danas kažemo svu istinu o NDH nemamo se čega stidjeti, možemo se samo ponositi jer smo branili hrvatske interese, branili smo državu na čijim temeljima je nastala ova današnja Hrvatska.

— To je bila legalna, na zakonu ustanovljena ustanova u koju su bili upućivani svi oni kojima je bilo dokazano da su radili na rušenju i uništenju hrvatske države i koji su bili opasni za javni red i sigurnost. Jasenovac nije bio nikakav sanatorij, ali nije bio ni mučilište kakvm ga prikazuju Srbi.

To je javno izjavio i jedan član međunarodne komisije Crvenog križa u veljači 1942. nakon posjeta Jasenovcu. Kada sam ja bio zapovjednik, u kolovozu 1944. došla je u logor međunarodna komisija

— Gospodin Bogdan Radica, hrvatski pisac, novinar. Titov »Göbels«, došao je u Sjevernu Ameriku i na Saboru Hrvatskog narodnog vijeća, 7. rujna 1975. u Torontu javno je rekao, pred dvije tisuće svjedoka: »Gospodo, da NDH kojim slučajem nije postojala, mi bi je danas morali izmisliti. Jer danas se ne možemo pozivati na Tomislavovu Hrvatsku, to je preдало, a neprijatelji su nam uvijek govorili da mi nismo kadri živjeti sami, kao država, već uvijek s nekima, ili Mađarima, ili u Austro-Ugarskoj ili u Jugoslaviji.

Dinko Šakić sa suprugom Nadom, Luburićevom sestrom, na Uskra 1945. godine pred kućom na Pantovčaku 94 u Zagrebu, gdje su u to vrijeme stanovali.

► na čijem čelu je bio jedan svjetski Židov, gospodin Schmidlin, delegat švicarskog Crvenog križa u Zagrebu. Zajedno smo tijekom tri, četiri dana obišli Jasenovac, Staru Gradišku i ostala imanja gdje su zatvorenici radili. I on osobno, javno mi je čestitao na uređenju logora i na postupcima prema logorašima, posebna prema njegovim sunarodnjacima Židovima.

Mi nikoga nismo stavljali u logor zbog njegove vjere ili rasne pripadnosti. Tamo da je bio moj otac, a protivnik države Hrvatske, došao bi u logor. Mi nikoga nismo diskriminirali, ni Srbe zbog pravoslavlja, ni Muslimane, ni katolike, ni Židove, samo one koji su bili neprijatelji hrvatske države.

● Različiti su podaci o broju ubijenih u Jasenovcu. Što vi o tome znate?

— Spremam knjigu, iznijet ću točne podatke, samo ono što ja osobno znam. Dokumentirat ću ih. Ali moram potvrditi put reći da u Jasenovcu nije bilo masovnih ubijanja. Prema trajanju logora, prema pučanstvu u njemu, pomor je bio prirodan i normalan: uvijek je u logoru bilo oko 3000 zatvorenika.

Unutarnju upravu imali su sami zatočnici, uglavnom Židovi. Oni su vodili administraciju, od raspodjele hrane do raspodjele posla. Ciliga koji je bio počasni stanovnik Jasenovca pisao je fantazije, ali nakon generalove smrti ipak je rekao nekoliko istina, na primjer, da je Luburić bio zaštitnik Židova.

Mi smo u našim vojnim jedinicama imali dosta hrvatskih Židova koji nisu nosili ustaške uniforme i koji su se borili za Hrvatsku. Nakon rata nastalo je natjecanje tko će više laži i izmišljotina izmisliti o Jasenovcu, tko će iskazati veće brojke.

● Ipak, ubojstva je bilo.

— Ne poričem, ali ni blizu tih izmišljotina. Evo, iznijet ću vam jedan konkretan slučaj, slučaj Mile Boškovića. Bio je ispravni komunist, Crnogorac, jedan među prvima koji je došao iz Beograda u Hrvatsku, da je ognjem i mačem uništava. Dospio je legalnim putem u logor i prema njemu se postavio ljudski i prijateljski, jer je bio Crnogorac, a general Luburić je



Godine 1976. Dinko Šakić živio je u Španjolskoj.

imao posebnu naklonost prema Crnogorcima, ne znam zbog čega, možda zbog svojih veza sa Sekulom Drljevićem i ostalim Crnogorcima koji su dokazivali da je Crna Gora bila prije, za vrijeme turske okupacije, Crvena Hrvatska.

Bošković je streljan u Jasenovcu zbog kriminala: unutarnja logorska uprava pokrala je svoje supatnike, gostili su se kao gavrani a na štetu logora. Krada je otkrivena i glavna logorska uprava osudila ih je na smrt. General Luburić naredio je da se Bošković strelja jer je za Crnogorca najveća uvreda i sramota umrijeti na vješalima. Ja sam izdao nalog za to streljanje. Taj Bošković je prema komunističkim izvorima streljan tri puta: najprije u Zagrebu, onda je renegat hrvatski Antun Miletić rekao da sam ga ja osobno ubio uz riječi: „E, doktore, tebe ću kao klasnog neprijatelja osobno streljati“, i treći autor je napisao da ga je osobno streljao general Luburić.

● No ubijen jest?

— Da, zbog kriminala. Mi smo bili ljudi prema zatocenicima. Oni koji su već bili unutra, nisu nam bili opasni. Ja sam sate i sate proveo razgovarajući s Čilgom i drugim mnogim istaknutim hrvatskim komunistima. Bio sam prisutan razgovoru generala Luburića s dr. Andrijom Hebrangom. Bio je to ljudski razgovor. Ako smo streljali, izvršili smo to po nalogu nadležnog suda, na osnovu zakona. Nije bilo masovnog ubijanja.

● Ali i zakoni mogu biti nepravilni i nemoralni.

— Ja vam samo kažem da je funkcionirala pravna država, puno bolje nego li u Titovoj Jugoslaviji. Pravna država nije bila u sukobu s moralom. Nemamo se čega stidjeti ni odricati.

● Mirno spavate?

— Kao beba. Imam 73 godine i malo mi je osam sati sna. Danas kad bi mi se pružila prilika doći na istu dužnost, prihvatio bih. Ali bilo bi drugačije. Ja sam svojevrmeno javno rekao da sam onda bio

mlad, i da danas o mnogočemu drugačije mislim. Ali nakon svega što smo doživjeli nakon svibnja 1945., i danas, sa svojih sedam desetljeća, kad imam djecu i unuke, ponavljam: isto bih učinio. Žao mi je svakog ljudskog života, ali moram reći da mi je žao što nismo učinili sve ono što nam se pripisuje jer da smo to tada učinili, danas Hrvatska ne bi imala problema, ne bi tko imao pisati izmišljotine.

● Kako to da ste ostali živi?

— Po nalogu generala Luburića napustio sam Hrvatsku 7. svibnja u devet sati iz Draškovićeve ulice, s nalogom da u Austriji budem veza s poglavnikom Pavelićem i hrvatske državne vlade. Otišao sam u Austriju sa šogorom, koji je oženio sestru moje žene, pukovnikom Jakovom Dalom, sućem. Uspostavili smo vezu s poglavnikom kojeg su svi drugi napustili, pripremili smo mu uporište u Koruškoj gdje je došao u pratnji pokojnog Božidara Kavrana i Ive Perčevića. Čuvao sam poglavnika šest mjeseci u Austriji, a nakon toga smo ga preveli preko Alpa u Italiju. Rastali smo se, kasnije smo se sastali ovdje u Buenos Airesu.

● Imate djecu, stidite li se prema njima?

— Stariji sin Ante rodio mi se 10. travnja...

● Kakvu ste to imali vezu s Bogom?

— Vidite da ništa nije slučajno! Poglavnik mu je bio kršten kum. I drugom sinu Tomislavu bio je kum. Bili smo kao obitelj. Luburić je smatran desnom rukom poglavnikovom. Zaista, bili su dva tijela, ali jedna duša, jedna misao kad je riječ o obnovi hrvatske države. General Luburić nije napravio ni jedan korak bez znanja i odobrenja poglavnika. Kasnije su mnogi govorili da je Luburić bio država u državi, da je radio što je htio. To je najobičnija laž. Nitko ne zna bolje od mene između njih dvojice.

Poglavnik nikada nikome u vrijeme NDH nije došao u privatni stan. U mom stanu, na Pantovčaku 94, bio je pet, šest puta. Kada je Luburić doživio avionsku nesreću i dobio potres mozga, poglavnik je dolazio u naš stan i tamo

su pravili restrukturaciju oružanih snaga. Luburić je bio najpovjerljiviji poglavnikov čovjek. Nas dvojica smo tijekom vremena čitali poglavnikove misli, nije trebao reći što treba učiniti, iz razgovora smo to shvatili.

• Niste odgovorili na pitanje: stidite li se pred djecom i unucima?

— Ne, ne stidim se pred djecom. Ponosim se. I oni sa mnom. Imam dva sina, jednu kćerku i četvero unučadi. Stariji sin mi je inženjer, rođen je 1946., mlađi je profesor povijesti, a kćerka je psiholog. Govore perfektno hrvatski, mlađi sin i kćerka već su bili u Zagrebu, a i stariji bi sutra preselio. Moj brat Tomislav direktor je rafinerije u Bosanskom Brodu, sad je izbjeglica, a imao je puno problema zbog mene.

Moja djeca čitaju sve povijesne izvore, i ono što mi pišemo, i ono što neprijatelj piše i svjesni su da drugačije nismo mogli. Često spominjemo i puč Vokić-Lorkovića. Bilo je iluzorno da uspiju. Bili su žrtve jugoslavenske obavještajne službe koja im je podvalila da mogu ući u saveznički tabor.

Kada su pokušali puč, Tito je sjedio sa Churchillom u Caserti i razgovarali su i samo se jednom u dugom razgovoru spomenula riječ „Hrvatska“. Tito je već bio priznat kao saveznik i partner. Čudilo me da Lorković, kao kulturni čovjek, to nije shvatio. Trebao je imati šire političke poglede. Ali kod njega je prevladala ljudska slabost, bolesne ambicije.

• Prema vama, Pavelić nije imao nikakvih grešaka, slabosti...?

— Nije imao nikakvih slabosti, sve do 1956. kada su ga okružili jugoslavenski agenti. Bio je državnik, rodoljub, a nama nije bilo drugog izlaza.

• Smatrate li još uvijek da je Pavelić bio dobar državnik? Da spomenem samo predaju dijela Hrvatske Talijanima... Osim toga, on je ipak bio zlobnik i mi smo ipak ostali bez države.

— Hrvatska je bila u cijelom svom etničkom području, sa Srijemom, sa Bokom Kotorskom, Hercegovinom, koje su tradicionalno uvijek bile hrvatske zemlje. Ni danas ih se nećemo odreći. Ne-

ma spasa i života za Hrvatsku bez BiH i obratno. BiH je umjetna tvorevina koju je napravio Tito da oslabi Hrvatsku i zato je ubijen dr. Andrija Hebrang. Ubijen je i stoga što je znao da Tito nije Hrvat. Nije to bio Joža iz Kumrovc!

• Nego što?!

— Židov iz Odeše. Josip Valter Weiss. Njega je ustoličio drug Staljin. Nikada o tome niste čuli? Pa o tome se godinama govori.

• Nije li se Pavelić mogao drugačije ponašati, bolje odigrati svoju ulogu?

— Nismo mogli bolje. Mi smo bili na pravoj strani, ali Zapad nas nije htio. Ni Engleska, ni Francuska, ni međunarodna masonerija. Naš kardinalni hrvatski grijeh, i danas, je da smo mi Hrvati skoro tijekom 14 stoljeća ostali vjerni Petrovoj stolici, jer kao katolici, unatoč nekih poteza vatikanske politike koja je ponekad išla protiv narodnih interesa. Masoni i dalje misle uništavati hrvatski narod, ekonomski, politički, moralno, pa da nam nametnu svoje planove. Oni bi htjeli obnoviti Jugoslaviju.

• Vi mislite da se povijest može ponoviti, da još jednom izgubimo državu?

— To ne! Ovaj put je nećemo izgubiti jer na čelu te države stoji čovjek koji ima mnogo prednosti, koji je veliki državnik a za vrijeme rata bio je na strani pobjednika. Nema čovjeka u Hrvatskoj njegova kalibra. Mi se danas nalazimo pod Jelačićevim reпом i vidimo samo ono što je oko nas, a dr. Franjo Tuđman je, da slikovito kažem, na vrhu katedrale i njegov je vidik širi i veći. Lako je prigovarati! Mi nećemo izgubiti državu jer ruske snage žele preći granicu ustanovljenu u Jalti. Američki utjecaj je do Drine.

Rusi i Srbi pjevaju da je Bosna srpska i ruska. Mi se Bosne ne smijemo odreći.

• Ali Srbi su protiv Drine!

— Muslimani će prisiliti Srbe da se vrate. Muslimani su etnički Hrvati, htjeli — ne htjeli. Doći će sve na svoje. Hrvatska će osloboditi svoje krajeve, ali doći će do rata između Srbije i Hrvatske, to je neizbježno. Mi se moramo na-

to spremati. Rat u Bosni trajat će najmanje pet, šest godina. To je nova afganistanizacija. Spremaju se ponovo vjerski ratovi: Istok dolazi na zapad. Ali Amerika je otvorila oči, jer prelaze Rusi u njihovu sferu.

lić je mislio da će Maček nešto učiniti. Dao mu je tisuću zlatnika i pratnju ustašku, ali on je uvijek ostao na jugoslavenskoj koncepciji, za razliku od nas koji smo uvijek tražili hrvatsku državu izvan jugoslavenskog okvira.



Šakićev rođak i u emigraciji najbolji prijatelj i suradnik, Luburić se oženio kćerkom bogatog industrijalca, rođenom u Meksiku.

• Što ste radili u Argentini. I prije 30 godina?

— Vodio s prijateljima restorant vjerujući uvijek kako ćemo se vratiti. Godine 1956. nastao je sukob između poglavnika i Luburića, kojega je inscenirala Udba nastojeći razbiti državotvornu emigraciju okupljenu oko njih. Pave-

Prije 30 general Luburić je pružio ruku pomirnicu svojim dojučerašnjim protivnicima, hrvatskim državotvornim komunistima tražeći da se prestane s ideološkim razmiricama, da se uđe u jedna kola, jer je vjerovao da će ustaški i partizanski sinovi obnoviti hrvatsku državu. I bija-

►še tako. Luburić je ostao dvije godine u Hrvatskoj u pasivnom otporu, a kada je bio ranjen prebačen je u Madarsku gdje je ranije živio u emigraciji. Prešao je u Italiju, pa Francusku gdje je operiran i gdje mu je spašena noga. Po zapovijedi poglavnika prešao je u Španjolsku.

● Kako ste se osjećali onoga trenutka kada je Hrvatska priznana?

— Mi koji smo se bavili politikom, odnosno borbom za opstanak hrvatske države i hrvatskog naroda koji je biološki bio ugrožen, na pragu da nestane, znali smo da se to mora jednom dogoditi. Srbi su upotrijebili sve, čak su i perfidno otvorili granice da se hrvatska mladež iseljava, sračunato, samo da Hrvati biološki nestanu, a pomagali su i Pariz, i London i Moskva. Nepravедno smo bili označeni kao nacisti i fašisti, a nismo bili ni jedno ni drugo. NDH je bio jedini saveznik Njemačke koja je javno zabranila osnivanje nacionalsocijalističke radničke partije u Hrvatskoj.

● Je li ikada pokušao atentat na vas?

— Pokušali su. Kada je ubijen general Luburić otišao sam u Španjolsku da sredim prilike jer sam najbolje poznavao njegov rad, bio njegov suradnik, znao španjolski. Ostavio sam dio obitelji i unosan posao i ostao sedam godina.

● Od tada datiraju vaša unosna poznanstva?

— Da, poznao sam mnoge, od generala Franca nadolje. Dobar sam bio s Carerom, predsjednikom Vlade. Bio sam izuzetno dobar s bratićem današnjeg kralja, s princem Alfonsom de Borgoni d'Ampjerom koji je bio oženjen Francovom unukom. On je trebao biti kralj, ali je Franco drugačije odredio.

● Jeste li ikad bili u Hrvatskoj?

— Nisam htio otići, ne radi sebe, radi straha, već da ne bih stvarao probleme predsjedniku. Našao je u mojoj prisutnosti neki mogli iskoristiti tako da predsjedniku nabace na nos kako se zapovjednik Jasenovca, ratni zločinac, šeta po Zagrebu. Ali nađam se da ću početkom slijedeće godine doći i ostati. Vi djet ćemo.

● Jeste li bili na popisu ratnih zločinaca?

— Jesam. Ali ja nikada nisam priznavao odluku tog suđa a ni saveznici nisu prihvatili taj popis. Ja sam uvijek spreman doći i sjesti na optuženičku klupu pred hrvatski narodni sud, da odgovaram za sve što sam pogriješio obavljajući svoju dužnost u obrani moje domovine. Uz jedan uvjet: da su uz mene na optuženičkoj klupi i oni koji su hrvatsku državu rušili. Mi smo je gradili i nemamo se čega stidjeti niti se odricati hrvatske države, dajući Srbima argumente da su imali pravo. Moja je savjest potpuno mirna. Danas ako bi došao u pravdu da opet uzmem oružje u ruku i branim hrvatsku državu učinio bih to, ali drugačije i pametnije.

● Čime se bavite?

— Pišem sjećanja. Izaći će mi knjiga „S poglavnikom preko Alpa“, spremam knjigu o Jasenovcu i knjigu „Operacija Sloboda — Madridski proces“ — oslobađanje Mire Barišića i drugova iz zatvora, proces u Madridu koji je svratio pozornost cijeloga svijeta dvije godine na Hrvat-

sku, što smatram pravom velikom političkom pobjedom Hrvatske protiv Jugoslavije.

● Imate li utjecajne prijatelje u Argentini?

— Imam, pogotovo u vojsci. Član sam Peronističke stranke od 1955. Htjeli su me staviti na listu narodnih zastupnika, ali ja sam odbio, štetilo bi svima. Imam dobre veze u Kongresu, poznam utjecajne senatore. Osobni mi je prijatelj predsjednik komisije za vanjske poslove, puno je učinio na priznanju Hrvatske.

● S povijesne distance biste li ipak nešto promijenili?

— Ništa. Nije bilo pogreška. Odnosno, najviše su griješili oni koji nisu ništa radili. Na žalost, međunarodne okolnosti nam nisu išle na ruku. Maček je mogao nešto učiniti, ali prekršio je Radićevu oporuku i ipak otišao u Beograd. Poglavnik je bio povijesna figura. Ja sam se zalagao i nakon rata za Hrvatsku, pa bila i komunistička, samo da je izvan jugoslaven-skog okvira. Jer, režimi prolaze, nestaju, a država i narod ostaju.

● Na kraju, premda je to trebalo biti na početku: gdje ste rođeni?



Danas Dinko Šakić živi sa suprugom u Argentini, a u Hrvatsku se nikada nije vraćao.

— U Studencima, kraj Imotskog, 8. rujna 1921. ali kad mi je bilo dvije godine roditelji su kupili zemlju i imanje u Bosanskom Brodu i mi smo se preselili. U vrijeme NDH otac mi je bio gradonačelnik Bosanskog Broda, najveće općine tada u Hrvatskoj. Ubili su ga u Mariboru, sin jednog hercegovačkog Srbina, Vaso Guzina, kojega je moj otac protežirao i spasio u vrijeme NDH. Kada je moj otac zarobljen 8. svibnja 1945. taj Vaso komesar upitao je: „Tko ima iz Bosanskog Broda i okolice neka istupi.“ Istupio je moj otac i neki činovnik Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova. Dao ih je odmah streljati.

Majka je preživjela rat, vratila se u Brod, došla je s djecom na ledima, petoro braće i dvije sestre. Brata su 1945. mučili i ubili u zatvoru, osamnaestogodišnjaka, i zaista nije, za razliku od mene, bio upleten u politiku. Bio je običan vojnik, motorist, dočasnik. Zarobili su ga kod Dravograda. Ni mrava ne bi zgazio. Da su mene ubili, razumio bih. Mene su još sa tri-naest godina isključili iz svih škola u bivšoj Jugoslaviji bez prava polaganja privatnih ispita. Već tada sam bio ustaša. Spasio me prijatelj oca, advokat Filip Markotić, narodni zastupnik HSS-a. Prkosio sam, imao sam priljev jezika. Šupirali su me iz Slavonskog u Bosanski Brod gdje sam živio. Provela su me dva žandara, vezanog u lance. Jedan mi je brat u Njemačkoj. Ima dva sina, oba u hrvatskoj vojsci. Jedan mi je brat na Braču, obje sestre žive u Slavonskom Brodu.

● Tvrdokorno ostajete pri starim stavovima, kažete, mirne savjesti?

— Da. Ne samo zato što vjerujem da sam u pravu i da smo dobro činili, već i zato što ne volim ljude koji mijenjaju svoja uvjerenja i svoju ideologiju. Dok su bili na koritu, napadali su svakoga i nitko nije bio za njih dovoljno ustaški nastrojen, a kada ih maknu s korita, tada mijenjaju košulju. Kažem: kada bih bio uvjeren da sam nešto krivo učinio, priznao bih. Svatko može pogriješiti. Najviše griješe oni koji ništa ne čine. ●

Aleksa CRNJAKOVIĆ