

Translating Scientific Texts from Croatian into English

Reiter, Nevio

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Sveučilište u Rijeci

Filozofski Fakultet u Rijeci

Nevio Reiter

Translating Scientific Texts from Croatian into English: Process and Analysis

Diplomski rad

Rijeka, 2024.

Sveučilište u Rijeci

Filozofski Fakultet u Rijeci

Katedra za translatologiju

Nevio Reiter

0009080624

Translating Scientific Texts from Croatian into English: Process and Analysis

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Mentor: dr. sc. Nikola Tutek

Rijeka, 2024.

Authorship statement

I hereby declare that I am the author of this master's thesis and have only used the indicated sources and aids.

Rijeka, 19.09.2024.

Signature _____

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Abstract

In this thesis I shall compare two articles with the same topic, written by the same author. One is an academic article, while the other is an article published in a newspaper. The academic article is titled "Solidarnost i pomoć Židovima u Hrvatskoj", translated as "Solidarity and Aid for the Jews in Croatia". The newspaper article is titled "Spasonosni bijeg u antifašističke odrede: Moj tata je partizan", translated as "Salvage Escape to Anti-fascist Detachments: My Dad is a Partisan!". Author of both texts is Ivo Goldstein, PhD, a Croatian historian. The topic of both texts is the treatment of Jews during the Independent State of Croatia and the circumstances that ensured their survival. The thesis starts with an introduction, providing an overview of translation methods used. Following are the two sections discussing how academic and newspaper articles should be translated, as well as some specificities for translating articles on the topic of the Holocaust. The next four chapters provide the academic and the newspaper article and their translations. Following is the analysis that provides a general overview of the articles and their translations, as well as a somewhat detailed analysis of difficulties that have arisen during the translation process. Finally, the conclusion provides a concise overview of the thesis, and the conclusions reached.

Key words: translation, translation of academic articles, translation of newspaper articles

1. Introduction

In this thesis, I am translating an academic article and a newspaper article on the same topic, written by the same author. The topic of both articles is the treatment of Jews during the Independent State of Croatia and the circumstances that ensured their survival. The academic article was published in 2004, and the newspaper article was published in 2018. The purpose of the academic article chosen in this thesis is to be read by an academic audience, while the newspaper article chosen for this thesis is to be read by the general public.

According to Merriam-Webster, translation is an act, process, or instance of translating: such as rendering from one language into another¹. Throughout the years, there have been numerous theories that aim to provide the best way to achieve a quality translation. Sometimes it is difficult to opt for the most applicable translation method. In my opinion, the best translation method for the articles in this thesis, is the skopos method, proposed by Hans Vermeer in the German Journal *Lebende Sprachen* from 1978. In Skopos theory, the purpose of translation is the main factor of guiding the translation process².

Considering the cultural background of the intended reader is quintessential for many types of translational processes. According to *The Translation Studies Reader*, source text is usually composed originally for a situation in the source culture; hence its status as “source text”, and hence the role of the translator in the process of intercultural communication. This remains true of a source text which has been composed specifically with transcultural communication in mind.³ The two articles translated in this thesis deal with a certain part of Croatian history; the readers of both articles in the source language are either academics, laymen, or both. Both groups ought to be familiar with the culture and the history of Croatia. The newspaper article, however, was most likely not meant to be translated, therefore it was not written with having a certain audience from a different culture in mind. It is then up to the translator to bridge the intercultural gap between the source language and the translation.

¹ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/translation>

² Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, 221

³ Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, 222

2.1. Academic article

As with all translations, when translating an academic article, it is crucial that translators produce a good and acceptable translation product that presents the authentic ideas of the source language in the target language.⁴ One of the main elements that influence a translation is the target audience, regardless of the type of translation. This being an academic article, there is no need to simplify or to make the text easier to read for the general public. The article is written by an academic for an academic audience. It is thus presumed that the person reading the article is familiar with the topics and the terminology used. When referring to the terminology, I refer to the terminology used by the academics in the field of history and Holocaust studies. The terminology also relates to some specific terms related to the period of the Independent State of Croatia. Terms like NDH, Ustaše, Poglavnik etc., are familiar to the academics in this field; it is not necessary to translate such terms.

According to Sven Dupré, translation is the process by which science and knowledge are transferred from one place to another, more often than not being altered in the process⁵. Since the two articles translated in this thesis are on the topic of the Holocaust, the strong *altering* could bring about the distortion of the Holocaust. What can aid in the correct translation, is the thorough understanding of the ideas written in the source language text. The comprehensive understanding can thus greatly lessen the possibility of the distortion of the Holocaust. There is no need to elaborate in detail how important it is to avoid the distortion of the Holocaust, nor is this thesis written with this in mind. Incidentally, Ivo Goldstein, the author of the articles translated in this work is, unfortunately, no stranger to being a victim of misquotation, resulting in distortion of the Holocaust.⁶

⁴ Dupré, *Introduction: Science and Practices of Translation*

⁵ Dupré, *Introduction: Science and Practices of Translation*

⁶ Kralj, *Kjerte Nepodnošljiva lakoća distorzije Holokausta i genocida u hrvatskom javnom prostoru*

2.2. Newspaper article

According to Eutortrad, journalistic translation involves the broadcasting of news and information through online, print, or other media outlets in markets outside the original language of publication. Its purpose is to make texts accessible to readers in the target language without omitting information included in the original text.⁷ For the newspaper article translated in this thesis, as with the academic article, omitting information can have consequences in form of the distortion of the Holocaust.

One of the methods often used in translation of newspaper articles is transediting. Transediting involves reorganising information, adding additional information, deleting passages which are not considered relevant for the new target audience, condensing others, introducing titling elements, etc., based on material in other languages.⁸ However, I opted not to use this method, because all the elements stated in the definition are important for the newspaper article translated in this thesis. Had it been the case that this newspaper article was to be translated and published, the translator would most likely be in contact with the editor of the newspaper for which the translation is needed. The process of transediting would then be applied.

Unlike most newspaper articles, the newspaper article translated in this thesis does not provide any news of events that had occurred in the near past; the article could be considered a column. Therefore, there is no need to provide a translation as soon as possible, as is the case with most translations of newspaper articles. The translator can work within the timeframe agreed with the editor, meaning the quality of the translation should be better than a translation made within a short time frame.

⁷ See Eurotrad, *Journalistic translation: what it is and who to rely on*

⁸ Hernández Guerrero, *Translation in New Forms of Journalism*, 75

Solidarnost i pomoć Židovima u Hrvatskoj

Članak problematizira pitanje solidarnosti stanovništva sa Židovima u razdoblju Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Početkom travnja 1941. Reich i Italija, zajedno sa svojim saveznicima, napali su i okupirali Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju. Na teritoriju Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine 10. travnja stvorena je Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (NDH) pod vlašću pronacističkog pokreta ustaša pod vodstvom Ante Pavelića. Velik dio teritorija uz istočnu obalu Jadrana anektirala je ili okupirala Italija, a neke najsjevernije dijelove zemlje Mađarska. Ideološka bliskost i vojno-politička suradnja ustaških vlasti s njemačkim nacistima i talijanskim fašistima očitovala se, između ostaloga, i u progonu i masovnom ubijanju Židova.

Prije rata je na teritoriju NDH živjelo oko 39.000 Židova, a samo 9.000 je preživjelo rat. Podaci za pojedina područja su približno jednaki: od 14.000 Židova u Bosni i Hercegovini preživjelo je samo 4.000, tj. gotovo 30%; od 25.000 Židova u Hrvatskoj spašeno je samo 5.000, tj. oko 20%.

Ustaše su tijekom rata poubijali oko 24.000 hrvatskih i bosanskohercegovačkih židova oba spola i svih uzrasta, a 1942. i 1943. pohapsili i izručili daljnjih 6.000 njemačkim SS-ovcima da ih poubijaju u plinskim komorama.

Većina preživjelih, njih oko 5.000, dočekala je oslobođenje na područjima pod vlašću Titovih partizana, a oko 3.000 izbjeglo je u inozemstvo. Nešto manje od tisuću preživjelo je na razne načine u područjima pod ustaškom vlašću. Manjina zahvaljujući njihovoj posebnoj dovitljivosti ili dovitljivosti ljudi iz njihove okoline, većina zauzimanjem Katoličke crkve za poštedu mješovitih brakova i za neke pojedince. Kako su ustaše i nacisti bili vrlo uporni u progonu i ubijanju Židova, da bi se spasio ijedan Židov, mnogi su morali pomoći.

Bilo je i onih koji su time dovodili u opasnost i vlastiti život. Do rujna 2001. "Pravednikom među narodima" proglašeno je 83 građana Hrvatske.¹ Tako je, primjerice, Pavao Horvat, zakupac jednog karlovačkog hotela, aktivno pomagao zagrebačkim Židovima da pobjegnu do Karlovca, skrivao ih u svom hotelu i potom upućivao prema talijanskoj okupacionoj zoni. Time je spasio život nekolicini zagrebačkih židovskih obitelji. Horvat je kasnije uhapšen i do kraja rata interniran u Dachau. Proglašen je za "Pravednika" 1965. godine. Bilo je onih koji su pomagali na druge načine: predsjednik zagrebačke židovske općine Hugo Kon i zagrebački rabin Miroslav Freiburger početkom 1943. godine, koji mjesec prije deportacija, pismom zahvaljuju dr. Ivi Šaleku, asistentu Klinike sveučilišta, koji je pomagao štíćenicima židovskog doma staraca u Zagrebu, "opetovano i nesebično... odklonivši svaku nagradu".²

Slijedeći primjer nacista od kojih su često primali instrukcije, ustaše su svojim planovima za ubijanje Srba dodali i još oštrije mjere protiv Židova. Sve je to planirano unaprijed i sličilo je njemačkim planovima jer se sastojalo od tri faze: ekskomunikacije, koncentracije i eksterminacije.

Već nekoliko dana po uspostavi NDH počela je snažna protužidovska propagandna kampanja, 30. travnja objavljena je "Zakonska odredba o zaštiti arijske krvi i časti hrvatskog naroda" koje su zabranile brakove između Židova ili drugih osoba "nearijskoga" porijekla s osobama "arijskoga" porijekla. Svi Židovi iznad 6 godina starosti su u javnosti morali nositi žuti znak, a kretanje im je bilo ograničeno.

U lipnju je "Zakonskom odredbom o zaštiti narodne i arijske kulture hrvatskog naroda" zabranjeno Židovima "sudjelovanje u radu, organizacijama i ustanovama društvenog, omladinskog, športskog i kulturnog života hrvatskog naroda uopće, a napose u književnosti, novinarstvu, likovnoj i glazbenoj umjetnosti, urbanizmu, kazalištu i filmu".

Gotovo od samoga osnutka ustaške države vlasti su bacile oko na židovsku imovinu. Tako su donesene posebne "zakonske odredbe" po kojima je židovska pokretna i nepokretna imovina proglašena "državnim vlasništvom". Drugim riječima, omogućena je pljačka u ime države. Međutim, u praksi, događala se i mnogo otvorenija pljačka.

¹ Prema podacima u biblioteci Židovske općine u Zagrebu (=ŽOZ); vidi i poimenični popis prvih 43 Pravednika, Bilten ŽOZ 38/1995.

² Jevrejski historijski muzej u Beogradu (=JIM), fond ŽOZ, bez reg. br. i sign.

Hapšenja Židova su počela već u prvim danima ustaške vlasti. U početku su uzimali samo pojedince, istaknute i utjecajne članove židovske zajednice. U svibnju su organizirana hapšenja manjih razmjera, a potkraj lipnja i u prvim danima srpnja 1941. pohapšeno je oko 2500 hrvatskih i otprilike isto toliko bosanskohercegovačkih Židova.³

Tridesetih je godina postojala u Hrvatskoj bučna manjina koja je jasno izražavala svoj antisemitizam. Imala je podršku u manjem dijelu građanstva, u jednom dijelu radništva i obrtništva te u nekim crkvenim krugovima. U građanskom sloju prevladavali su oni koji su odbacivali antisemitizam kao teoriju i praksu pa su se s vremena na vrijeme i javno o tome izjašnjavali. Do širokih slojeva, neusporedivo najbrojnijih, intelektualističke diskusije o antimisemitizmu očigledno nisu ni dopirale. Ipak, oni nisu bili indiferentni prema problemu. Na njihovoj razini svakodnevne prakse miješali su se, izgleda, vrlo raznorodni osjećaji: vjerska i nacionalna različitost, te opreka prema židovskim trgovcima poticale su kod njih odbojnost prema Židovima, dok su s druge strane tradicionalna multikulturalnost i multietničnost na širem hrvatskom prostoru i snošljivost koja se na taj način razvija poticali na suradnju.⁴ Zbog svega toga, kao i zbog tradicionalnog konformizma i straha, priličan broj ljudi u Hrvatskoj koji su se, barem u prvo vrijeme, držali maksime "ništa ne znam, ništa ne vidim", iako su im se progoni i deportacije Židova događali pred očima.⁵

Kada je 1941. počeo ustaški genocid nad Židovima i drugima, neki su Hrvati u tome spremno sudjelovali, ali i to da je velik dio Hrvata aktivno ili pasivno pružio otpor takvim postupcima. "Neki Zagrepčani su... dočekali Nijemce buketima cvijeća i narančama", ali se "Ljubo Majer, koji je uvijek bio i do danas ostao veliki Hrvat, rasplakao", priča Vlado Prašek i potom ističe: "To veliko oduševljenje na ulicama brzo je splasnulo kad su se pojavili prvi plakati o strijeljanim i obješenim protivnicima i nedužnim taocima".⁶ Valja imati na umu da je većina Hrvata sa zadovoljstvom je dočekala brzi kraj travanjskog rata 1941. i proglašenje nezavisne hrvatske države, ali da su se, zbog raznih razloga, vrlo brzo mnogi i razočarali.

Kao i svuda u Evropi, primjer i poticaj progonima i ubijanju Židova u Hrvatskoj i u Zagrebu bila je politika Trećeg Reicha, koja je na NDH imala presudni utjecaj i o kojoj je NDH bila životno ovisna.

³ I. Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, Zagreb 2001, na raznim mj.

⁴ O tome, S. Goldstein, *Iskustva Holokausta u Hrvatskoj*, Bilten ŽOZ 28-9/1993, 4-5.

⁵ Svjedočenje prof. dr. Stjepana Steinera.

⁶ B. Prašek-Calczyfiska, *Memoari jedne liječnice*, Zagreb 1997, 144.

Nacisti su doveli na vlast grupu za koju su znali da će im po ideologiji i praksi biti vrlo slična. Da je, primjerice, na vlast došla dotad vladajuća Hrvatska seljačka stranka, kako su neki željeli i planirali, progona Židova ili ne bi bilo ili bi ih nacisti morali nasilno sami organizirati, jer je vođa HSS-a Vladko Maček po nacističkoj okupaciji odbio ne samo preuzeti vlast, nego uopće i surađivati s nacistima.⁷ Međutim, domaće je stanovništvo u odnosu na ta zbivanja bilo oštrije diferencirano negoli u većini drugih zemalja pod okupacijom ili utjecajem nacističke Njemačke: bilo je relativno više domaćih sudionika u zločinu i relativno još više domaćeg otpora zločincima.

Visoki ustaški dužnosnici, poput ministra unutarnjih poslova Andrije Artukovića i šefa policije Eugena Dide Kvaternika, nisu bili sami u organizaciji ubijanja - "svijesni i proračunati upravljači i autori koljačkog plana bili su sam Pavelić i najintimniji krug oko njega... potom su slijedili rukovodioci na terenu kao što je bio Maks Luburić..., dok su brojni izvršitelji koljači često bili nesvjesno oruđe pravih krivaca, zaslijepljeni rasnim i drugim teorijama".⁸ S druge strane, ni istaknuti partizani, poput Slavka Komara i Ivana Šibla, nisu sami odlazili u gerilu i borili se protiv ustaša, nacista i fašista. Jedan od najistaknutijih hrvatskih književnika Vladimir Nazor (1876-1949) koji je u partizane otišao potkraj 1942, u veljači 1944. na pitanje "zašto sam otišao u partizane?" odgovorio je da ga je "potaklo nečovječno proganjanje i istrebljivanje Židova, koji su ljudi kao i mi, a - što je najglavnije - potaklo me zlostavljanje i klanje Srba, koji su nam po krvi braća i s kojima skupa živimo ima već toliko vjekova".⁹

Ustaški pokret u hrvatskom narodu nije predstavljao većinu, a nisu ni svi ustaše sudjelovali u antisemitskoj propagandi ni u drugim protužidovskim aktivnostima. Ipak je neupitno da su počinitelji zločina nad Židovima pripadali ustaškom pokretu i da je taj pokret bio nositelj svih genocidnih radnji u NDH. Počinitelji zločina bili su, također, u najmanju ruku neizravno pod utjecajem prijeratnih antisemitskih ispada i tradicionalnih antisemitskih teza koje su se u Hrvatskoj pojavljivale s manjom ili većom učestalošću i snagom. Donošenjem protužidovskih uredbi Židovi su postali građani drugoga reda, izvan svake zaštite i zakona, izloženi svakoj vrsti samovolje i

⁷ Goldstein, Croatia. *A History*, London-Montreal, 1999, 131 ff.; L. Steindorff, Kroatien, Regensburg — München 2001, 173 ff.

⁸ Hrvatski državni arhiv (=HDA), fond MUP SRH, 013.0.3, Dizdar, Ustaštvo i NDH, 55; vidi, slično, HDA, fond MUP SRH, 013.0.56, V. Židovec, Moje sudjelovanje u političkom životu, 138

⁹ Jevrejski pregled (=JP), Beograd, 1966/7-8.

progona. Kada su počela masovna hapšenja, još više negoli ranije bila je im je potrebna solidarnost i pomoć.

Budući da su se mnogi pojedinci i skupine Hrvata zalagali za spas pojedinih Židova i njihovih obitelji, to je već 15. svibnja Redarstveno ravnateljstvo uputilo dopis Odvjetničkoj komori u kojem se "zabranjuje odvjetnicima intervenirati u političkim stvarima, naročito za Židove. Svi oni, koji se toga ne će držati, bit će pozvani na odgovornost i snosit će teške posljedice."¹⁰ No, izgleda da to nije imalo naročitog efekta, pa je osobno Pavelić u izjavi za novine 27. lipnja zabranio bilo kome "da (se) u vezi s 'Izvanrednom zakonskom odredbom i zapovijedi' od 26. lipnja... u svojim osobnim stvarima, koje imaju značaj intervencije, obraća Glavnom Ustaškom Stanu, jer ni u kojem slučaju ne će biti saslušan".¹¹ Tih su dana novine vrvile takvim vijestima: list *Ustaša* početkom srpnja pod naslovom *Dosta s intervencuama!* obavještava da "Glavni Ustaški Stan u vezi sa Poglavnikovom odredbom, upozorava sve ustaške dužnosnike, da se svaka intervencija u osobnim stvarima kažnjava smrću. Ustaše su dužni takovu rabotu svim silama spriječiti i jedamput za uvijek zatvoriti vrata ureda onima, koji ne rade ništa drugo već usprkos zakona i odredaba obilaze urede i 'interveniraju' sad za židova, sad za vlahu, sad za strica, sad za ujca."¹² Ovakve drastične, a istodobno i nervozno ponavljane prijetnje pokazuju da je intervencija bilo i da se, zapravo, zbog korupcije ili osobnih poznanstava vjerojatno i nisu mogle spriječiti. To su znali i molioći, koji su se u mnogo slučajeva obraćali izravno Paveliću, kako bi ishodili nešto za što su smatrali da redovitim procedurom ne mogu dobiti. U sačuvanim spisima u većini slučajeva poglavnik ili njegov Ured ne ostavljaju nikakav trag, nego ih prosljeđuju nižim instancama, očigledno u pravilu samo uz usmenu preporuku.¹³ Ali i od toga ima iznimaka: sam je Pavelić, naime, u rujnu 1941. dao Zagrepčanki Eleonori Feldmann (1923) "i njezinim zakonitim potomcima sva prava koja pripadaju osobama arijskog poriekla".¹⁴

Naravno, bilo je u ustaškoj vlasti mnogo onih koji su pravili ustupke pojedinim Židovima, jer je NDH bila klijentelistička država u kojoj su osobne veze i novac i kod visokih dužnosnika i kod samoga poglavnika Pavelića često bili presudni. Obitelj liječnika Oskara Sterna i njegova tasta

¹⁰ *Novi list*, 18, Zagreb, 16. 5. 1941.

¹¹ *Novi list*, 60, Zagreb, 28. 6. 1941.

¹² *Ustaša*, 3, Zagreb, 3. 7. 1941.

¹³ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28184, 28185, 28189, 28252.

¹⁴ HDA, fond Poglavnikov vojni ured, bb.

bankara Sigmunda Pordesa te obitelj liječnika Milana Schwartza (oca Emilova, koji je u Izraelu uzeo ime Ariel Shomrony) štitio je osobno maršal Slavko Kvaternik, koji je bio vjenčani kum Sternovih u sinagogi u Zagrebu 1930. godine. Kada je Kvaternik pao 1942. u Pavelićevu nemilost, obje su obitelji morale bježati.¹⁵

Birokracija u NDH vrlo je pedantno tražila, potom i arhivirala svaku molbu Židova da ih se oslobodi nošenja znaka, dozvoli boravak na javnim mjestima i slično. Također su arhivirane i molbe drugih osoba koje su im željele pomoći.

Pošto je 30. travnja donesena *Zakonska odredba o zaštiti arijske krvi i Časti hrvatskog naroda*, kojom se zabranjivalo sklapanje braka između Židova i drugih osoba "nearijskog" porijekla s osobama "arijskog" porijekla, uslijedile su brojne molbe. Naime, moglo se, sukladno 2. točki, tražiti "posebnu dozvolu za sklapanje braka" koju je moglo izdati "ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova po saslušanju rasnopolitičkog povjerenstva", ali je broj takvih slučajeva koji je dospio u proceduru ustaške administracije bio relativno malen i redovito je rješavan negativno.¹⁶ Franjo Krajcar (1914), bravarski pomoćnik, tvrdi da se s Editom Schwabenitz (1924) "upoznao još pred dvije godine, te smo se vremenom toliko zavoljeli, da ne možemo jedno bez drugoga biti, pa smo odlučili da stupimo u svetu bračnu vezu te da se vjenčamo po obredu rimokatoličke vjere". Stoga su u kolovozu 1941. podnijeli molbu za dozvolu sklapanja braka. Molbu je podržao Branko Rukavina, povjerenik u Glavnom ustaškom stanu i visoki dužnosnik u UNS-u ("Krajcara poznam kao poštenog i sviesnog Hrvata"). No, u listopadu je Krajcar "odustao od molbe". U lipnju 1942. godine Krajcar moli da se Edita i njezina majka Ilonka puste iz logora, ali toj molbi nije udovoljeno. Ilonka je navodno skončala u Đakovu, a Edita na nepoznatom mjestu.¹⁷

Židovi su potkraj svibnja bili pozivani da preuzmu žutu traku u nadležnim policijskim službama.¹⁸ Na plakatu u Zagrebu je napomenuto da je "svaki arijevac dužan svakog Židova ili Židovku, koji se ovom pozivu ne odazove... prijaviti policiji". Završne su odredbe uobičajene: "Tko se ne odazove pozivu i ne prikopča znak na određenom mjestu, bit će najstrože kažnjen." Dan

¹⁵ A. Shomrony, *Svjedočenja, Gdje je Freiburgerova biblioteka?*, Bilten ŽOZ 30, Zagreb 1993, 10-11; svjedočenje dr. Dragana Sterna.

¹⁶ Naprimjer, vidi, HDA, fond 223, MUP NDH, II A 33795/41, 32638/41, 32829/41, 33187/41, 40263/41, 44039/41, 49039/41, 53248/41; fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 29619, 29685.

¹⁷ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 29619; *Popis žrtava lišenih života*, Arhiv Židovske općine u Zagrebu, Zagreb.

¹⁸ *Hrvatski narod*, Zagreb, 22. 5. 1941; *Ustaša, Dokumenti o ustaškom pokretu*, hrsg. P. Požar, Zagreb 1995, 173; HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kut. 10, 423, 428; fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27431.

poslije u *Hrvatskom narodu* još je jednom potvrđeno da će "svaki Židov ili Židovka, koji neće nositi ovakav znak, biti najstrože kažnjeni".¹⁹ Bilo je to neizravno priznanje ustaša da nisu bili sigurni hoće li će se odredba o nošenju znaka dosljedno provoditi. Zaista, činjenica je da tu odredbu mnogi nisu poštivali. Potvrdile su to i same vlasti: baš tih dana, kada su zagrebački Židovi preuzimali znakove *Hrvatski narod* prenosi upozorenje Židovskog odsjeka da su svi Židovi obuhvaćeni "poznatim židovskim zakonom, dužni nositi propisanu oznaku primijećeno je da nekoji Židovi koji su oznake dignuli, te oznake ne nose. Prema svima ovima povest će se najstroži postupak."²⁰ Predsjednik židovske općine u Zagrebu Glücksthal 1945. godine tvrdi da je tim znakom Židove "trebalo učiniti smiješnima i izvrgnuti ruglu, no mora se priznati, da je pored sveg animoziteta jednog dijela građanstva (prema Židovima — op. I. G.) ovaj pokušaj ustaša ostao prilično bez uspjeha".²¹ Izvještaj Gestapoa napisan u svibnju 1942. godine također tvrdi da je "ta mjera izazvala učinak suprotan od očekivanog: bezbrojni su slučajevi da su Židovima koji su nosili znak na ulici ili u tramvaju, prilazili sasvim nepoznati ljudi iz različitih društvenih slojeva (građani, seljaci, čak i njemački oficiri i vojnici) i izražavali simpatiju. Štoviše, mnogim su Židovima, osobito starim ženama i djeci, nežidovi uklanjali znak."²²

Nošenje znaka bila je stigma koju su mnogi teško podnosili. U molbi da ga se oslobodi nošenja židovskog znaka, Leopold Müller tvrdi da je to "žig sramote".²³ To su shvaćali i mnogi Hrvati: Petar Grgec, katolički književnik i publicist, profesor na Nadbiskupskoj klasičnoj gimnaziji, skidanjem šešira pozdravljao je zimi 1941/42. godine na ulici nepoznate ljude koji su nosili židovski znak. Na pitanje kćeri da li te ljude poznaje, odgovorio je da ona ne može shvatiti "koliko taj čovjek trpi i koliko je ponižen. Kada prolazim kraj njih i te sramotne pločice, osjetim duboko poštovanje prema njihovoj patnji i tim hrabrim ljudima."²⁴

Kada su 21. lipnja 1941. počela masovna hapšenja Židova, nadležne su policijske službe bile zapljusnute molbama da se oni oslobode i da im se dopusti da nastave raditi. Stižu molbe poput ove — da se "vrati na posao Oton Mermelstein (1905) koji je odveden 21. lipnja u Zagrebački zbor

¹⁹ *Hrvatski narod*, Zagreb, 23. 5. 1941.

²⁰ *Hrvatski narod*, Zagreb, 29. 5. 1941.

²¹ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kut. 15, 3875.

²² HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kut. 10, 63-64.

²³ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 29351.

²⁴ A. Grgec-Tusun, *Uspomena iz djetinjstva na mog dragog oca prof. P. Grgeca*, Marulić, Split, prosinac 1992; o Grgecu, *Tko je tko u NDH*, Zagreb 1995, 138-139.

odakle se nije više vratio", ali je to bilo uzalud.²⁵ Zenit, industrija pletene robe, 9. srpnja moli Židovski odsjek da "za izvjesno vrijeme odgodi pritvor g. Alfreda Eisenstädtera", ali ni on nije preživio rat.²⁶ Trgovina tehničkih potrepština u Nikolićevoj molila je 14. srpnja da se Josip Haas "izuzme od mjera, poduzetih protiv Židova, jer je isti neophodno potreban", ali molba nije "odobrena", a Haas je prije kraja godine ubijen u Jasenovcu.²⁷ Farmabion — biokemijski laboratorij moli 9. srpnja "oslobođenje vlasnika poduzeća dra Milana Farkaša", koji je također do kraja godine ubijen u Jasenovcu.²⁸

Ing. Robert Koller, vlasnik strojarske radionice, moli u srpnju da mu se i dalje omogući rad. Molbu podržava i Kollerovih 12 radnika, tvrdeći da je "bio uvijek dobar i iskreni prijatelj, da nam je u dobrom i zlu na pomoći i da nam je i u slučaju slabog poslovanja omogućio zaradu". No, Koller je ubrzo otpremljen u Jasenovac, gdje je skončao do kraja godine.²⁹ Mijo Gavranović, koji sam sebe titulira "ustašom", vlasnik tvornice likera Pokorny, zahtijeva u rujnu da poslovođa Aladar Stern "slobodno radi i slobodno se kreće", jer bi "u slučaju njegove zapriječenosti moglo doći do zastoja u poslovanju". Stoga je Stern "privremeno zadržan na zaposlenju".³⁰ Obrazloženje molbe za poštedu nekih Židova neki je puta bilo vrlo osebusno: "Mi ne bi ni prstom maknuli za ovog Židova, kada bi mi znali za drugog stručnjaka Arijevca", jer je "Ladislav Gissingen jedini stručnjak u Državi za prijemne i emisione cijevi", tvrde iz Prve hrvatske tvornice krugovalnika. Ni takvo obrazloženje nije pomoglo, jer je Gissingen do kraja godine skončao u Jasenovcu.³¹

Zbog takvih šikaniranja, hapšenja i deportacija židovskih stručnjaka razumljivo je da je proizvodnja morala patiti. Već je potkraj svibnja povjerenik Zagrebačke tvornice cipela Ljudevit Gržanić molio da se "jedine stručnjake u ovoj tvornici, dvojicu Židova oslobodi nošenja židovskog znaka... jer je vrlo nezgodno da ih nose zbog veza s njemačkim vlastima, čije smo povjerenje stekli".³² U lipnju 1941. Josip Juvand dobiva dopuštenje da zaposli Željka Billera, optičarskog pomoćnika, "radi nestašice arijeviskih stručnjaka". Napor da se dobije ta dozvola ubrzo se pokazao

²⁵ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27427; *Popis žrtava*.

²⁶ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27668.

²⁷ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27683; *Popis žrtava*.

²⁸ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27770; *Popis žrtava*.

²⁹ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28709; *Popis žrtava*.

³⁰ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28160.

³¹ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27864; *Popis žrtava*.

³² HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27403; također, slicno, 27424, 27436, 27473, 27538, 27559, 27560, 27609, 27610, 27650, 27736.

uzaludnim, jer je Biller za nekoliko mjeseci skončao u Jasenovcu.³³ Potkraj kolovoza 9 vlasnika obrtničkih firmi (uglavnom metalne robe, stolara i tapetara) zatražilo je da se Aleksandra Ehrenfreunda, vlasnika tvrtke Zmaj, "pusti na slobodu", jer "u protivnom mi niže potpisani ostajemo bez zarade, jer smo do sada isključivo radili za g. Ehrenfreunda koji je jedini stručnjak u tom poduzeću". Ehrenfreund nije izašao na slobodu; 1942. godine ubijen je u Jasenovcu.³⁴

Slikar Ivan (Ivo) Palčić (1892-1969), rodom iz Novalje na otoku Pagu, u ljeto 1941. molio je da se njegovoj tobožnjoj supruzi Ruži, inače Židovki, dodijele arijska prava. Molbu je supotpisalo nekoliko Hrvata, ali ni to nije pomoglo. Molba je odbijena, a Ruža je kasnije deportirana i ubijena.³⁵

Izdavanje propusnica za odlazak iz Zagreba u ljeto 1941. bio je vrlo efikasan način pomoći. Davali su ih mnogi - "na naše bježanje iz Zagreba gledalo se kroz raširene prste, 'samo nek' idemo, ali da ostavimo sve što posjedujemo'. Pa su se pojavile 'hijene' s obećanjima od arijskih prava do spašavanja iz logora i, na sreću, do pravih ili lažnih propusnica koje su vodile na put spasa", prisjeća se tih mjeseci Vera Fischer.³⁶ Neki su dobili propusnice i bez mita, putem prijateljskih veza, kao npr. od Žarka Dolinara, tada istaknutog stolnotenisača. On je organizirao cijelu mrežu za izradu vješto krivotvorenih propusnica za svoje prijatelje Židove. Dolinar je postao Pravednik. Uz pomoć propusnica izbjeglo je možda i više od tisuću zagrebačkih Židova.

U samom Zagrebu razmahala se i nabava lažnih viza i pasoša, sve naravno za novac, dragocjenosti ili neke druge interese. Isticao se u tome urugvajski konzulat u Zagrebu, a radilo se to i u španjolskom. Počasni konzul Portugala Aleksandar Ehrmann izdavao je vize na svoju ruku, vjerojatno i zbog toga jer je sam bio Židov.³⁷ Bolivija i Honduras primale su obrtnike, SAD su eventualno davale ulaznu vizu ako je osoba imala "affidavit", garantno pismo nekog važnijeg i imućnijeg građanina SAD-a; tražilo se i posjedovanje najmanje 5.000 USD.³⁸

³³ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27295; *Popis žrtava*.

³⁴ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28049; *Popis žrtava*.

³⁵ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27310; *Popis žrtava*; Palčić je čitav rat proživio u Novalji. Bio je boem i cijeli je život živio sam. Po svemu sudeći, uistinu se oženio s Ružom, iako nije moguće ustanoviti ni kada ni gdje. No, taj je brak mogao biti samo fiktivan. O Palčiću — *Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti*, 3, Zagreb 1964, 621.

³⁶ Svjedočenje Vere Fischer.

³⁷ M. Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem, Jugoslovenski Jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941-45*, Beograd 1998, 261-263; HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28885.

³⁸ Svjedočenje Branka Polica.

Na te se načine dio Židova iz Hrvatske i BiH uspio prebaciti iz Italije i drugim kanalima u Švicarsku ("nama je poznat broj od 700, ali ih navodno ima više"), u Palestinu (800), u SAD (1.000), potom određeni broj "u Afriku i u ostale savezničke zemlje", sve zajedno do 3.000 osoba.³⁹

Zbog velikog broja bolesnih od sifilisa u Bosni ustaške su vlasti u Banjoj Luci u lipnju 1941. osnovale Zavod za suzbijanje endemijskog sifilisa.⁴⁰ Kako se liječnici Hrvati nisu javljali, iako im je obećan dvostruki radni staž i "primjerena nagrada"⁴¹, njemačke i ustaške vlasti poštedjele su deportacije najmanje 81 liječnika Židova, uglavnom iz Zagreba te ih od kolovoza 1941. slale u najzabačenije bosanske krajeve kako bi suzbijali tu bolest.⁴² Akciju su smislili dermatovenerolog i higijeničar dr Ante Vuletić u sporazumu sa svojim prijateljem dr. Miroslavom Schlesingerom kako bi spasili živote liječnika i njihovih familija. U tom se trenutku ipak manje mislilo na to da se liječe oboljeli i suzbije širenje bolesti: naime, sifilis se u Bosni nije širio spolnim odnosom, nego se nasljeđivao, odnosno prenosio na djecu porodom, dojenjem, kontaktom i posuđem (čest je bio primarni efekt na krajnicima ili mekom nepcu).⁴³ Vuletić je dosta dugo pregovarao s nadležnim institucijama o osnivanju Zavoda za suzbijanje te bolesti, jer poglavnik Pavelić neko vrijeme nije pristajao na njegov prijedlog (Vuletić je kasnije proglašen Pravednikom među narodima). Napokon je prihvaćen Vuletićev prijedlog, jer je njegova argumentacija bila: "Umjesto da šaljete židovske liječnike u radne logore, iskoristite ih da iskorijene sifilis u Bosni. Kada s time završe, još uvijek ih možete strpati u logore."⁴⁴

Obitelji liječnika koji su u Bosni liječili sifilis bile su u načelu zaštićene i smjele su čak ostati u svojim dotadašnjim stanovima.⁴⁵ Takva je okružnica bila prosljeđena svim nadležnim službama,⁴⁶ uz dodatak da se od "prisilnih mjera" ima izuzeti samo "najuža obitelj, tj. supruga, djeca i roditelji liječnika", što u konkretnom slučaju nije uključivalo i "obitelj supruge liječnika".⁴⁷

³⁹ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kutija 10, 91.

⁴⁰ Zakoni, zakonske odredbe, naredbe NDH, II, Zagreb 1941, 300-304.

⁴¹ Vidi, Zakoni NDH11, 303.

⁴² HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28017, 28266, 28658 - vidi popis 51 liječnika, isto - 29171

⁴³ Svjedočenje prof. dr. Stjepana Steinera.

⁴⁴ Svjedočenje prof. dr. Stjepana Steinera.

⁴⁵ HDA, fond 223, MUP NDH, 3510/II- A, 2570; fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27986, 28056, 28107, 28666, 29184, 29222, 29429.

⁴⁶ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 29078.

⁴⁷ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 29570.

Konačno je od svih židovskih liječnika najmanje njih 58, a najviše 67, pristupilo tijekom kasnijih mjeseci i godina partizanima, četvoricu su ubili Nijemci ili ustaše, a trojica su umrla radeći u Bosni.⁴⁸

Kada su deportacije uzele maha, bilo je mnogo dirljivih pokušaja da se neki Židovi spase: tako su seljaci iz Doliča kod Krapine, njih 72, od kojih trojica nepismenih, u kolovozu 1941. mole da se "peteročlana obitelj Klein pusti iz logora i vrati kući i da im se tu dozvoli trajan i miran boravak".⁴⁹ I seljaci iz zagrebačkog predgrađa Remetinca i okolice, njih 69, mole da se Aleksandra Šandora Löwyja pusti iz Jasenovca, a ustaša Luka Markulin, "sviestan ustaške zakletve", tvrdi da je "Šandor Levij vrijedan slobode". No, Šandor je skončao u Jasenovcu.⁵⁰ I seljaci iz Vrbovca, njih 74, mole da se njihovog vrijednog trgovca Dragana Šterna pusti iz Jasenovca.⁵¹ I 73 seljaka i obrtnika iz zagrebačkog predgrađa Šestina potpisuje molbu za lokalnog trgovca Vilima Schönauera, što mu nije pomoglo.⁵² Neki Zagrepčani potpisuju potkraj svibnja 1941. molbu da se Viktoru Juhnu dodijele arijska prava, a potom i potkraj srpnja molbu da se Adolfa Schwarz pusti iz logora - no, oba su nastojanja bila neuspješna - Juhn je 1942. godine skončao na nepoznatom mjestu, a Schwarz je do kraja 1941. ubijen u Jasenovcu.⁵³ Za skladatelja i glazbenog kritičara Žigu Hirschlera, koji je deportiran u rujnu 1941. u Jasenovac, zauzela se nekolicina istaknutih "hrvatskih glazbenika i umjetnika", između ostalih i Boris Papandopulo i Lovro Matačić. Iako je Židovski odsjek potkraj listopada zahtijevao da se Hirschler pusti iz logora, sve je bilo uzalud. Ne zna se da li je Hirschler već bio mrtav kada je stigao zahtjev za otpust, jer mu je u studenom iz zagrebačke Općine otposlan prvi i posljednji paket.⁵⁴ Istaknuti povjesničar Rudolf Horvat organizirao je u rujnu 1941. potpisivanje molbe za oslobođenje Arpada Sterna, Židova iz Gradeca. Potpisala su je čak 132

⁴⁸ JP 1-2, Beograd 1970; Z. Levental, *Lekari na suzbijanju endemskog sifilisa u Bosni i Hercegovini i njihovo učešće u NOB-i*, Zbornik radova Naučnog društva za istoriju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije, Beograd 1963; E. Najfeld, *Sećanje iz vremena drugog svetskog rata*, JP 1-2/1975; O zaslugama Ante Vuletica - JP 7-8, Beograd 1977; Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 215-222.

⁴⁹ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28026.

⁵⁰ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28237.

⁵¹ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28293.

⁵² HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28338; *Kartoteka pripadnika židovske zajednice u Zagrebu (Kartoteka židovskog znaka)*, svibanj 1941, Arhiv ŽOZ.

⁵³ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28704, 29099; *Popis žrtava*.

⁵⁴ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28264; O Hirschleru, *Muzička enciklopedija 2*, Zagreb 1974, 134; A. Vujnović-Tonković, *Pisana riječ žige Hirschlera*, Novi Omanut 12, Zagreb 1995, 5-7; *Popis žrtava; Kartoteka jasenovačkih zatočenika (Kartoteka Jasenovac)*, Arhiv Židovske općine, Zagreb.

mještana, ali to nije pomoglo, jer je Stern skončao u logoru.⁵⁵ Isto je molio i Zagrepčanin Dragutin Horvat, kojem je Vladimir Fuchs bio vodni oficir u jugoslavenskoj vojsci 1940. godine, te o Fuchsovu ponašanju tvrdi da je "sam Bog nama vojnicima dao tog čovjeka za vodnog oficira". I Fuchs je skončao u Jasenovcu.⁵⁶ Seljaci iz okolice Jastrebarskog u ožujku 1943. godine molili Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova da se njihovom lokalnom trgovcu Srećku Breyeru dodijele arijska prava, jer su Breyerovi "čestiti građani, dobri Hrvati". Slijede uglavnom teškom rukom ispisani potpisi 142 seljaka, a priloženo je i vrlo povoljno mišljenje lokalnog župnika o Breyeru.⁵⁷ Desetak građana Podravske Slatine potpisuje molbu za dodjelu arijskih prava za Justinu Bauer.⁵⁸

Čak je bilo i nekih policajaca i agenata koji su upozoravali Židove svaki put kada su bile organizirane racije. Dio je njih to radio za novac, ali dio i iz osjećaja prijateljstva i ljudske obveze. Ti su policajci znali zažmiriti i na bijeg Židova, ili su se pravili da ne znaju gdje su se sakrili. Elzi Hiršl, koja je držala trgovinu mješovite robe na zapadnoj periferiji Zagreba, prvih dana kolovoza 1942. godine je nepoznat, ali čest kupac, očito pripadnik ustaškog pokreta, rekao da se spremaju deportacije. To je Elzi i njezinoj kćeri Biserki spasilo život.⁵⁹

Zdenku Novak je u sabirnom logoru u Zagrebu zapazio povjerenik u tvornici njenog oca, Ante Jedvaj, koji je vrlo dobro kotirao u ustaškom aparatu, te ju je kao navodno bolesnu, odveo kući i tako spasio. Jedvaj je obećao da će narednoga dana tako izvesti i njezina tek vjenčanog supruga Fritza Brichtu, ali obećanje nije održao — ili ga nije mogao održati.⁶⁰

Trgovac u zagrebačkom predgrađu Kustošiji Josip Švarcenberg dva puta bio je hapšen, da bi ga se deportiralo. Kada su to čuli mještani, dva su puta došli pred sjedište lokalne ustaške organizacije i nisu se razišli dok Josip nije bio pušten.⁶¹ Kućepaziteljica zgrade u Zagrebu, koja je jedina znala da se u stanu obitelji Prašek skriva Zlata Frankl, kada su ustaše došle u raciju, vikala je na stubištu kako bi upozorila Prašekove i Zlatu: "Ovdje stanuje doktorica sa svojim sinom, a inače nema nikoga u stanu".⁶²

⁵⁵ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28134; M. Kolar-Dimitrijević, *Akcija povjesničara dr. Rudolfa Horvata na spašavanju gradečkog židova Arpada Sterna 1941. godine*, Novi omanut 26, Zagreb 1998, 10.

⁵⁶ HDA, fond 248, UNS, dosje I-A-II 377; Popis žrtava.

⁵⁷ HDA, fond 223, MUP NDH, 8897, III-A, 45072/41.

⁵⁸ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27673.

⁵⁹ Svjedočanstvo Biserke Hiršl-Barac.

⁶⁰ Opširnije, Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 253

⁶¹ Svjedočenje Berte Israel rođ. Švarcenberg.

⁶² Prašek, *Memoari*, 147.

Neki su smišljali originalne načine u nastojanju da se zatočene izvuče iz zatvora. Kada je Hilda Atijas r. Eisenberg (1911) u veljači 1942. godine dospjela u jedan od zagrebačkih zatvora, Vilko Sakušek (1916-1996) i Vladimir Marhofer (1912-1994) tražili su u jedno zagrebačkom župnom uredu da se njezin brak, sklopljen 1939. godine s Rafaelom Atijasom poništi, jer je navodno bio fiktivan. Tvrdili su da je Hilda sklopila brak s Atijasom da bi dobila državljanstvo, jer joj je otac bio rumunjski državljanin.⁶³ Sakušek je svjedočio da je brak Hilde Eisenberg i Rafaela Atijasa fiktivan i da on, tj. Sakušek, voli Hildu te da se s njom želi vjenčati. Sve je to posvjedočio i Sakuškov najbolji prijatelj Marhofer. Argumenti su bili vrlo uvjerljivi, pa je vjerojatno i zbog toga Hilda puštena iz zatvora. Čini se da se Sakušek i Hilda nisu vjenčali, već da je Hilda po izlasku iz zatvora pokušala pobjeći iz Zagreba. Stradala je u nejasnim okolnostima na bijegu, u partizanskoj zasjedi 30-ak km daleko od grada.⁶⁴

Narod na Trsatu, u Sušaku, Crikvenici i u drugim mjestima Hrvatskog primorja i u Gorskom kotaru, pokazao je jasan animozitet prema fašistima i prema progonima nevinih.⁶⁵ Dojmljivo je i svjedočenje obitelji Aleksandra Goldsteina, koja se neprijavljeno sklonila kod Kate Miloš i njezina sina Drage u Hreljin. Jednoga dana nedaleko od kuće pojavio se plakat na talijanskom na kojem je stajalo da će svi oni koji drže u kući neprijavljene osobe biti strijeljani. Na majčino pitanje: "Što ćemo, Drago?", sin je odgovorio: "Nećemo ih prijaviti".⁶⁶

Istaknuti povjesničar, franjevac Dominik Mandić zapisao je potkraj 1942. godine da su "više male djece prijateljske i susjedske obitelji sakrile i sačuvala u Hrvatskoj i Zagrebu".⁶⁷ Mihajlo Bauer deportiran je još 1941, a njegova supruga Regina r. Gold odvedena je u kolovozu 1942. godine. Njihova djeca, četverogodišnji Leon i sedmomjesečna Ljerka na nepoznat su način našla utočište kod rimokatolika Stjepana i Marije Bauer u Bogišićevoj, čime im je spašen život.⁶⁸ Ladislav (1938) i šestomjesečna Nadica Deutsch, djeca Antuna i Ružice r. Kohn, te Lea Kohn (1935), kći Aleksandra i Katinke r. Strenger, bili su u rujnu 1942. godine dovedeni iz Vinkovaca, odnosno izvučeni iz logora Loborgrad (60 km sjeverno od Zagreba) te smješteni u Zagrebu kod Dragice Jureković rođ. Kohn.

⁶³ Nadbiskupski arhiv u Zagrebu (=NAZ), skupina NDS 2675/1942.

⁶⁴ JIM, fond ZOZ, bez reg. br. i sign; Svjedočenje Ljubice Sakušek, supruge pok. Vilka te Ade Marhofer, supruge pok. Vladimira; *Popis žrtava; Spiskovi preživelih Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, Autonomni odbor za pomoć Beograd, SJVO, Beograd 1946.

⁶⁵ Svjedočenje prof. dr. Zdenka Šternberga.

⁶⁶ A. Goldstein, Porto Re 1942/3, Kraljevica, Bilten ŽOZ 28-9, Zagreb 1993, 12-13

⁶⁷ A. Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac*, t. 1, Beograd - Jasenovac 1986, 489.

⁶⁸ NAZ, skupina NDS 9805/1942.

"Roditelji sve troje djece nalaze se negdje u logorima." Dragica je "primila tu djecu голу i bosu", nije imala novaca i tako su djeca preživjela uz potporu Židovske općine.⁶⁹ Sedmomjesečni Isak Kabiljo predan je u kolovozu 1942. godine na brigu. "rimokatolkinji, kućanici" Jozefini Ambrož iz Zagreba, kada je njegova majka Palomba deportirana. Jozefina se brinula za dijete usprkos tome što je bila "bez sredstava".⁷⁰ Postoji dokumentacija o tome kako su institucije Katoličke crkve spašavale židovsku djecu: poznata su najmanje dva slučaja da je Zagrebačka nadbiskupija smještavala židovsku djecu u hrvatske obitelji u Ludbregu.⁷¹

Bilo je i drugih načina sklanjanja. Elza Hiršl smjestila je 5. kolovoza 1942. petogodišnju kći Biserku u dom za djevojčice uz samostan karmelićanki na Vrhovcu u Zagrebu. Pri tome joj je pomogao jedan suradnik nadbiskupa Stepinca, inače kupac u njezinoj trgovini. Njegovo ime nikada nije saznala, jedino je imala broj telefona. Biserka je boravila u domu upravo u jeku deportacija, sve do 27. kolovoza. Ista je osoba sklonila i majku, na periferiju grada, u neku kućicu s vinogradom. Kada je neposredna opasnost minula i kada su dobili dokumente s lažnim imenima, majka i kći pobjegle su iz Zagreba i tako su preživjele. U domu je tijekom rata spas našlo 16 židovskih djevojčica. Od deportacija u kolovozu 1942. godine, poput Biserke Hiršl, spašene su i Elza i Nada Bek, Karla — Dragica Haas te Ilonka Schmidt.⁷² U dom za dječake u Hrvatskom Leskovcu, jugoistočno od Zagreba (koji se također nalazi uz samostan karmelićanki) sklonjen je potkraj srpnja 1942. godine Đuro Engelsrath (1935) iz Rijeke te je i on na taj način preživio deportacije. Otac i djed tada su mu već bili ubijeni, a majka Elizabeta pobjegla je u Tanger (u Maroku). "Predan je teti 6. srpnja 1945. godine", zapisano je u knjižici koja se čuva u samostanu.⁷³

U Zagrebu je, u vlastitom stanu, franjevačka trećoredica Rafaela Elizabeta Gustetić za vrijeme rata zbrinula je veći broj djece, od toga najmanju jednu židovsku djevojčicu bez roditelja.⁷⁴ U rujnu 1941. zauzela se za jednog Židova koji da je "vrijedan preporuke".⁷⁵

Osebujan način spašavanja bilo je smještavanje u bolnice. Zlata Kellert (1892)

⁶⁹ NAZ, skupina NDS 10729/1942: *Popis žrtava; Spiskovi preživelih*.

⁷⁰ NAZ, skupina NDS 9274/1942.

⁷¹ JIM, fond ŽOZ, reg. br. 4970, sign. K-63-3-2/1-1, reg. br. 4864, sign. K-63-1-1/1-200.

⁷² Arhiv samostana karmelićanki na Vrhovcu, Zagreb; svjedočenje Biserke Hirschl-Barac.

⁷³ JIM, fond ŽOZ, bez reg. br. i sign.; Arhiv samostana karmelićanki u Hrvatskom Leskovcu kod Zagreba.

⁷⁴ JIM, fond ŽOZ, reg. br. 4864, sign. K-63-1-1/1-254.

⁷⁵ NAZ, fond Prezidijalni spisi 108/1941.

primljena je u zagrebačku Bolnicu sestara milosrdnica 8. kolovoza 1942. s vrlo neo bičnom dijagnozom "cystitis — cholecystitis — polyarthritus". "Cystitis" je upala mokraćnog mjehura, "cholecystitis" upala žučnog mjehura, "polyarthritus" je opća upala zglobova. Otpuštena je pet tjedana kasnije, 15. rujna. Još tajnovitije izgledaju zapisi o liječenju Zlate Frankl (1909) i Margite Bhm (1895), primljene su u istu bolnicu 4. i 16. kolovoza te su im dijagnosticirani "cholecystitis acuta postgripposa" odnosno "dysenteria acuta". Otpuštene su 1. rujna, odnosno 1. listopada kao "izliječene".⁷⁶ "Postgripozna upala žučnog mjehura" ne znači ništa. I "dizenterija" može biti tek običan proljev. Sve govori da su ove tri tobožnje bolesnice bile primljene u bolnice, kako bi ih se spasilo - baš uoči velikih deportacija Židova, a otpuštene su kada je neposredna opasnost minula.

Olga Schaeffer boravila je od 1930. u Psihijatrijskoj bolnici u Vrapču. Duhovnik bolnice Karlo Bubanić, kada ju je 1942. godine pripremao za krštenje, tvrdi da je "sada gotovo posve sviesna, živi u bolnici više radi sadašnjih prilika". Olga je nakon rata živjela u svom stanu u Zagrebu.⁷⁷ Njemački emigrant Norbert Thumin-Landau na nepoznat se način 1941. sklonio u tu bolnicu, iako uopće nije bio bolestan, i tako je preživio rat.⁷⁸

Neki su se Židovi prvih mjeseci postojanja NDH nadali da im krštenje nosi spas. U načelu Židovima nije mogao pomoći ni eventualan prijelaz na katoličku vjeru u onom smislu u kojem je to vrijedilo za pravoslavne Srbe. Položaj Židova bio je jasno definiran odredbom o rasnoj pripadnosti: "Kada govorimo o Židovima, onda ne mislimo na pripadnike mojsijeve vjere, nego na pripadnike židovske rasne zajednice, jer vjera ne sačinjava bit židovske zajednice, nego njena rasna struktura i biološka baština iz daleke prošlosti... Krstni list se ne traži radi vjerskog momenta. Krstni list je najsigurniji kriterij, da su djedovi i bake predci drugog koljena bili pripadnici arijske rasne zajednice, jer se u doba naših djedova Židovi gotovo uopće nisu miješali s Arijcima."⁷⁹ Pa ipak, krštenje je davalo više šansi za spas. U Zagrebu se 1941. pokrstila oko trećina zajednice,⁸⁰ a među 1.185 zatočenika i zatočenica talijanskog logora u Kraljevici, koji su svi bili židovi, 51,8% se izjašnjavalo kao "izraelićani", a 45,4% kao rimokatolici. Dakle, proporcionalno je više spašenih među pokrštenima.⁸¹

⁷⁶ JIM, fond ŽOZ, reg. br. 5386, sign. K-65-6-1/1-36 do 1-39, 1-137, 1-138, 1-142 do 1-144.

⁷⁷ NAZ, skupina NDS 9808/1942; *Spiskovi preživelih*.

⁷⁸ JIM, fond ŽOZ, reg. br. 1909.

⁷⁹ Hrvatski narod, Zagreb, 3. 5. 1941; vidi i Ustaša, Dokumenti, 165, 167.

⁸⁰ Arhiv ŽOZ za 1960.

⁸¹ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kut. 11, 1048-1095.

Katolička crkva imala je uhodani postupak primanja novih vjernika. Pošto bi Židov ili Židovka izrazili želju da pristupe crkvi, župnik je proslijedio molbu Nadbiskupskom duhovnom stolu, odakle je redovito stizao pristanak. Bilo je to sukladno izjavama iz Vatikana da "katolička crkva ne prima u svoje krilo nijednog odrasloga koji traži da u nju stupi ili se želi u nju povratiti, ako nije potpuno svjestan važnosti i posljedica koraka što ga želi učiniti".⁸² U travnju 1941. još su se pisala dugačka obrazloženja o tome zašto se neki Židov želi pokrstiti. Ivan Klein (1911) je, tvrdi župnik, "čovjek pošten... inteligentan, koji je polazio sveučilište, učio kanonsko pravo, pa mu je zato o katoličkoj crkvi dosta poznato... Ja sam mu se zagrozio, a toga ću se i držati, ako ne nauči dobro... da ga ne ću vjenčati."⁸³ Kasnije su se obrazloženja skraćivala i pojednostavljivala. Postojalo je nekoliko jednostavnih formulacija kojima se opravdavalu pokrštavanje. Nova vjernica je, kao i novi vjernik, po riječima župnika, pokazivala da joj je "katolička vjera dobro poznata, te da ima čistu i iskrenu nakanu, da bude dobra katolkinja", ili da je "potpuno katolički odgojena", ili da je "naučila sve potrebite molitve, makar i uz stanovite poteškoće, jer ne vlada dobro hrvatskim", ili da je "s velikom pažnjom i može se kazati ganućem slušala vjerske istine".⁸⁴

Očigledno se mnogima gledalo kroz prste i nije se vodilo računa o tome da li baš u potpunosti ispunjavaju stroge propise o pokrštavanju, to jest znaju li dobro vjeronauk i jesu li prihvatili vjerske istine, kako to nalaže kanonsko pravo.⁸⁵ U mnogo slučajeva na katoličanstvo prelaze čitave tročlane (majka i tri kćeri Eisensffidter) ili čak peteročlane obitelji (obitelji Sege i Müller)⁸⁶ pa se nije moglo očekivati od svakoga člana da se dobro uvede u novoprimitu vjeru.

Šarika (Sara) 'Štefica Sarfati "vjeronauk slabo pamti, jer je slaboumna, ali glavne istine ipak znade", tvrdio je župnik.⁸⁷ Razlog zbog čega Elza Glück r. Adler tek u veljači 1942. godine podnosi molbu za primanje u katoličku crkvu župnik nalazi u tome da "bi ona već pristupila, ali je bila teško bolesna".⁸⁸ Po riječima župnika, Eta Mandolfo je "u djetinjstvu krštena privatno, ali nije unesena u maticu krštenih".⁸⁹

⁸² J. Krišto, *Katolička crkva i Nezavisna Država Hrvatska 1941-1945*, II, dokumenti, Zagreb 1998, 145.

⁸³ NAZ, skupina NDS 3864/1941.

⁸⁴ NAZ, skupina NDS 158, 568, 1030, 1032, 1033, 2581, 2588, 2990, 2991, 3070, 3528, 3578, 4088, 5007, 5510, 5513, 9089, 9855, 9856, 10730, 12153/1942.

⁸⁵ *Codex iuris canonici*, Freiburg 1919, paragraf 737 i d., posebno 745 i d.

⁸⁶ NAZ, skupina NDS 529/1942.

⁸⁷ NAZ, skupina NDS 1559/1942; *Popis žrtava*.

⁸⁸ NAZ, skupina NDS 1035/1942; *Popis žrtava*; HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kut. 15, 3732, 3761.

⁸⁹ NAZ, skupina NDS 354/1942.

Da se iza ovih afirmativnih fraza kriju posve drugi razlozi, svjedoči slučaj sestara Mire i Marte Wertheimer, za koje župnik tvrdi da su "u katoličkoj vjeri dovoljno poučene. Pred tri mjeseca su bile pritvorene... sada su puštene, pa žele da ih se primi." Pokršćavanje Wertheimerovima nije donijelo spas.⁹⁰

Pokršćavanju se pribjegavalo i kao posljednjoj nadi za logoraše. Žiga Schotten uputio je u srpnju u proceduru zahtjev za krštenjem sina Branka kada je Branko već više od mjesec dana bio u logoru, a najkasnije u kolovozu bio je ubijen.⁹¹ Godine 1944. župni ured u Daruvaru (u zapadnoj Slavoniji) tražio je dozvolu za pokršćenje Borisa Maksa Švarcenberga (1926), "koji je podučavan u vjeri za vrijeme boravka u logoru Jasenovcu te je obavljao katoličke vjerske pobožnosti". Boris Maks bio je Daruvarčanin. Iako je bio iz mješovitog braka (majka mu je bila Ruskinja), pokršćavanje mu nije pomoglo.⁹²

Župnik u jednom zagrebačkom župnom uredu Josip Lončarić obraća se u lipnju 1941. Nadbiskupskom duhovnom stolu i moli uputu kako vjenčati "arijce" i "Židove". Jasno mu je da takve brakove "država ne priznaje". No, njemu dolaze stranke, "katolici i katolkinje, koji su već mjesec u poznanstvu sa židovskog strankom... željeli bi se vjenčati, a boje se državne vlasti i njezina progona". župnik tvrdi da, "dok je bilo moguće, dok smo bili bliže desetomu danu travnja, da ti ljudi nemaju nepritulika, koje su očito nepravedne, kada se radi o ženidbi, antedatirali smo dan vjenčanja, kao da su se vjenčali prije 10. travnja. Sada se to više ne može činiti." Nadbiskupski duhovni stol temeljem rasprave na sjednici odgovara da "prepušta se razboritosti svakog pojedinog župnika da učini, kako misli, da je najbolje..."⁹³

Riječ "pokršćavanje" ne obuhvaća sve istupe iz židovske vjere, jer je kod Muslimanske vjeroispovjedne općine u Zagrebu početkom svibnja 1941. bilo evidentirano 16 Židova koji su prešli na islam, ali ni svima njima to nije pomoglo.⁹⁴

Kako su zagrebački i hrvatski Židovi stizali u sigurnost, tako su neki istupali iz katoličke vjere i vraćali se na židovsku.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ NAZ, skupina NDS 2038/1942.

⁹¹ NAZ, skupina NDS 10503/1941; *Popis žrtava*.

⁹² NAZ, skupina NDS 989/1944.

⁹³ NAZ, skupina NDS 6682/1941.

⁹⁴ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27273; *Popis žrtava; Kartoteka židovskog znaka*; vidi i Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 491.

⁹⁵ Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 490-491.

Zagrebački nadbiskup Alojzije Stepinac na mnoge načine simbolizira djelovanje katoličke crkve u Hrvatskoj. Iako su neki aspekti Stepinčeva ponašanja ostali dvojbeni,⁹⁶ nije sporno da je nadbiskup intervenirao je za mnoge osobe i grupe, s promjenjivim uspjehom. Početkom 1942. pisao je vatikanskom državnom tajniku, kardinalu Luigiju Maglioneu da se kod talijanske vlade zauzme kako bi se 200 zagrebačke djece židovskog podrijetla, od 7 do 17 godina, većinom bez roditelja, koja žive bijedno "zbog antisemitskih zakona", prebacilo u Italiju. Iz pisma o. Tacchija Venturija kardinalu Maglioneu od 20. siječnja 1942. vidljivo je da ta diplomatska inicijativa nije polučila uspjeh.⁹⁷ Bečki Židov dr. Ladislav Bodnar (1896), koji je na katoličku vjeru prešao 1919, u rujnu 1941. uhapšen je u Zagrebu i deportiran u Jasenovac. Nadbiskupski duhovni stol i Vatikan intervenirali su da se Bodnara izvuče iz logora i da mu se ishode dokumenti za odlazak u Brazil. Korespondencija je trajala mjesecima te se čini da nitko iz Crkve nije znao da je Bodnar već do kraja 1941. godine bio mrtav.⁹⁸ Na molbu Helene Marof, Stepinac je potkraj 1942. intervenirao za Zagrepčanina Vlatka Rosenberga, ali mu je gotovo godinu dana kasnije, u rujnu 1943, iz MUP-a stigao dopis da "se dosada nije mogla ustanoviti sudbina imenovanog, što izvolite primiti na znanje". Vlatko-Vladimir Rosenberg ubijen je u Jasenovcu još 1941. godine.⁹⁹ Nadbiskup je intervenirao i za Ivana (Hansa) Hochsingera, ali je obavijest o intervenciji stigla u Jasenovac navodno dan nakon što je Hochsinger bio ubijen.¹⁰⁰

Prema tekstu Amiela Shomronya kojim se kod jeruzalemskog muzeja Jad Vašem zauzima za proglašenje nadbiskupa Stepinca "Pravednikom među narodima", nadbiskup je Miroslavu Salomu Freiburgeru za pomoć siromašnim Židovima davao "svakoga mjeseca velike svote novca... prije toga Židovi su dolazili po novčanu potporu na Kaptol, međutim, to je postalo opasno, jer kada bi vlasti vidjele da se Židovi okupljaju na jednom mjestu, pokupili bi ih na ulici, a bilo je i ljudi koji su ih slijedili i otimali im novac."¹⁰¹

Nadbiskup Stepinac je tijekom zime 1941/42. primio neke članove Židovske općine koji su pred njega doveli jednog bjegunca iz Jasenovca, zagrebačkog trgovca Gustava Hahna (1896), koji je u nekoliko mjeseci izgubio oko 20 kg, bio teško batinan i izranjavan. Hahn je pokazao Stepincu rane

⁹⁶ Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 559-578.

⁹⁷ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 136, 140.

⁹⁸ NAZ, fond Prezidijalni spisi 108/1941; HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., *Kazalo*, 5749, 6780; Popis žrtava.

⁹⁹ NAZ, skupina NDS 318/1943; *Popis žrtava*.

¹⁰⁰ Svjedočenje prof. dr. Mirjane Gross; Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 325-326.

¹⁰¹ Shomrony, *Svjedočenja*.

i ispričao mu što se u Jasenovcu događa. "Lice nadbiskupovo bivalo je sve mračnije i mračnije dok mu nisu potekle suze iz očiju", tvrdi jedan od članova Židovske općine. Kada je Hahn završio, Stepinac je rekao: "Ja sam od Pavelića već tražio da se dokinu ta zvjerstva po logorima, no on me je uvjeravao da su to neistine što se priča o logorima. Sada me ali nitko više ne će razuvjeriti."¹⁰² Hahn i njegovo dvoje djece kasnije su stradali na nepoznatom mjestu.¹⁰³ U to je vrijeme nadbiskupovim zalaganjem iz Jasenovca privremeno izbaavljen poznati zagrebački odvjetnik, potpredsjednik zagrebačke Židovske općine i judaist Lavoslav Šik.¹⁰⁴

Dosta toga što su Stepinac i suradnici učinili ili pokušali učiniti za pojedine Židove tijekom rata nije ostalo zabilježeno u izvorima, ali se ponešto još može saznati iz sjećanja preživjelih. Naprimjer, pred deportacijama u svibnju 1943. obitelji Švarcenberg i Israel bježale su iz zagrebačkog predgrađa Kustošije autom koji je po njih stigao po Stepinčevu nalogu.¹⁰⁵

U nastojanja da se ublaži odnos ustaških vlasti prema Židovima ili da se Židovi spase uključila se vrlo rano i papinska kancelarija u Rimu. Predstavnik talijanske židovske zajednice moli u kolovozu 1941. vatikanskog državnog tajnika kardinala Maglionea da Sv. Stolica intervenira u korist Židova u Hrvatskoj, koji su "bez razloga" zatvarani i zlostavljani (u pismu se ne spominju ubijanja).¹⁰⁶ Vatikan je svojim diplomatima u Zagrebu slao upute da kod ustaških vlasti interveniraju u korist Židova, što su oni redovito i činili,¹⁰⁷ iako uglavnom bez uspjeha. Zagrebački rabin Miroslav Šalom Freiburger je Sv. Stolici i tada i u drugim prilikama zahvaljivao na intervencijama.¹⁰⁸

Brojne intervencije nadbiskupa Stepinca i vatikanske diplomacije u proljeće 1943, kada se pokušavalo spasiti preostale zagrebačke Židove, a posebno Stepinčeve propovijedi u kojima je odlučnije nego ranije osuđivao ustaške zločine, utjecale su na sve raširenije opće uvjerenje da je nadbiskup Stepinac židovski prijatelj i protivnik režima.¹⁰⁹ Moguće je da je mnogo kritičniji postao

¹⁰² HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kut. 10, 114.

¹⁰³ *Kartoteka židovskog znaka, Popis žrtava*, Ha-kol 49-50.

¹⁰⁴ Shomrony, *Svjedočenja*.

¹⁰⁵ Svjedočenje Berte Israel rođ. Švarcenberg.

¹⁰⁶ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 91

¹⁰⁷ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 216, 229, 235, 254, 259, 290, 298-299.

¹⁰⁸ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 214, 219, 254.

¹⁰⁹ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 298, 300-303.

i zbog toga što su mu Nijemci (ili ustaše) potkraj 1942. ili u početku 1943. ubili brata, koji je surađivao s lokalnim partizanskim odredima.¹¹⁰

Nakon posljednjih velikih deportacija u Zagrebu i u cijeloj NDH, u svibnju 1943, u zagrebačkom predgrađu Stenjevcu ostao je jedini židovski starački dom (jer su štićenici drugih šest bili deportirani). Dom se nalazio u neposrednom susjedstvu njemačke službe Eisenbahnen-Sicherheitsdienst. Kada je, u studenom 1943, šef lokalnog Sicherheitdiensta Sturmführer Schuckart naredio da se Dom u roku od 10 dana iseli, inače će sve štićenike deportirati u Njemačku,¹¹¹ predstavnici Doma su se našli "pred gotovo bezizglednim zadatkom". Obratili su se nadbiskupu Stepincu, svjedoči Amiel Shomrony, osobni tajnik nadrabina Freibergera do nadrabinove deportacije. Nadbiskup im je ponudio smještaj na crkvenom imanju u Brezovici, 10 km južno od Zagreba.¹¹²

Dom se trebao smjestiti u gospodarskoj zgradi dvorca, prilično trošnoj, pa je u nužnu adaptaciju i prigradnju dvije sobe, da bi se smjestilo 58 štićenika, trebalo uložiti "znatan novac i ogroman trud oko nabavke materijala". U jednom krilu objekta već se nalazio karmelićanski samostan.¹¹³ Pomogao je i suvlasnik jedne zagrebačke željezarije, Valent Klancir, koji je potrebnu robu dao "djelomično besplatno, a djelomično uz znatno snižene cijene".¹¹⁴ Tako su stvoreni uvjeti da se 8. prosinca starci kamionima prebace u Brezovicu. Boravak je dijelom financirala zagrebačka židovska općina, odnosno židovske organizacije iz Švicarske, a dijelom crkva. Neki su štićenici umrli ne dočekavši završetak rata, dok su neki drugi naknadno primljeni u dom.¹¹⁵ Konačno oslobođenje od straha u svibnju 1945. u Brezovici su dočekala 52 štićenika doma.

Već u ljeto 1941. znalo se da židovskim izbjeglicama u područjima pod talijanskom okupacijom i u Italiji ne prijete smrt. U Mađarskoj i Bugarskoj, također, kao i u područjima koja je Mađarska anektirala (Bačka, Baranja, Međimurje) izgledi da se preživi bili su znatno veći negoli u NDH. Za

¹¹⁰ Tako sugerira partizanski obavještajac u travnju 1945. godine - Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 370.

¹¹¹ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kut. 15, 3876. Inače, taj izvještaj tvrdi da se radilo o SS-ovcima koji su "bacili oko na te zgrade".

¹¹² A. Benigar, Alojzije Stepinac, hrvatski kardinal, Rim 1974, 395, netočno i apologetski tvrdi da je Stepinac "kada su godine 1941. došle u Zagreb njemačke trupe, osobno uzeo u zaštitu stare i bolesne Židove i smjestio ih u kućicu svoje brezovičke ljetne vile, gdje su mogli mirno živjeti".

¹¹³ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kutija 10, 91, 151, kut 15., 3876, odnosno, izvještaj o radu židovske općine 1941-1945. godine tvrdi da je "nadbiskup pokazao mnogo razumijevanja za naše neprilike"; vidi Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 552-558.

¹¹⁴ JIM, fond ŽOZ, reg. br. 4865, sign. K-63-2-1/1-178.

¹¹⁵ JIM, fond ŽOZ, sign. K-65-4-1/1-249.

hrvatske, dijelom i za bosanskohercegovačke Židove relativno je najdohvatnija bila tzv. Druga talijanska okupaciona zona (Zona B), jer formalno nije bila izvan granica NDH, pa za putovanje nije trebao pasoš, već samo propusnica, koja se donekle lakše dobivala ili falsificirala.

Talijanske su se vlasti ispočetka pribojavale velikog priljeva stanovništva iz unutrašnjosti Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine (ne samo Židova) u razmjerno siromašne priobalne krajeve. Stoga su u proljeće i prvih dana ljeta 1941. neke Židove vraćali na teritorij pod ustaškom vlašću. Tek kad su potkraj ljeta otkrile što se događa u ustaškim logorima smrti, talijanske su vlasti prestale vraćati bjegunce. Odonda se bijegom na ova područja spasio značajan broj Židova iz Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine, pa i Srbije, njih oko 5000.¹¹⁶

Ustaške su se vlasti u tim mjestima žalile nadležnim službama u Zagrebu da talijanske vojne vlasti jednostavno ignoriraju postojanje civilne vlasti NDH na tom prostoru i da, što se tiče izbjeglih Židova, sve rade na svoju ruku. Talijani nisu zahtijevali da se zbog dozvola za nenošenje znaka i drugih potreba Židovi obraćaju ustaškim vlastima,¹¹⁷ ali su provodili odredbe rasnih zakona koje su sami proglasili — tako je, primjerice, Židovima bio zabranjen ulaz na glavno gradsko kupalište u Splitu.¹¹⁸

Prvobitno je bilo zamišljeno da se ti Židovi "pokupe" u okviru prve deportacije Židova iz NDH u Auschwitz u kolovozu 1942. Tome su se već u preliminarnim kontaktima suprotstavili neki talijanski zapovjednici na okupiranom području, sluteći da te deportacije vode u smrt. Prema jednom njemačkom izvještaju lokalni talijanski zapovjednik u Mostaru izjavio je njemačkom predstavniku da je takva akcija (hapšenje i deportiranje) "u suprotnosti sa čašću talijanske vojske".¹¹⁹

Talijanska je diplomacija namjerno otezala pregovore, pa je tek 21. kolovoza 1942. s njemačkim zahtjevima upoznala Mussolinija, koji je na margini predstavke svojom rukom napisao "nulla osta" ("ništa protiv"), dakle, dao je načelan pristanak da se 5.000 ljudi odvede u smrt.¹²⁰ Ipak, talijanski vojni zapovjednici u Zoni B nisu prihvatili Mussolinijevu općenitu napomenu kao direktnu

¹¹⁶ Vidi, opširno, Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 500 ff.

¹¹⁷ Ristović, *Jevreji*, 119.

¹¹⁸ M. Krivić, *Djeca Davidova — Put u Palestinu*, Zagreb 2000, 166.

¹¹⁹ R. Hilberg, R., *The Destruction of the European Jews*, New York 1985, 715.

¹²⁰ O cijelom toku vrlo složenih pregovora i korespondencije o sudbini židova u Zoni B opširnije Hilberg, *Destruction*, 714-718 i B. Krizman, *NDH između Hitlera i Mussolinija*, 3. izd., Zagreb 1986., 557-561, vidi i Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 502-504 i tamo lit.

zapovijed, pa su i dalje izbjegavali surađivati u takvim planovima, ponajprije zapovjednik Druge talijanske armije, general Mario Roatta, odgovoran za čitavo područje. Da ti Židovi ne bi bili izručeni nacistima, talijanske su vlasti u listopadu 1942. odlučile ih internirati u "liberalne konfinacije".¹²¹

U literaturi se ta mjesta često spominju pod imenom logora, ali je između logora i uvjeta u konfinaciji razlika bila velika. Često se radilo o smještaju u napuštenim hotelima, gdje su talijanski vojnici samo nadzirali da se zgrade po noći ne napuštaju i da se danju ne prelazi u druge dijelove naselja. Veterinar Božidar Steiner, iako konfiniran u Veloj Luci, slobodno se kretao cijelim otokom Korčulom i obavljao svoj posao.¹²² Na sjevernom Jadranu najveći je logor bio u Kraljevici, a na jugu najviše je Židova bilo konfinirano na otoku Korčuli, odnosno u samom gradu Korčuli i u Veloj Luci.¹²³

Njemačkim obavještajcima takvo se stanje činilo gotovo idiličnim, pa su tvrdili da u kraljevičkom logoru "židovski komitet ima dobre veze s partizanima", da "židovi imaju lijep život i veliku slobodu", da im je "uslijed podmitljivosti talijanske komande logora omogućeno da odlaze na nekoliko dana iz logora" itd.¹²⁴

Njemačko-ustaški pritisak da im Talijani prepuste konfinirane Židove osobito se intenzivirao u proljeće 1943, kada se organizirala druga velika deportacija Židova iz NDH u Auschwitz, ali su se talijanske okupacione vlasti tomu protivile još upornije nego prethodne godine. Tako je odlučeno da se svi Židovi, uz manje iznimke, rasuti po cijeloj Zoni B, prebace u logor Kampor na otoku Rabu, što je i provedeno u srpnju 1943.

Postoji nekoliko tumačenja o razlozima talijanske odluke o koncentraciji svih izbjeglih Židova na Rabu. Po jednim, Talijani su tim potezima željeli pokazati nacistima da ipak "nešto čine" i da pooštravaju postupak prema Židovima, kako bi time ublažili njihov pritisak. Po drugima, u vrhovima talijanske vojske već se slutilo da će uskoro morati kapitulirati pred savezničkim nadiranjem, pa se željelo skloniti Židove na mjesto teže dohvatljivo mogućoj ustaškoj ili njemačkoj intervenciji i time steći povoljniju legitimaciju za poslijeratni život. Pričalo se da je sam general

¹²¹ Krizman, *NDH između*, 558-559.

¹²² Svjedočenje prof. dr. Stjepana Steinera.

¹²³ O Židovima u Veloj Luci: J. Maričić, *Luka spasa — Židovi u Veloj Luci od 1937. do 1943*, Vela Luka 2002.

¹²⁴ HDA, fond MUP SRH, 013.0.65, III. dio, 229.

Roatta jednom prilikom rekao nekim Židovima da je logor na Rabu "podmornica s kojom će internirani Židovi zaroniti pod more dok traje rat i tek poslije rata opet izroniti na površinu i tako spasiti glave".¹²⁵

Vrlo je poznata i dirljiva priča o četverogodišnjem opasnom, neizvjesnom i često pustolovnom putu u spas stotinjak židovske siročadi iz Austrije i Njemačke. Bježeći od nacističkog progona prema Palestini, barem dio njih stigao je u listopadu/studenom 1940. u Zagreb,¹²⁶ ali iz grada nisu uspjeli otići prije napada na Jugoslaviju. Tada im je odlazak dalje na istok bio blokiran. Ipak se cijela skupina pod vodstvom Zagrepčanina Joška Indika (u Izraelu Josef Itai) uspjela u lipnju dočepati dijela Slovenije koji su anektirali Talijani. Potom su prešli u Italiju, a 1943. godine u Švicarsku, gdje su dočekali kraj rata i svi zajedno stigli u Palestinu.¹²⁷

Kada je u srpnju 1941. godine u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini započeo organizirani otpor ustaškim i okupatorskim vlastima, dobar dio borbena najsposobnijih članova židovskih zajednica, pa i zagrebačke židovske zajednice, bio je već u zatvorima i logorima. Usprkos tome, do kraja su se godine 224 Židova iz Hrvatske i 388 iz Bosne i Hercegovine uključili u partizanske odrede, u udarne grupe po gradovima ili u druge oblike organiziranog otpora. Kako je glavni organizator otpora 1941. u NDH bila Komunistička partija, tako su i prvi židovski borci u tom otporu u većini bili komunisti ili već od ranije povezani s komunistima. Njihovo pristupanje partizanima bilo je barem toliko rezultat njihova političkog opredjeljenja koliko i bijeg pred opasnošću od ustaških progona. Među njima bilo je i 15 bivših interbrigadista s ratničkim iskustvom iz španjolskoga građanskog rata, kao i više desetaka političkih aktivista vičnih organizatorskom revolucionarno-političkom radu koji su ubrzo postali istaknuti prvoborci ilegalnih udarnih grupa po gradovima i prvih partizanskih odreda u šumama (Pavle Pap, Ilija Engel, Robert Domany, Pavle Goranin, Samuel Lerer, Adolf-Drago Steinberger, Vilim Drechsler, Gustav Perl, Josip-Pepo Polak, Vojko Hohšteter, Menahem-Mento Papo, Vladimir Majder i drugi).¹²⁸ Jelka Schwabenitz (1919) također je bila komunistički orijentirana; u ljeto 1941. pobjegla je s falsificiranim dokumentima u Sarajevo, gdje ju je čekao momak. Ubrzo je uhapšena, ali je iz zatvora uspjela pobjeći u partizane. Godine

¹²⁵ Svjedočenje Alfreda Pala.

¹²⁶ Zapisnik XXVII. sednice Izvršnog odbora SVJOJ od 21. 11. 1940, JIM, Beograd, 103.

¹²⁷ Detaljno, J. Itai-Indik, Djeca bježe, Jevrejski almanah 1963-1964, Beograd 1965, 129-136; Ristic, Jevreji, 141, 328-330; Ha-kol, 57-58, Zagreb 1999; HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27266.

¹²⁸ Vidi popis, u: Romano, *Jevreji*, 229-230.

1942. uhvatili su je četnici, koji su je nakon zvjerskog mučenja ubili.¹²⁹ Od Židova koji su se od početka uključili u antifašistički pokret jedva ih je četvrtina doživjela kraj rata. Samo iz Zagreba je 16 Židova dobilo Spomenice za sudjelovanje u ustanku od 1941. godine, a nekolicina nosilaca Spomenice doselila se u Zagreb 1945. ili kasnijih godina.¹³⁰

Josip i Stjepan Engel izradili su u Tuškanovoj ulici u Zagrebu ilegalnu radiostanicu preko koje je, navodno, objavljen 4. srpnja 1941. godine proglas CK KPJ "narodima Jugoslavije na oružani ustanak". Priča nije sasvim uvjerljiva i očigledno ju je poslijeratna komunistička historiografija predimenzionirala¹³¹ - čujnost te stanice mogla je biti vrlo mala.

Robert Domany i Adolf-Drago Steinberger, komandant i politički delegat u prvim partizanskim jedinicama na Kordunu, pali su u travnju 1942. kao žrtve četničke izdaje. Bačeni su na dno jedne kraške jame.¹³² Asistent Prirodoslovno-matematičkog fakulteta, briljantni biolog Pavao Wertheim (1911), član KP, ubijen je 1941. u nekom od zagrebačkih zatvora.¹³³ Pavle Pap, od 1940. član CK KPJ, u prvim je mjesecima po uspostavi NDH boravio u Zagrebu i rukovodio akcijama prvih omladinskih udarnih grupa. U kolovozu 1941. naloženo mu je da ode u Split i tamo pomogne lokalnoj komunističkoj organizaciji u podizanju ustanka. Sudjelovao je u formiranju prvih sedam partizanskih odreda kojima je trebao biti politički komesar, ali su ga talijanski karabinjeri zarobili i strijeljali.¹³⁴ Jednom udarnom zagrebačkom grupom, koja je brojala 20 omladinaca - članova SKOJ-a, rukovodio je Haim Friedman koji je u studenom 1941. poginuo u borbi s ustaškim agentima.¹³⁵ Vojko Hohšteter je kao komunist otišao u partizane još 1941. godine, bio zamjenik komandanta u više brigada. Sudjelovao je u nekim od najznačajnijih partizanskih bitaka. Kada mu je u ožujku 1943. neprijateljski (četnički) metak probio uho, očevici su pričali da je hladnokrvno, kao pravi Zagrepčanin, rekao tako da su ga svi mogli čuti: "jebal mu vrag mater, dobro gađa!" Poginuo je u bici kod Oborova nedaleko Zagreba u svibnju 1944. godine.¹³⁶ Moša Albahari bio je istaknuti član KP na Zagrebačkom sveučilištu. Upućen je u Istru i Hrvatsko primorje da organizira

¹²⁹ Svjedočenje Vere Zoričić rođ. Schwabenitz.

¹³⁰ J. Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945, žrtve genocida i učesnici narodnooslobodilačkog rata*, Beograd 1980, 277.

¹³¹ Vidi, opširnije, Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 517.

¹³² JP 9-10/1966; 9-10/1971, 9-10/1984; Romano, *Jevreji*, 228.

¹³³ Bilten ŽOZ 6-7/1988; JP 5-6/1977; T. Švob, *Dr. Pavao Wertheim (1911-1941), sjećanja i podaci o istaknutom biologu*, Novi omanut 21, Zagreb 1997, 2.

¹³⁴ Romano, *Jevreji*, 227

¹³⁵ E. Ivanc, *Nepokorena mladost*, Zagreb 1961, 154-155, 164.

¹³⁶ Lj. Đurić, *Naš komandant Vojko Hohšteter*, Bilten ŽOZ 4-5, 6-7, Zagreb 1988.

ustanak. U srpnju 1942. godine uhvatili su ga nakon ranjavanja karabinjeri. Odveden je u Rim te je osuđen na smrt i strijeljan u studenome iste godine.¹³⁷

Elias-Ilija Engel bio je u kolovozu 1941. među prvim borcima partizanskog odreda na Žumberku, zatim je obavljao visoke dužnosti u rukovodstvu hrvatskog partizanskog pokreta. Poginuo je od avionske bombe u svibnju 1944. godine.¹³⁸

Od zagrebačkih Židova i onih koji su prije odlaska u partizane živjeli u Zagrebu, za narodne heroje proglašeni su Robert Domany, Adolf-Drago Steinberger, Samuel Lerer, Ilija Engel i Pavle Pap.¹³⁹

Tijekom 1942. i do rujna 1943. godine partizanskim jedinicama i njihovim pomoćnim službama pristupilo je daljnjih 452 Židova iz Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine, a daleko najviše pridružilo ih se partizanima tek poslije kapitulacije Italije 1943. godine.¹⁴⁰ Baš kao i u reakcijama na jasno najavljeni ustaško-nacistički genocid, kasnilo se i u odlasku u partizane. Razlozi tome su višestruki, a najviše obiteljski: u početku, dok partizanski pokret nije bitno ojačao, odlazak cijelih obitelji na partizansko područje bio je nezamisliv, a odlazak samo jednog za borbu sposobnog člana dodatno je ugrožavao one članove obitelji koji još nisu bili deportirani. Ustaški režim imao je precizne popise Židova i pažljivo je nadgledao njihovo kretanje, ograničavajući ga policijskim satom, zabranjenim zonama i specijalnim dozvolama. Svaki neobjašnjiv nestanak mogao se tumačiti bijegom u inozemstvo ili u partizane, a posljedica je mogla biti da stradaju bliži i dalji bjegunčevi rođaci ili židovski taoci općenito. Konačno, odlazak u partizane iz Zagreba i drugih gradova bio je moguć samo preko konspirativnih veza. One su držane u najvećoj tajnosti, što je otežavalo odlazak u partizane, osobito onima koji s ljevičarskim revolucionarnim pokretom otprije nisu imali kontakte, a takvi su među Židovima bili u velikoj većini. Izvjestan broj Židova u Hrvatskoj i BiH samoinicijativno je krenuo u partizane, ali je na putu uhvaćen i ubijen.¹⁴¹ Tako je dr. Ivo Löw naletio na četnike koji su ga navodno za municiju predali Nijemcima, a ovi su ga strijeljali.¹⁴² No, bilo je i vrlo neobičnih sudbina. Zagrepčanin Ernest Fischer (1903-1986) stigao je u Crnu Goru 1941. godine i odmah se priključio partizanima (u partizanima je nosio ime Velja Fijolić). Sljedeće su ga

¹³⁷ Romano, *Jevreji*, 228.

¹³⁸ Romano, *Jevreji*, 357.

¹³⁹ Romano, *Jevreji*, 278.

¹⁴⁰ Romano, *Jevreji*, 281.

¹⁴¹ Romano, *Jevreji*, 205-206.

¹⁴² Svjedočenje prof. dr. Stjepana Steinera.

godine na prevaru zarobili četnici, potom je predan Talijanima, a po kapitulaciji Italije opet se priključio antifašističkom pokretu.¹⁴³

Tek kada su partizanske jedinice u drugoj polovini 1942. podvlastile širi i kompaktniji teritorij, pojedini Židovi počeli su se pridruživati partizanima s cijelim obiteljima, uključujući i malu djecu. Obitelji s djecom svakako su partizanskim jedinicama u nekim područjima bile balast, ali nije poznato da su ih igdje u Hrvatskoj ili Bosni odbili prihvatiti. Jedini incident takve vrste dogodio se 1941. godine u Bosni, kada štab Kalinovičkog partizanskog odreda nije htio u svoje redove primiti grupu od dvadesetak mladih sarajevskih Židova s objašnjenjem da "ne trebaju kaputaše", tj. buržuje u partizanskim redovima. Većina iz te grupe ipak se na razne načine uspjela probiti do talijanske okupacione zone i naknadno se pridružiti partizanima u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskom primorju.¹⁴⁴

Poslije rasističkih poniženja i smrtonosnih progona pod ustaškom vlašću, poslije razmjerno neznatne, ali ipak ponižavajuće diskriminacije u talijanskoj zoni, Židovi u partizanima više nisu bili progonjena žrtva. Vraćalo im se ljudsko dostojanstvo, osjećaj da su ravnopravni svima ostalima. Ovakvi postupci u praksi dodatno su bili potvrđivani i u dokumentima partizanskog pokreta - tako Pokrajinski komitet KPH za Dalmaciju u *Platformi* u rujnu 1941. godine naglašava: "Fašistički osvajači pomoću ustaša uveli su u našu domovinu nekulturnu tekovinu tzv. 'novoga reda', antisemitizam, tj. ubijanje, pljačkanje, izrugivanje i proganjanje Židova. Naša je dužnost da se odupremo teroru i proganjanju Židova."¹⁴⁵ Tajništvo ZAVNOH-a je ujesen 1943. godine u okružnici s potpisom tajnika dr. Pavla Gregorića upozoravalo "da će svaki istup protiv pojedinaca ili protiv grupe Židova, koji pokazuje izvjesno neprijateljstvo ili mržnju prema njima, povlačiti istragu i strogu kaznu".¹⁴⁶

Židovi su u partizanima bili raspoređivani po borbenim jedinicama i u pomoćne službe, već prema životnoj dobi i sposobnostima. Posebno je brojno i uspješno bilo njihovo sudjelovanje u partizanskom sanitetu. Većina židovskih liječnika koja je otišla 1941. godine u Bosnu liječiti sifilis priključila se antifašističkom pokretu kada se on u tim krajevima pojavio i ojačao. Tako je 1942. godine od ukupno 73 liječnika u cjelokupnom partizanskom sanitetu čak 40 bilo Židova. Poslije

¹⁴³ V. Kovačević, *Pod otvorenim nebom*, Beograd 1985, 408-409 i na drugim mj.; JP 3-4/1986.

¹⁴⁴ S. Goldstein, S., *Židovi Hrvatske u antifašističkom otporu*, u: Antisemitizam, Holokaust, antifašizam, zbornik radova, ur. N. Lengel-Krizman i I. Goldstein, Zagreb 1996, 150.

¹⁴⁵ Gizdić, *Dalmacija 1941*, Zagreb 1957, 279.

¹⁴⁶ Goldstein, *Židovi Hrvatske u otporu*, 153.

kapitulacije Italije u rujnu 1943. godine partizanima su se priključili i židovski liječnici oslobođeni iz talijanskih koncentracionih logora, tako da je u partizanskom sanitetu na području NDH do kraja rata bilo blizu 200 židovskih liječnika i još oko 400 drugog medicinskog osoblja (farmaceuti, veterinari, studenti medicine, školovane ili priučene medicinske sestre i drugi).¹⁴⁷

Najbrojnija pristupanja Židova i Židovki hrvatskim partizanima uslijedila su poslije kapitulacije Italije, kada su oslobođeni talijanski koncentracioni logori: 1.203 Židova iz Hrvatske i 868 iz Bosne i Hercegovine u razdoblju od rujna 1943. do kraja 1944. godine. Daleko najviše Židova i Židovki otišlo je u partizane iz koncentracionog logora u Rabu: na dan kapitulacije, 8. i 9. rujna, logoraši su sami razoružali talijansku stražu i dio garnizona, pa su zaplijenjenim oružjem formirali Rapski partizanski židovski bataljon, kojem su dobrovoljno pristupila 243 logoraša. Nešto kasnije još je 448 bivših logoraša iz rapskog logora bilo mobilizirano ili je dobrovoljno pristupilo u partizanske vojne jedinice, a 648 u razne pomoćne službe na oslobođenom partizanskom teritoriju.¹⁴⁸

Rapski židovski bataljon nije se mogao održati kao posebna jedinica, jer nitko od komandanata, a ni od boraca nije imao potrebnu vojnu naobrazbu niti ratno iskustvo. Postojala je i bojazan da će neprijatelj saznati o postojanju i kretanju bataljona i okomiti se na njega s posebnom žestinom. Stoga je odlučeno da se pripadnici bataljona rasporede u druge jedinice, kao i ostali dobrovoljci i mobilizirani logoraša s Raba. Od 1.339 partizana iz bivšeg rapskog logora do kraja rata u borbama poginulo ih je 119, a umrlo je 17.¹⁴⁹

Da ih ne bi uhvatile nacističke snage, partizani su tijekom jeseni 1943. godine u vrlo složenoj akciji evakuirali s Raba gotovo sve zatvorenike bivšeg židovskog logora, njih 3.151, a među njima i 1.812 neboraca.¹⁵⁰ To je bila jedna od najvećih i najuspješnijih akcija spašavanja židovskih logoraša tijekom cijelog Drugoga svjetskoga rata i jedini primjer da se jedan cijeli logor na takav način oslobodio. Neboračko ljudstvo pretežno je raspoređeno po ruralnim područjima koja su bila pod partizanskom kontrolom na Kordunu, u Lici i na Baniji, a manjina je otišla u Italiju (u Bari) i produžila u druge zemlje. Oskar Quitner i Hermina Nemlich boravili su u kući Tone Dasovića Švici

¹⁴⁷ Goldstein, *Židovi Hrvatske u otporu*, 151-2.

¹⁴⁸ Romano, *Jevreji*, 282-284

¹⁴⁹ A. Lebl, *Četvrt veka od formiranja rapskog bataljona*, JP 1968/7-8.

¹⁵⁰ O tome vrlo detalno piše N. Lengel-Krizman, *Sudbina preživjelih Židova iz logora na Rabu 1943-1945*, Bilten ŽOZ 46-47, 7-16.

(7 km zapadno od Otočca u Lici) od rujna 1943. do siječnja 1944. godine. Tada su morali bježati pred nadolazećom njemačkom ofenzivom.¹⁵¹

204 bivša rapska logoraša, uglavnom starijih i bolesnih ljudi, ostala su na otoku.¹⁵² Dok su se partizani i saveznici razmatrali kako i kuda ih evakuirati, njemačke su se snage u ožujku 1944. iskrcale na otok.¹⁵³ Gestapo je odmah pokrenuo opsežnu akciju hvatanja Židova po otoku. Stanovništvu je obznanjeno da je skrivanje Židova "zločin protiv Reicha", što se kažnjavalo smrću. Tako je većina Židova u sljedeća 3 dana bila pohapšena. Uspjela se sakriti samo nekolicina, među njima jedna djevojka u nekoj kući, jedna mostarska obitelj u samostanu sv. Antona te dva bračna para, Pražani Hoffmann i Zagrepčani Mittler, kod jedne obitelji.¹⁵⁴ Uhapšenici su potom deportirani u Auschwitz, odakle se gotovo nitko nije vratio.¹⁵⁵

Evakuacija i smještavanje neboraćkih logoraša na oslobođenom partizanskom području nije prošlo bez teškoća, ali je ipak uglavnom uspješno obavljeno. Preporuka Zemaljskog antifašističkog vijeća narodnog oslobođenja Hrvatske (ZAVNOH) bila je da Narodnooslobodilački odbori "u svemu izađu u susret Jevrejima u pogledu hrane i smještaja, a isto tako i prijevoza kod toga treba pokazati naročito obzir prema djeci, starcima i bolesnima". Prvo se smatralo da Židove neborce treba uputiti na partizanski teritorij u Slavoniju, gdje bi ih se lakše prehranjivalo, jer "u Slavoniji ima mjesta za 20.000 ljudi", ali se od toga uglavnom moralo odustati zbog teškoća oko transporta. Samo se jedna grupa od 250 osoba uspjela prebaciti u Slavoniju, a druga grupa od oko 230 osoba "raseljena je po ostalim mjestima Gorskoga kotara, Pokuplja i Like". Između 1.500 i 2.000 Židova razmješteno je po selima Korduna i Banije.¹⁵⁶ I sam ZAVNOH priznaje da o izbjeglicama općenito "koji su rasijani po svim okruzima nema točnih ili nikakvih podataka".¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ JIM, fond ŽOZ, bez reg. br. i sign.

¹⁵² M. Šelah, *Sudbina jevrejskih izheglica na otoku Rabu*, Zbornik Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja 7, Beograd 1997, 190-197; Romano, *Jevreji*, 283-285.

¹⁵³ O tome detaljno V. Isaić, Njemački desant na otok Rab - operacija "Illusion", Bilten ŽOZ 39-40/1995, 10-11.

¹⁵⁴ I. Kovačić, *Kampor 1942-1943, Hrvati, Slovenci i Židovi u koncentracijskom logoru Kampor na Rabu*, Rijeka 1998, 337-339; V. Isaić, *Časno cljelo sestara franjevki na Rabu*, Bilten ŽOZ 46-47/1996, 6; svjedočenje Branka Polića.

¹⁵⁵ Vidi detaljnije, Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 509-511; HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kut. 11, 1238-1253; Kovačić, *Kampor*, 336-337; Lengel-Krizman, *Sudbina*.

¹⁵⁶ Prema izvještajima Socijalnog odjela ZAVNOH-a iz ožujka i travnja 1944 — ZAVNOH 1944/11, Zagreb 1964, 238, 529, 654.

¹⁵⁷ ZAVNOH 1944/II, 654.

"Imovno stanje Jevreja dosta je slabo, uslijed neprekidnog povlačenja pred neprijateljem mnogo ih je izgubilo svoju imovinu koju su imali za sobom, tako da je ostala samo jedna trećina koji imadu sredstava za život, dok jedna trećina imade privremeno sredstava, a jedna trećina nema nikakvih sredstava za život. Do sada pomagali su bogatiji one siromašnije, ali sada to više nije moguće", tvrdi Socijalni odjel ZAVNOH-a u izvještaju u travnju 1944. godine.¹⁵⁸ Kada su odlazili na Baniju, preporučeno im je "da se nastoje uposliti kod seljaka i bilo što da rade, jer narod danas u ovoj teškoj borbi s nepovjerenjem gleda na one, koji ništa ne rade, a traže da ih se prehranjuje iako su sposobni za rad. Dok na drugoj strani manjka hrane samom narodu kao i borcima koji se bore protiv neprijatelja. Veliki broj Jevreja imade sposobnih za svaki rad, ali ipak do sada nisu se primili nikakvog rada. Po ovome pitanju data su uputstva odborima da prvenstveno nastoje sve one Jevreje, koji su sposobni za bilo kakovi rad uposliti kod gospodarstva ili u radionicama".¹⁵⁹ Ovakvi prigovori mogu se bar djelomično objasniti razlikama u kulturnim obrascima i ponašanju — Židovi iz pretežno urbanih sredina nasuprot pretežno ruralne okoline. Ipak, antagonizmi nikada nisu značajnije eskalirali. Neko je vrijeme na Kordunu negdje kod Kordunskog Zagorja neka četnički nastrojena grupa pljačkala židovske izbjeglice koji su bili u prolazu. Ljeta 1944. pljačkaši su bili izvedeni pred Narodni sud.¹⁶⁰

Zapošljavanje i integracija Židova u partizanski pokret i u društvo na oslobođenom teritoriju, uza sve teškoće, ipak su s obzirom na okolnosti uglavnom bili uspješni. Već se i u zaključku spomenutog izvještaja kaže da su "Jevreji u glinskom kotaru u većini počeli da rade na poljskim poslovima".¹⁶¹ Na taj način mnogo se Židova za smještaj i hranu koju su dobivali ipak uspjelo odužiti: pletenjem, šivanjem, njegom ranjenih i bolesnih, raznim popravcima, kuhanjem, sve do tečajeva za nepismene i sudjelovanja u kulturnim aktivnostima. Na Baniji se dr. Gustav Jungwirth brinuo za djecu. Stomatolozi Zagrepčanin Miro Kaiser i Sarajlija Hugo Drucker vodili su ambulantu u Glini.¹⁶² Na sjednici Ekonomskog odjela ZAVNOH-a tvrdilo se u travnju 1944. da "među Jevrejima ima dosta raznih stručnjaka... treba ih potražiti, i uvesti u rad... oskudijevamo s ljudima, koji bi se bavili trgovinom..."¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ ZAVNOH 1944/II, 529

¹⁵⁹ ZAVNOH 1944/II, 529.

¹⁶⁰ Svjedočenja Branka Polića i Slavka Goldsteina.

¹⁶¹ ZAVNOH 1944/II, 529.

¹⁶² ZAVNOH 1944/III, 188, 248; J. Romano, Jevreji zdravstveni radnici Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Žrtve fašističkog terora i učesnici u NOR-u, Zbornik JIM 2, Beograd 1973, 179.

¹⁶³ ZAVNOH 1944/II, 389-390.

S nailaskom neprijateljskih ofenziva, Židovi su bježali zajedno s drugima i vraćali se natrag u popaljena sela. Od ljeta 1944. godine počela im je preko savezničkih misija stizati pomoć međunarodnih židovskih organizacija, pa su se prilike donekle poboljšale. Od ukupno 1.812 tih Židova, evakuiranih s Raba, do kraja rata, dakle, u narednih 18 mjeseci, poginulo je 126, a umrlo 15 osoba.¹⁶⁴

Pored velike skupine s Raba, na povlačenju pred njemačko-ustaškom ofenzivom u jesen 1943. godine hrvatskim se partizanima u Dalmaciji pridružilo više od stotinu židovskih obitelji. Oko 130 mlađih ljudi tu se uključilo u borbene jedinice, a neborci su zbrinuti u partizanskoj pozadini. Dio neboraca — njih 122 — evakuiran je kasnije s velikim poznatim zbjegom preko Barija u Egipat (El Shatt). Istovremeno, iz Barija se dalmatinskim partizanima priključila grupa od 117 Židova dobrovoljaca koji su poslije kapitulacije bili oslobođeni iz talijanskog koncentracionog logora Ferramonti.¹⁶⁵

U partizanskim jedinicama kraj rata dočekalo je 2.339 Židova iz Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine. Poginulo ih je 804. Samo u Hrvatskoj je u antifašističkoj borbi sudjelovalo 1.737 Židova. Poginulo ih je 325, od toga 90 Zagrepčana.¹⁶⁶ Konačno, to znači da je i u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini od preživjelih Židova čak svaki četvrti sudjelovao u antifašističkoj borbi.

S partizanima se vratilo kućama još gotovo 2.000 Židova neboraca koji su preživjeli rat na partizanskom oslobođenom području. Prema tome, od ukupno nešto više od 9.000 Židova s područja tadašnje NDH koji su preživjeli Holokaust, otprilike se polovina spasila kao pripadnici ili pripadnice antifašističkih partizanskih jedinica ili boraveći na oslobođenom teritoriju. Drugim riječima, oko 10% ukupnog predratnog židovskog stanovništva sudjelovalo je u antifašističkoj borbi ili je boraveći na partizanskom području aktivno pomagalo tu borbu. Bilo je to proporcionalno najbrojnije sudjelovanje Židova u pokretima otpora u dijelovima Evrope pod kontrolom sila Osovine i ujedno proporcionalno najveći broj spašenih Židova zahvaljujući antifašističkom otporu.

¹⁶⁴ JIM, fond ŽOZ, reg. br. 4863, sign. K-62-5-1/1-276; JIM, fond ŽOZ, bez reg. br. i sign.

¹⁶⁵ Romano, *Jevreji*, 269-271, 284-285.

¹⁶⁶ Projekt "Dotrščina", HDA.

3.2. Translation of the academic article

Solidarity and aid for the Jews in Croatia

This article deals with the topic of solidarity with the Jews during the period of the Independent State of Croatia

At the beginning of April of 1941, the Reich and Italy, backed by their allies, attacked and occupied the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. On April 10th, 1941, on the territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Independent State of Croatia was created. Ante Pavelić was at its helm. Most of the territory alongside the eastern part of the Adriatic was annexed or occupied by Italy, whilst the northern parts of were occupied by Hungary. The ideological similarity and the military-political cooperation of the Ustaša government with the German Nazis and the Italian Fascists, was, amongst other things, reflected in the persecution and mass killings of Jews.

Before the war, around 39 000 Jews lived on the territory of the NDH. Just 9000 of them survived the war. Out of 14000 Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina, only 4000 survived, i.e., almost 30%. Out of 25000 Jews in Croatia, only 5000, or around 20% of them were saved.

The Ustašas killed around 24000 Jews from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina of both sexes and of all ages. During 1942 and 1943, the Ustašas arrested and deported 6000 more Jews and handed them to the German SS forces, to be killed in the gas chambers.

Most of the survivors, around 5000, were liberated on the territories under the rule of Tito's partisans. Around 3000 of them sought refuge abroad. Less than a thousand of additional Jews survived because they resorted to various methods of survival in the areas under the Ustaša government. Majority of the Jews survived because of the intervention of the Catholic Church, which sought to exclude those in mixed marriages, as well as some particular individuals, from the prosecutions. The minority, on the other hand, survived thanks to their own wits, or the wits of those around them. The persistence to persecute the Jews, displayed by the Ustašas and the Nazis, meant that a lot of people had to intervene to save just one Jewish life.

There were also those who put their own lives in danger by trying to intervene. By September 2001, 83 citizens of Croatia were given the Righteous Among the Nations title¹. For example, Pavao Horvat, a leaseholder of a hotel in Karlovac, helped the Jews of Zagreb to escape from Karlovac by hiding them in his basement and directing them to the Italian occupational zone. By doing so, he saved the lives of a few Jewish families from Zagreb. Horvat was later arrested and interned in Dachau until the end of the war. He was awarded with the Righteous Among the Nations title in 1965. There were also others who helped in different ways. At the beginning of 1943, the president of the Jewish Community of Zagreb, Hugo Kon, and the Zagreb rabbi Miroslav Freiburger wrote a letter in which they thanked Ivo Šalek, M.D., the assistant on the University Clinic, for “continuously and unselfishly... whilst not wanting any praise” helping the protégées of the Jewish retirement home in Zagreb.²

Following the example of the Nazis, from whom the Ustašas often received instructions, the Ustašas concocted even stronger measures against the Jews, along those for killing the Serbs. The killings were planned beforehand and resembled the German model, because this plan consisted of three phases: the excommunication, concentration and extermination.

A strong anti-Jewish campaign began just a few days after the NDH had been established. On April 30th, the Legal Provision for the Protection of Arian Blood and the Honour of the Croatian People banned marriages between Jews and other, “non-Arian” origin with the ones with the “Arian” origin. All Jews, aged 6 or older, had to wear a yellow insignia, and their movement was limited.

In June, the Legal Provision of the Protection of the Peoples and Arian Culture of the Croatian People banned Jews from “taking part in work, organisations and institutions of social, youth, sport and cultural life of the Croatian people in general, but above all in literature, journalism, fine arts and music, urbanism, theatre and film”.

From the very beginning of the Ustaša state, the government started taking interest in the Jewish possessions. Thus, the special “Legal Provisions” were declared, making the movable and

¹ According to the data of the Jewish Community of Zagreb (ŽOZ); see the list with names of the first 43 Righteous, ŽOZ Bulletin 38/1995.

² Jewish Historical Museum (JHM), fond ŽOZ, no RN. and sig.

immovable property of Jews “the property of the State”. In other words, the state was able to rob its own people. However, in real life, a more blatant robbery started taking place.

Arrests of the Jews began in the early days of the Ustaša government; only individuals, who were the prominent and influential members of the Jewish community, were arrested. In May, arrests on a smaller scale were organised. At the end of June and in the first days of July of 1941, around 2500 Jews from Croatia, and the same number of Jews Bosnia and Herzegovina, were arrested³.

During the 1930's, there was a loud minority group in Croatia, which openly expressed their antisemitism. The support for the group came from a small number of citizens, mostly from the working class, some craftsman's and some members of the Church. Most of the people living in the cities who rejected antisemitism in theory and practice were in the majority and, from time to time, they publicly made their opinion on the matter known. Intellectual discussions on antisemitism clearly did not reach the wider public, by far largest in numbers. However, the wider public was not indifferent towards this issue. It appears that there were a lot of mixed feelings in their day to day lives: religious and national differences, as well as resistance towards the Jewish merchants, increased their rejection of the Jews. On the other hand, traditional multiculturalism and multiethnicity in Croatia, as well as tolerance as a byproduct, encouraged cooperation.⁴ Those reasons, as well as the traditional conformism and fear, meant that many Croats stuck to the phrase “out of sight, out of mind”, even though persecutions and deportations of Jews happened before their very own eyes.⁵

When the genocide conducted by the Ustašas over Jews and others began in 1941, some Croats readily joined the process. However, many Croats put on an active or passive resistance towards such actions. “Some citizens from Zagreb... welcomed the Germans with flowers and oranges”, but “Lovro Majer, who is, to this day a true Croat, started crying”, said Vlado Prašek. He points out “This great enthusiasm of the streets soon subsided when the first posters of the shot and hanged opponents and the innocent hostages appeared”.⁶ It is worth noting that most Croats

³ I. Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, Zagreb 2001

⁴ More in S. Goldstein, *Iskustva Holokausta u Hrvatskoj*, ŽOZ Bulletin 28-9/1993, 4-5.

⁵ Testimony of Stjepan Steiner, M.D.

⁶ B. Prašek-Calczyfiska, *Memoari jedne liječnice*, Zagreb 1997, 144.

welcomed the swift end of the April war in 1941, and, with it, the declaration of the Independent State of Croatia. However, numerous reasons left a lot of people disappointed.

Like elsewhere in Europe, the model and the encouragement for persecution and the killings of Jews, in Zagreb and Croatia were the policies of the Third Reich. The policies of the Third Reich had a crucial influence on NDH, and the existence of NDH depended on it. The Nazis put in power a group that they knew resembled them in ideology and in practice. Were the Croatian Peasant Party, the ruling party at the time, put in power as some called for, the persecution of Jews would not have taken place, or the Nazis would have to organise the persecutions by themselves. This did not happen due to Vladko Maček's refusal not only to take the power when the Nazis took over, but also due to his refusal to cooperate with the Nazis in any capacity.⁷ However, the Croatian population displayed more differentiation than most of the other countries under occupation or under the influence of the Nazi Germany; there were more participants conducting the crimes, but there were even more participants in the domicile resistance to the criminals.

High ranking Ustaša officials, such as Andrija Artuković, the Foreign Minister, and Eugen Dido Kvaternik, the Chief of Police, were not alone organising the killings; “the conscious and calculated directors and authors of the slaughtering plan were Pavelić himself and the closest people around him... then there were the managers on the field, such as Maks Luburić..., as well as the numerous slaughtering perpetrators were often an unaware tool of the the real culprits, blinded by racial and other theories”.⁸ On the other hand, prominent partisans, like Slavko Komar and Ivan Šiblar, did not decide to join the guerilla out of the blue, to fight the Ustašas, the Nazis and the Fascists. One of the most prominent Croatian writers, Vladimir Nazor (1876-1949), who joined the Partisans at the end of 1942, when asked “why did he join the Partisans”, answered that he was “prompted by the inhumane persecution and extermination of Jews, who are human, just like me. But, more importantly, I was prompted by the abuse and the slaughter of the Serbs, who are, by blood, our brothers, with whom we have lived for centuries”.⁹

⁷ Goldstein, Croatia. *A History*, London-Montreal, 1999, 131 ff.; L. Steindorff, Kroatien, Regensburg — München 2001, 173 ff.

⁸ Croatian State Archives (=HDA), fond MUP SRH, 013.0.3, Dizdar, Ustaštvo i NDH, 55; see similar , HDA, fond MUP SRH, 013.0.56, V. Židovec, Moje sudjelovanje u političkom životu, 138

⁹ Jevrejski pregled (=JP), Beograd, 1966/7-8.

The Ustaša movement did not represent the majority amongst the Croats, neither did all members of the Ustaša movement participate in the antisemitic propaganda, or other anti-Jewish activities. However, it is without a doubt that the perpetrators of the crimes against the Jews were members of the Ustaša movement, and that this movement was responsible for all genocidal actions in the NDH. The perpetrators of the crimes were also, to say the least, indirectly under the influence of the pre-war antisemitic outbursts and the traditional antisemitic narratives, which were present in Croatia in various frequency and vigour. By declaring the anti-Jewish legal provisions, the Jews became second-class citizens, without the protection of the law, exposed to arbitrariness and persecution. When mass arrests started taking place, they needed solidarity and help, more than ever.

Many individuals and groups of Croats devoted themselves to save individual Jews and their families, on May 15th, therefore, the Policing directorate sent a memo to the Bar Association where they “ban lawyers to intervene in political matters, especially for Jews. Each individual not abiding this directorate, will be held accountable and will bear heavy consequences”.¹⁰ But it appears the directorate did not have any real effect, so Pavelić himself, in his statement for the press on July 27th, banned everyone “in regards to the provision from July 26th... in their personal matters, which have the notion of interventions, to turn to the Main Ustaša Headquarters, because they will not, no matter what, be heard”.¹¹ In the following days, the papers were brimming with headlines following the narrative. The paper *Ustaša*, at the beginning of July, under the headline *Enough with the Interventions* (Dosta s intervencijama!), informs that “the Main Ustaša Headquarters, regarding Poglavnik’s provision, warns all Ustaša officials that any intervention in personal matters is punishable by death. The Ustašas are to stop such activities, and once for all close the doors for those who do nothing but defy the laws and provisions by going from office to office and “intervene” for the Jews, for Vlachs (vlahe), and for relatives.”¹² These drastic, and at the same time nervously repeated threats, show that there were interventions. It also shows the interventions probably could not be stopped because of the corruption or personal connections. The ones who made the requests were also aware of this, so they turned to Pavelić himself in many cases; to obtain something they thought could not be obtained via regular procedures. The

¹⁰ *Novi list*, 18, Zagreb, 16. 5. 1941.

¹¹ *Novi list*, 60, Zagreb, 28. 6. 1941.

¹² *Ustaša*, 3, Zagreb, 3. 7. 1941.

preserved files show, in most cases, that Poglavnik or his office did not leave any trace; they just passed the requests to people below them, usually with a verbal recommendation.¹³ But there were exceptions; Pavelić himself had, in September of 1941, given Eleonora Feldmann (1923) from Zagreb, and “her legal descendants all rights that belong to persons of Arian origin”.¹⁴

Of course, there were members of the Ustaša government who made concessions for individual Jews, because the NDH was a clientelist state, where personal relations and money were often crucial, both with the high-ranking officials, and with Pavelić himself. The family of doctor Oskar Stern and his father-in-law, Sigmund Pordes, a banker, as well as the family of doctor Milan Schwartz (father of Emil, who took on the name Ariel Shomrony in Israel), were protected by marshal Slavko Kvaternik personally. Kvaternik was the best man at the Stern’s wedding in the Zagreb synagogue in 1930. When Kvaternik fell out of Pavelić’s grace in 1942, both families had to flee.¹⁵

The bureaucracy in the NDH meticulously sought, and then archived, every single request for Jews to be exempt from wearing a sign, to be allowed to stay in public places etc. Requests of those that wanted to help the Jews were also archived.

The Legal Provision of the Protection of Arian Blood and the Honor of the Croatian people declared on April 30th, which banned marriages between Jews and other persons of the “non-Arian” origin with those of the “Arian” origin, meant that there was an influx of requests. According to the second paragraph, one could request “a special permission to obtain a marriage licence” which could be issued by “the Ministry of Interior, after the hearing of the racial-political committee”. The number of such cases was, however, relatively small and the committee usually decided against the request.¹⁶ Franjo Krajcar (1914), a locksmith apprentice, claimed he met Edita Schwabenitz (1924) “two years ago, and we fell in love so much that we cannot be without the other, so we decided to enter the holy matrimony, and to be married in a ceremony of the Roman-catholic religion”. Therefore, they requested the licence to get married in August of 1941. The request was approved by Branko Rukavina, a commissioner in the Main Ustaša Headquarters, and

¹³ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec., 28184, 28185, 28189, 28252.

¹⁴ HDA, fond Poglavnikov vojni ured, bb.

¹⁵ A. Shomrony, *Svjedočenja, Gdje je Freiburgerova biblioteka?*, ŽOZ Bulletin 30, Zagreb 1993, 10-11; testimony of Dragana Sterna, M.D.

¹⁶ See HDA, fond 223, MUP NDH, II A 33795/41, 32638/41, 32829/41, 33187/41, 40263/41, 44039/41, 49039/41, 53248/41; fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 29619, 29685.

the high-ranking official of the UNS (“I know Krajcar is an honest and conscious Croat”). Krajcar, however, gave up on the request in October. In June 1942, Krajcar pleaded for the release of Edita, and her mother Ilonka from the camp, but that request was not granted. Ilonka had, allegedly, ended up in Đakovo, and Edita ended up in an unknown place.¹⁷

By the end of July, the Jews were invited to take their yellow insignia from the police headquarters.¹⁸ A poster in Zagreb noted that “all Arians are obliged to report every Jew or Jewess, who do not answer this call... to the police”. The final directives are the usual: “Those who do not respond to the call and do not have the insignia on the designated place, will be met with the most severe punishment”. The day after, in the *Hrvatski Narod* journal, it was once again confirmed that “every Jew or Jewess, who does not wear the patch, will face the most severe punishment”.¹⁹ This was an indirect admission by the Ustašas that they themselves were not sure whether this directive will be followed. The government confirmed this: at the time, when Jews from Zagreb took the patches, the *Hrvatski Narod* passes on the warning of the Jewish Division (Židovski Odsjek) that all Jews are included by “the acknowledged Jewish law and are obliged to wear the prescribed insignia... it was noticed that some Jews who took the insignia, do not wear it. Every one of them will face the most severe punishment.”²⁰ The president of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, Glücksthall claimed in 1945, that the insignia was there to “make the Jews look laughable and to ridicule them. Although, one must admit, the animosity of some citizens aside (towards the Jews, I. G. remark), this attempt was pretty much unsuccessful”²¹. The report made by the Gestapo in May 1942 also claims “the measure caused the opposite effect; there were countless cases of Jews wearing insignia on the street or in trams when strangers from various social classes (citizens, peasants, even German officers and soldiers) expressed their sympathy. Moreover, the non-Jews removed the insignia from many Jews, older women and children especially.”²²

Wearing the insignia was a stigma that many found difficult to bear. In the request to be exempt from wearing the Jewish patch, Leopold Müller claimed that it was a “mark of shame”.²³

¹⁷ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 29619; *Popis žrtava lišenih života*, Jewish Community of Zagreb, Zagreb.

¹⁸ *Hrvatski narod*, Zagreb, 22. 5. 1941; *Ustaša, Dokumenti o ustaškom pokretu*, hrsg. P. Požar, Zagreb 1995, 173; HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, nr. 306, box 10, 423, 428; fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27431.

¹⁹ *Hrvatski narod*, Zagreb, 23. 5. 1941.

²⁰ *Hrvatski narod*, Zagreb, 29. 5. 1941.

²¹ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, nr. 306, box 15, 3875.

²² HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, nr. 306, box 10, 63-64.

²³ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 29351.

Many Croats agreed; Peter Grgec, a Catholic writer and publicist, a professor at the Nadbiskupska klasična gimnazija high school, greeted the strangers who wore the Jewish insignia on the street by lowering his hat, during the winter of 1941/42. When his daughter asked him if he knew those people, he replied that she cannot understand “how much that man suffers and how humiliated he is. When I pass by them and the shameful tag they are wearing, I feel deep respect towards their suffering, and to those brave people.”²⁴

When the mass arrests of Jews started on June 21st, 1941, the police services responsible for the arrests were swamped by requests for them to be released and allowed to continue working. Many of the requests made were along the following lines: for Oton Mermelstein (1905.), to be returned to work. He was taken on June 21st to the Zagreb Fair (transit camp, translators remark) from where he did not return, but this did not yield any success.²⁵ Zenit, the Knitted Goods Company, from the Nikolić street, asked the Jewish Division on July 9th, “to postpone, for the foreseeable future, the detention of Mr. Alfred Eisenstädter”; however, Eisenstädter did not survive the war.²⁶ The technical supplies store in the Nikolić street, made a request on July 14th, that Josip Haas “is exempt from these measures, undertaken against the Jews, because he is indispensable”, but the request was not “approved”; Haas was killed in Jasenovac towards the end of the year.²⁷ Farmabion, a biochemical laboratory, made a request on July 9th to “release the owner of the company, Milan Farkaš, M. D.” He was also killed in Jasenovac by the end of the year.²⁸

Robert Koller, an engineer, and the owner of a mechanical workshop, requested in July to be allowed to continue working. The request was supported by twelve of his workers, claiming that “he was always a good and honest friend, he was at our disposal in good and bad times, and, in case of downtime in business, he ensured our pay checks”. However, Koller was soon deported to Jasenovac, where his life ended later that year.²⁹ In September, Mijo Gavranović, an owner of the Pokorny liquor factory, who considered himself to be an Ustaša, demanded that the manager Aladar Stern “can work and move freely. If he was not allowed to do so, it could lead to downtime

²⁴ A. Grgec-Tusun, *Uspomena iz djetinjstva na mog dragog oca prof. P. Grgeca*, Marulić, Split, December 1992; on Grgecu, *Tko je tko u NDH*, Zagreb 1995, 138-139.

²⁵ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27427; *Popis žrtava*.

²⁶ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27668.

²⁷ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27683; *Popis žrtava*.

²⁸ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27770; *Popis žrtava*.

²⁹ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28709; *Popis žrtava*.

in business”. Therefore, Stern “was temporarily kept employed”.³⁰ The reasoning in the requests for exemption of some Jews was sometimes very interesting: “We would not move a finger for this Jew, were it for another, Arian expert” because “Ladislav Gissingen is the only expert in the State for intake and emission pipes” was the explanation from the First Croatian Radio Factory (Prva hrvatska tvornica krugovalnika). This explanation did not help, because Gissingen ended up in Jasenovac by the end of the year.³¹

Because of the harassment as well as the arrests and deportations of the Jewish workers, the production had understandably suffered. By the end of May, the commissioner of the Zagreb Shoe Factory, Ljudevit Gržanić, requested that the “only experts in this factory, two Jews... are exempt from wearing the Jewish insignia... because it is quite awkward for them to wear it, because of the relations with the German authority, whose trust we have gained”.³² In June 1941, Josip Juvand, acquired permission to employ Željko Biller, an opticians assistant, “because of the shortage of Arian experts”. The effort to gain this permission was cut short, because Biller ended up in Jasenovac in a matter of months.³³ By the end of August, nine owners of craftsman companies (mostly metal goods, carpenters and upholsterers), asked for Aleksandar Ehrenfreund, the owner of the Zmaj company, to “be released, otherwise the signees of the request will lose profit, because we exclusively worked for Mr. Ehrenfreund, the only expert in this field”. Ehrenfreund was not released, he was killed in Jasenovac in 1942.³⁴

A painter, Ivan (Ivo) Palčić (1892-1962), born in Novalja on the island of Pag, made a request in the summer of 1941, for his alleged wife, a Jewess named Ruža, to be granted Arian rights. The request was signed by a few Croats, but that did not aid her case. The request was denied, Ruža was later deported and killed.³⁵

³⁰ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28160.

³¹ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27864; *Popis žrtava*

³² HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec., 27403; also 27424, 27436, 27473, 27538, 27559, 27560, 27609, 27610, 27650, 27736.

³³ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27295; *Popis žrtava*.

³⁴ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28049; *Popis žrtava*.

³⁵ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec 27310; *Popis žrtava*; Palčić lived in Novalja during the war. He was a bohemian, lived his whole life alone. All things considered, he really did marry Ruža, although it is not possible to determine when or where. But that marriage could have only been fictional. On Palčić — *Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti*, 3, Zagreb 1964, 621.

Issuing passes for leaving Zagreb in the summer of 1941, was an efficient way of helping the Jews. Many provided the passes; “they turned a blind eye when we escaped Zagreb. ‘Just let them go, but they have to leave everything they own’. Hyenas also appeared, who promised everything; from Arian rights, to escape from the camps, and, luckily, real or fake passes which led to salvation”, Vera Fischer remembered.³⁶ Some got their passes without bribing, via friendly relations, like those provided by Željko Dolinar, a prominent table tennis player. He organised an entire network for creating skilfully forged passes for his Jewish friends. Dolinar was later awarded with the Righteous Among the Nations title. Passes helped over a thousand Jews to escape from Zagreb.

In Zagreb, the procuration of fake visas and passports was in full swing, for money, valuables, and some other interests. The Uruguayan consulate was the most prominent one, and the Spanish consulate was also engaged. The Honorary consul of Portugal, Alexandar Ehrmann gave out visas on his own accord, probably because he himself was a Jew.³⁷ Bolivia and Honduras accepted craftsman’s, the USA only gave out visas if the person had an affidavit, a letter of guaranty by an important and well standing US citizen; one of the terms was also having no less than five thousand US dollars.³⁸

Using these methods, many Jews from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina managed to get themselves from Italy, and via other channels, to Switzerland (“we are aware of 700 of them, but there is allegedly more”), Palestine (800), USA (1000), and a certain number of them to “Africa and other allied countries”, altogether up to 3000.³⁹

Because of the large number of people suffering from syphilis in Bosnia, the Ustaša government had established a Department for Prevention of Endemic Syphilis in Banja Luka in June 1941.⁴⁰ However, doctors from Croatia did not apply for employment to the Department, even though they were promised double length of service, as well as “an appropriate award”⁴¹. This was the reason why the German and the Ustaša authorities did not deport at least 81 Jewish

³⁶ Testimony of Vera Fischer

³⁷ M. Ristović, U potrazi za utočištem, Jugoslovenski Jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941-45, Beograd 1998, 261-263; HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28885.

³⁸ Testimony of Branko Polić

³⁹ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kutija 10, 91.

⁴⁰ Zakoni, zakonske odredbe, naredbe NDH, II, Zagreb 1941, 300-304.

⁴¹ See Zakoni NDH11, 303.

doctors, who were mostly from Zagreb; from August 1941, they sent them to the most remote parts of Bosnia, where they could work on suppressing the disease.⁴² The action was crafted by dermatovenerologist and hygienist Ante Vuletić, M. D., in agreement with his friends Miroslav Schlesinger, M. D., with the aim of saving the lives of doctors and their families. In that moment, less thought was spared for treating the sick and the prevention of the disease spreading. Syphilis in Bosnia was not transmitted by sexual contact; it was inherited, i.e., transmitted onto babies at birth, while nursed, via contact or via dishes (the primary effect in the tonsils or the soft palate was the most frequent).⁴³ Vuletić spent a lot of time negotiating with the competent institutions regarding the establishment of the Department for Prevention of Syphilis, because, for some time, Pavelić did not agree to his proposal. Vuletić was latter given the Righteous Among the Nations title. Vuletić's proposal was finally approved, because his reasoning was: "Instead of sending the Jewish doctors to working camps, use them to eradicate syphilis in Bosnia. Once they are done, you can still send them to camps."⁴⁴

Families of doctors who treated syphilis in Bosnia were often protected and could still reside in their own homes.⁴⁵ The notice was forwarded to all competent institutions,⁴⁶ with the addition that "out of coercive measures", only the "closest family members, i.e., the wife, children and parents of the doctors" are to be exempt from "the coercive measures"; in this case, the "family of the doctor's wife" was not included.⁴⁷

At least 58, at most 67 Jewish doctors joined the Partisans over the following months and years; four were killed by Germans or Ustašas, and three were killed while working in Bosnia.⁴⁸

When the number of deportations started rising, there were many heartfelt attempts to save at least some Jews: 72 peasants (three of them illiterate) from Dolič, near Krapina, in August of 1941, pleaded that the "five-member Klein family is released from the camp and returned home,

⁴² HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28017, 28266, 28658, see the list of 51 doctors, and 29171

⁴³ Testimony of Stjepan Steiner, M.D.

⁴⁴ Testimony of Stjepan Steiner, M.D.

⁴⁵ HDA, fond 223, MUP NDH, 3510/II- A, 2570; fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27986, 28056, 28107, 28666, 29184, 29222, 29429.

⁴⁶ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 29078.

⁴⁷ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 29570.

⁴⁸ JP 1-2, Beograd 1970; Z. Levental, *Lekari na suzbijanju endemskog sifilisa u Bosni i Hercegovini i njihovo učešće u NOB-i*, Zbornik radova Naučnog društva za istoriju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije, Beograd 1963; E. Najfeld, *Sećanje iz vremena drugog svetskog rata*, JP 1-2/1975; O zaslugama Ante Vuletica - JP 7-8, Beograd 1977; Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 215-222.

where they would be allowed a permanent and peaceful stay”.⁴⁹ 69 peasants from the Zagreb suburb Remetinec, and the surrounding villages, requested that Aleksandar Šandor Löwy is released from Jasenovac. Luka Markulin, an Ustaša, “aware of the Ustaša oath” claimed that “Šandor Levij earned his freedom”. However, Šandor ended up in Jasenovac.⁵⁰ The peasants from Vrbovac, 74 of them, requested that their commendable merchant, Dragan Štern, is released from Jasenovac⁵¹. 73 peasants and craftsmen from Šestine, a suburb of Zagreb, signed the request for the local merchant, Vilim Schoenauer, to be released, but to no avail.⁵² Some citizens from Zagreb signed a request in the end of May, that Viktor Juhn is given Arian rights, and at the end of July, they signed a request for Adolf Schwarz to be let out of the camp. Both attempts were not successful. Juhn’s life ended at an unknown location, while Schwarz was killed in Jasenovac by the end of 1941.⁵³ A few prominent “Croatian musicians and artists” stood up for Žiga Hirschler, a composer and a music critic, who was deported in September of 1941. Boris Papandopulo and Lovro Matačić were amongst the musicians and artists. Although the Jewish Division demanded, at the end of October, that Hirschler is released from the camp, it did not yield results. It is not known whether Hirschler was already dead when the request for his release came, because the first and final package was sent to him from the Zagreb Community in November.⁵⁴ Rudolf Horvat, a prominent historian, organised, in September 1941, a signing of the request to release in Arpad Stern, a Jew from Gradec. A total of 132 locals signed the request, but this did not help because Stern ended up in a camp⁵⁵. Dragutin Horvat asked for the same thing for Vladimir Fuchs who was Horvat’s platoon officer. Horvat claimed that “God himself sent this man to be our officer”. Fuchs also ended up in Jasenovac.⁵⁶ In March 1943, the peasants near Jastrebarsko requested from the Ministry of Interior for their local merchant, Srećko Breyer, to be given Arian rights, because the Breyers’ “are honest citizens, good Croats”. This was followed by mostly illegible signatures by

⁴⁹ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28026.

⁵⁰ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28237.

⁵¹ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28293.

⁵² HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28338; *Kartoteka pripadnika židovske zajednice u Zagrebu (Kartoteka židovskog znaka)*, May 1941, Archive of ŽOZ.

⁵³ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 28704, 29099; *Popis žrtava*.

⁵⁴ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28264; On Hirschleru, *Muzička enciklopedija 2*, Zagreb 1974, 134; A. Vujnović-Tonković, *Pisana riječ žige Hirschlera*, Novi Omanut 12, Zagreb 1995, 5-7; *Popis žrtava; Kartoteka jasenovačkih zatočenika (Kartoteka Jasenovac)*, Archive of ŽOZ, Zagreb.

⁵⁵ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 28134; M. Kolar-Dimitrijević, *Akcija povjesničara dr. Rudolfa Horvata na spašavanju gradečkog židova Arpada Sterna 1941. godine*, Novi omanut 26, Zagreb 1998, 10.

⁵⁶ HDA, fond 248, UNS, file I-A-II 377; *Popis žrtava*.

142 peasants; a very positive opinion the local pastor made for Breyer was added to the request.⁵⁷ A dozen citizens from Podravska Slatina signed a request for Justina Bauer to be given Arian rights.⁵⁸

There were also certain police officers and agents who warned the Jews each time a raid was organised. Some of them did it for the money, but also because of the sense of comradeship and human sympathy. Those officers looked the other way when Jews were fleeing, or they pretended not to know where the Jews were hiding. At the beginning of August 1942, Elza Hiršl, the owner of a mixed goods store on the western periphery of Zagreb, was told, by an unknown, but regular shopper, that the deportations have begun. The shopper was an obvious member of the Ustaša movement. This notice saved the lives of Elza and her daughter, Biserka.⁵⁹

Zdenka Novak was spotted by Ante Jedvaj in a concentration camp. He was a commissioner of the factory where her father worked. Jedvaj was highly regarded amongst the Ustašas. He saved Zdenka Novak by claiming she was ill, so he took her home, which saved her life. Jedvaj promised to do the same for her newly wedded husband, Fritz Bricht, but he did not keep the promise, or it was the case that he could not keep the promise.⁶⁰

Josip Švarcenberg, a merchant in Kustošija, a suburb of Zagreb, was arrested twice with the intention to deport him. The locals gathered in front of the headquarters of the local Ustaša organisation both times and did not leave until Josip was released.⁶¹ A housekeeper of a building in Zagreb, yelled to warn Zlata Frankl and the Prašek family when the Ustašas came to make a raid by shouting: “A doctress lives here with her son, otherwise there is no one in the apartment!”; the housekeeper was the only person to know the Prašek family was hiding Zlata Frankl.⁶²

Some came up with original ways to free the imprisoned. When Hilda Atijas (born Eisenberg in 1911), was imprisoned in one of the Zagreb jails in February of 1942, Vilko Sakušek (1916-1996) and Vladimir Marhofer (1912-1994) requested from a Parish Office in Zagreb for her marriage with Rafael Atijas from 1939 to be annulled. The reasoning was that it was a sham

⁵⁷ HDA, fond 223, MUP NDH, 8897, III-A, 45072/41.

⁵⁸ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. odsj., 27673.

⁵⁹ Testimony of Biserka Hiršl-Barac.

⁶⁰ More, Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 253

⁶¹ Testimony of Berta Israel b. Švarcenberg.

⁶² Prašek, *Memoars*, 147.

marriage. They claimed that the marriage happened only because her father was a Romanian citizen, and the marriage meant Hilda could obtain citizenship.⁶³ Sakušek testified that the marriage of Hilda Eisenberg and Rafael Atijas was a sham marriage, and that he, Sakušek, loves Hilda and wants to marry her. Sakušek's best friend, Marhofer, testified to the fact. The arguments were quite convincing, which may have been the reason why Hilda was released from prison. It appears that Sakušek and Hilda did not marry, because Hilda tried to escape from Zagreb upon her release. She lost her life in unclear circumstances, in a Partizan ambush some 30 kilometres out of the town.⁶⁴

The people of Trsat, Sušak, Crikvenica and other towns on the Croatian Littoral and Gorski Kotar, displayed an unambiguous animosity towards the Fascists and the persecution of the innocent.⁶⁵ The testimony made by the family of Aleksandar Goldstein, who lived, with Kata Miloš and her son, Drago, in Hreljin, without being reported, is impressive. One day near their house, a poster written in Italian appeared. It stated that all hiding the unreported individuals were to be shot. When his mother asked, "What will we do, Drago?", he answered: "We will not report them".⁶⁶

A prominent historian and a Franciscan, Dominik Mandić, wrote, towards the end of 1942, that "numerous small children were hidden and rescued by friends and neighbouring families in Croatia and Zagreb"⁶⁷. Mijahlo Bauer was deported in 1941, and his wife, Regina (born Gold), was taken away in August of 1942. Their children, a four-year-old Leon and six-month-old Ljerka, found refuge, in an unknown fashion, with a Roman-catholic couple, Stjepan and Marija Bauer, from the Bogošić Street; this saved the children's lives.⁶⁸ Ladislav (1938) and six month old Nadica Deutsch, the children of Antun and Ružica (born Kohn), as well as Lea Kohn (1935), the daughter of Aleksandar and Katinka (born Strenger), were brought in from Vinkovci in September of 1941. They were rescued from the Loborgrad camp (60 kilometers north of Zagreb). The children were situated with Dragica Jureković (born Kohn). "The parents of all three children are somewhere in

⁶³ Nadbiskupski arhiv u Zagrebu (=NAZ), group NDS 2675/1942.

⁶⁴ JIM, fond ZOZ, no RN and sign; testimonies of Ljubica Sakušek, wife of Vilko, and Ada Marhofer, wife Vladimir; *Popis žrtava; Spiskovi preživelih Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, Autonomni odbor za pomoć Beograd, SJVO, Beograd 1946.

⁶⁵ Testimony of Zdenko Šternberg, M.D.

⁶⁶ A. Goldstein, *Porto Re 1942/3*, Kraljevica, ŽOZ Bulletin 28-9, Zagreb 1993, 12-13

⁶⁷ A. Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac*, t. 1, Beograd - Jasenovac 1986, 489.

⁶⁸ NAZ, group NDS 9805/1942.

camps”. Dragica “took in the naked and barefoot children”, but, because she did not have any money, the Jewish Community helped the children financially⁶⁹. In 1942, a six-month-old Isak Kabiljo was handed over for care to a “Roman-catholic housewife”, Jozefina Ambrož from Zagreb, after his mother Palomba was deported. Jozefina took care of the child despite the fact she “had no funds”.⁷⁰ There are some documents showing how the institutions of the Catholic Church were saving the Jewish children: at least two cases are known when the Archdiocese of Zagreb situated the Jewish children with Croatian families in Ludbreg.⁷¹

There were other ways to hide. Elza Hiršl situated her five-year-old daughter, Biserka, in a home for girls next to a Carmelite monastery, in Vrhovac, Zagreb on August 5^h 1942. One of the associates of the archbishop Stepinac, a customer of Hiršl’s store, helped her in doing so. She never found out what his name was, she was only in possession of a phone number. Biserka stayed in the home during the deportations, until August 27th. The same associate hid Elza in the suburbs, in a house with a vineyard. When the imminent danger passed and they obtained the documents with fake names, the mother and daughter escaped from Zagreb, which saved their lives. 16 Jewish girls found refuge in the home for girls. Biserka Hiršl, Elza and Nada Bek, Karla-Dragica Haas and Ilonka Schmidt were also saved from the deportations that took place during August of 1942.⁷² Đuro Engelsrath (1935) from Rijeka was situated in a home for boys in Hrvatski Leskovac, southeast of Zagreb (also situated in a Carmelite monastery), which saved his life. His father and grandfather had already been killed, and his mother, Elizabeta, escaped to Tanger (Morocco). A book kept in the library of the monastery states: “He was handed over to his aunt on July 6th, 1945.”⁷³

Franciscan Third Order, Rafaela Elizabeta Gustetić, took in a significant number of children in her apartment in Zagreb. The youngest was a Jewish girl without parents.⁷⁴ In September of 1941, Gustetić stood up for a Jew, who was “worthy of the exemption”.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ NAZ, group NDS 10729/1942: *Popis žrtava; Spiskovi preživelih*.

⁷⁰ NAZ, group NDS 9274/1942.

⁷¹ JIM, fond ŽOZ, RN. 4970, sign. K-63-3-2/1-1, RN 4864, sign. K-63-1-1/1-200.

⁷² Archive of the Carmelite monastery in Vrhovac, Zagreb; testimony of Biserka Hirschl-Barac

⁷³ JIM, fond ŽOZ, no RN and sign.; Archive of the Carmelite monastery in Hrvatski Leskovac near Zagreb.

⁷⁴ JIM, fond ŽOZ, RN 4864, sign. K-63-1-1/1-254.

⁷⁵ NAZ, fond Prezidijalni spisi 108/1941.

The distinctive way of saving Jews was by admitting them to hospitals. Zlata Keller (1892) was admitted to the Bolnica sestara milosrdnica hospital on August 8th, 1942, with a quite unusual diagnosis of “cystitis, cholecystitis, polyarthritis”. Cystitis is an inflammation of the bladder, Cholecystitis is an inflammation of the gallbladder, and polyarthritis is a general inflammation of the joints. She was discharged three weeks later, on September 15th. More secretive are the notes of treating Zlata Frankl (1909) and Margita Böhm (1895), admitted into the hospital on August 4th and 16th. They were diagnosed with cholecystitis acuta postgripposa”, i.e., “dysentery acuta”. They were discharged on September 1st, i.e., October 1st, as “being cured”.⁷⁶ “Post-influenza gallbladder inflammation” does not mean anything. “Dysentery” can be just regular diarrhoea. It can therefore be concluded that the three, so called patients, were admitted to the hospital for their lives to be saved; admitted just before the large deportations of Jews and discharged after the danger passed.

Olga Schaeffer stayed in the Vrapče Psychiatric Hospital from 1930. Karlo Bubanić, the priest of the hospital, when preparing Schaeffer for baptism, claimed that she was “now almost completely aware, and she resides in the hospital mostly because of the current circumstances”. Olga resided in her apartment in Zagreb after the war.⁷⁷ Norbert Thumin-Landau, a German emigrant, hid in the same hospital in 1941, although he was not sick; the reasoning for his admission is also unknown, however this did help him to survive the war.⁷⁸

Some Jews, during the first few months after NDH was established, hoped that being baptized would save them. In general, not even the possible transition to Catholicism would help the Jews the same way it helped the Orthodox Serbs. The position of Jews was clearly defined by the Legal Provision of Racial Identity: “When referring to the Jews, we do not refer to the members of the Moses religion, but to the members of the Jewish racial community, because religion does not constitute the essence of the Jewish community, its racial structure and cultural heritage from the distant past does... The certificate of baptism is not sought because of the religious element. The certificate of baptism is the strongest criteria that the grandfathers and grandmothers, the ancestors of the second generation, were the members of the Arian racial community, because

⁷⁶ JIM, fond ŽOZ, RN. 5386, sign. K-65-6-1/1-36 do 1-39, 1-137, 1-138, 1-142 do 1-144.

⁷⁷ NAZ, fond Prezidijalni spisi 108/1941.

⁷⁸ JIM, fond ŽOZ, RN. 1909.

during the time of our grandfathers, the Jews did not even mix with the Arians.”⁷⁹ Still, baptism provided the best opportunity for salvation. During 1941, in Zagreb, one third of the Jewish community was baptized.⁸⁰ Of the 1185 prisoners, all of them Jews, of the Italian camp in Kraljevica, 51,8% declared themselves to be “Israeli”, and 45,4 % to be Roman-Catholics. Therefore, the Jews who were baptized were more likely to be saved.⁸¹

The Catholic Church had an established procedure of admitting new members. Once a Jew or Jewess expressed the desire to join the Church, the pastor would forward the request to the Nadbiskupski duhovni stol (an administrative and advisory body), which would regularly grant the request. It was in accordance with the statements from the Vatican that “the Catholic Church does not accept under its wing not one adult who seeks to join it or wants to return to it, if they are not completely aware of the importance and the consequences of what they wish to do”.⁸² In April of 1941, broad explanations of why a Jew wishes to be baptized were still written. An example is Ivan Klein (1911) “an honest man... intelligent, who attended a university, learned canon law, so he knows much about the Catholic Church... I threatened him, and I shall stand by it, if he does not learn properly... I will not let him step into marriage”, a pastor claimed.⁸³ The requests later became shorter and simpler. There were a few simple phrases that justified the baptisms. The explanations in requests made by the pastors at the later stages, when referring to the fiancé and fiancée, went along the lines “she is familiar with the Catholic faith and she has a pure and honest intent to be a good Catholic”, or “she was brought up in Catholic faith”, or “she learned all the prayers she needs, albeit with some difficulties, because she does not know Croatian that well”, or “she followed, with great attention, and was even moved when she listened to the religious truth”.⁸⁴

It was apparent that many were turned a blind eye, and it was not really taken into account if the ones making the request met the conditions for baptism, i.e., if they were familiar with the religious education and whether they adopted the religious truths, as the canon law states.⁸⁵ Most often it was the case that families of three (the mother and the three Eisenstädter daughters) or

⁷⁹ *Hrvatski narod, Zagreb*, May 3rd, 1941; see *Ustaša, Dokumenti*, 165, 167.

⁸⁰ Arhiv ŽOZ for 1960.

⁸¹ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, bnr. 306, box 11, 1048-1095.

⁸² J. Krišto, *Katolička crkva i Nezavisna Država Hrvatska 1941-1945*, II, documents, Zagreb 1998, 145.

⁸³ NAZ, skupina NDS 3864/1941.

⁸⁴ NAZ, skupina NDS 158, 568, 1030, 1032, 1033, 2581, 2588, 2990, 2991, 3070, 3528, 3578, 4088, 5007, 5510, 5513, 9089, 9855, 9856, 10730, 12153/1942.

⁸⁵ *Codex iuris canonici*, Freiburg 1919, paragraph 737 and d., and 745 and d.

sometimes even families of five (the Sege and Müller families)⁸⁶ converted to Catholicism. Therefore, it was hard to expect each member to be introduced to the newly adopted religion.

Šarka (Sara) Štefica Sarfati, “does not remember much of religious education, because she is poor minded, but she did know the basic truths”, the pastor claimed.⁸⁷ The reason why Elza Glück (born Adler) requested to be admitted into the Catholic Church in February 1942, was that she “would have already joined, but she was seriously ill”, was the pastors reasoning.⁸⁸ Eta Mandolfo was “baptized privately when she was a child, but she was not entered into the Registry of Baptised”, claimed the pastor.⁸⁹

The case of Mira and Marta Wertheimer sisters reveals that, behind these affirmative phrases, there were other reasons. The pastor claimed that “they were well versed in Catholic faith. Three months ago, they were interned... they have since been released, so they want to be admitted”. Their baptism, however, did not result in their salvation.⁹⁰

Baptism was the last resort for those in camps. Žiga Schotten forwarded a request for his son, Branko, to be baptized, when he was in a camp for more than a month. He was killed later, in August.⁹¹ The Parrish Office in Druvar (western part of Slavonia) requested in 1944, for permission for Boris Maks Švarcenberger (1926) to be baptized, because “he was educated of faith during his stay in the Jasenovac camp, and he practiced Catholic faith”. Boris Maks was from Daruvar. Even though he was a child of a mixed marriage (his mother was Russian), baptism did not help him.⁹²

A pastor of one Parish Office in Zagreb, Josip Lončarić, addressed the Nadbiskupski duhovni stol in June 1941, asking for instructions on how to marry “Arians” and “Jews”. He was aware that “the state did not acknowledge” those marriages. However, he is appeached by “Catholics, who have known the Jewish party for months... and wish to marry, but they fear the government and its persecution”. The pastor claimed that “when it was possible, when we were closer to April 10th, we antedated the day of the wedding, as if they married before April 19th, so

⁸⁶ NAZ, group NDS 529/1942.

⁸⁷ NAZ, group NDS 1559/1942; *Popis žrtava*.

⁸⁸ NAZ, group NDS 1035/1942; *Popis žrtava*; HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, nr. 306, box 15, 3732, 3761.

⁸⁹ NAZ, group NDS 354/1942.

⁹⁰ NAZ, group NDS 2038/1942.

⁹¹ NAZ, group NDS 10503/1941; *Popis žrtava*.

⁹² NAZ, group NDS 989/1944.

that those people do not have any, evidently underserved, trouble heading their way. We cannot do this anymore.” The Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, based on a discussion on the session, replied “it is up to the prudence of each individual pastor to act, as he thinks is best...”⁹³

The word “baptism” does not include each departure from the Jewish faith, because 16 Jews who converted to Islam were recorded, at the Muslimanska Vjeroispovjedna Općina in Zagreb at the beginning of May 1941; this did not help them.⁹⁴

Some of the Jews from Croatia and Zagreb who managed to reach safety, converted back to the Jewish faith.⁹⁵

Alojzije Stepinac, the Zagreb Archbishop, in many ways symbolizes the way the Catholic Church acted in Croatia. Although some aspects of Stepinac’s behaviour have been dubious,⁹⁶ it is indisputable that he intervened for many individuals and groups, with various success rate. At the beginning of 1942, he wrote to the Vatican State secretary, cardinal Luigi Maglione, to stand up with the Italian authorities, for the 200 children of Jewish descent; he wanted the children to be transferred to Italy. The children were aged 7 to 17 years old, mostly without parents, living in poverty because of “the antisemitic laws”. The letter written by father Tachio Venturi to cardinal Maglione from January 20th, 1942, makes it clear that this diplomatic initiative did not yield any success.⁹⁷ Ladislav Bodnar, M.D., (1896), a Jew from Vienna, who converted to Catholicism in 1919, was arrested in September of 1941 in Zagreb and was deported to Jasenovac. The Nadbiskupski duhovni stol and the Vatican made an intervention for Bodnar to be released from the camp and for him to be given the documents so that he can leave for Brazil. The correspondence went on for a couple of months and it appears that the members of the Church were not aware that Bodnar was already dead towards the end of 1941.⁹⁸ At the request made by Helena Marof, at the end of 1942, Stepinac intervened for Vlatko Rosenberg from Zagreb. Almost a year later, in September of 1943, the Ministry of Interior sent a memo which stated “for your knowledge, the faith of the person in question could not be determined”. Vlatko - Vladimir Rosenberg was killed

⁹³ NAZ, group NDS 6682/1941.

⁹⁴ HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27273; *Popis žrtava; Kartoteka židovskog znaka*; see also Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 491.

⁹⁵ Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 490-491.

⁹⁶ Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 559-578.

⁹⁷ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 136, 140.

⁹⁸ NAZ, fond Prezidijalni spisi 108/1941; HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. *Kazalo*, 5749, 6780; *Popis žrtava*.

in Jasenovac in 1941.⁹⁹ The archbishop also intervened for Ivan (Hans) Hochsinger, but the notification of the intervention allegedly came to Jasenovac the day after Hochsinger was killed.¹⁰⁰

According to the text written by Amiel Shomrony, which Shomrony used in attempt for Yad Vashem to declare Archbishop Stepinac the Righteous Among the Nations, Stepinac gave Miroslav Šalom Freiburger, for the poor Jews “each month a large sum of money... before that Jews came to Kaptol for financial support, however, this became dangerous, because when the government saw the Jews gathering at one place, they picked them up on the streets; there were also some who followed them and took their money.”¹⁰¹

During the winter of 1941/42, Archbishop Stepinac took in some members of the Jewish Community who brought with themselves a person who escaped from Jasenovac. The person was Gustav Hahn (1896), who lost 20 kilograms in a couple of months, and was heavily beaten and wounded. Hahn showed his wounds to Stepinac and told him everything what was occurring in Jasenovac. “Archbishops face got darker and darker, until tears started rolling on his face”, claimed one of the members of the Jewish Community. When Hahn finished talking, Stepinac said: “I asked Pavelić to end these beastly acts in the camps, but he assured me that all what was said of the camps was untrue. Nobody can dissuade me now.”¹⁰² Hahn and two of his children died in an unknown location.¹⁰³ At the time, thanks to Stepinac’s devotion, Lavoslav Šik, a well-known lawyer from Zagreb, and the vice-president of the Jewish Community, was temporarily freed from Jasenovac.¹⁰⁴

Many things Stepinac and his associates did, or tried to do for the Jews during the war was not recorded in the sources, but some things can still be extracted from the testimonies of the survivors. For example, before the deportations in May 1943, the Švarcenberg and Israel families escaped the Zagreb suburbs of Kustošija in a car sent by Stepinac.¹⁰⁵

The Papal office in Rome got involved quite early on in trying to soften the way the Ustaša government acted towards the Jews, or in trying to save the Jews. The representative of the Italian

⁹⁹ NAZ, group NDS 318/1943; *Popis žrtava*.

¹⁰⁰ Testimony of Mirjana Gross, M.D.; Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 325-326.

¹⁰¹ Shomrony, *Svjedočenja*.

¹⁰² HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, nr. 306, box 10, 114.

¹⁰³ *Kartoteka židovskog znaka*, *Popis žrtava*, Ha-kol 49-50.

¹⁰⁴ Shomrony, *Svjedočenja*.

¹⁰⁵ Testimony of Berta Israel b. Švarcenberg.

Jewish community, requested the Vatican Secretary of State, cardinal Maglione, in August of 1941, that the pope intervenes in favour of the Jews in Croatia, who were “without a reason” imprisoned and molested (the letter does not mention any killings).¹⁰⁶ The Vatican sent instructions to its diplomats in Zagreb for them to intervene in favour of Jews with the Ustaša government, which they regularly did¹⁰⁷, albeit mostly without success. Miroslav Šalom Freiburger, the Rabbi of Zagreb, thanked the pope for the intervention on this and on other occasions.¹⁰⁸

Numerous interventions made by Stepinac and the Vatican diplomacy in the spring of 1943, when there were attempts to save the Jews from Zagreb, heightened the widespread belief that Stepinac was a friend of the Jews, and an opponent of the regime; additional reason is that Stepinac held sermons in which he, stronger than before, condemned the crimes Ustašas committed¹⁰⁹. It is possible that Stepinac became more critical in thinking, because the Germans (or the Ustašas) killed his brother at the end of 1942, or at the beginning of 1943. His brother cooperated with the local partizan squadrons.¹¹⁰

After the last large deportations in Zagreb and the entire NDH, in May 1943, one last Jewish home for the elderly remained in the Stenjevac suburbs of Zagreb. The proteges of the other six homes were deported. The home was in the vicinity of the Eisenbahnen-Sicherheitsdienst German service. The Sturmführer Schuckart, the chief of the local Sichertdienst, ordered that the home is to be vacated within 10 days in November of 1943, otherwise the occupants will be deported to Germany¹¹¹. The representatives of the home found themselves “before a hopeless situation”. Amiel Shomrony, who was the personal secretary of chief rabbi Freiburger up to chief rabbis deportation, testified that the representatives turned to archbishop Stepinac. Archbishop offered them accommodation in Brezovica, 10 kilometres southeast of Zagreb, where the Church had some buildings.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 91

¹⁰⁷ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 216, 229, 235, 254, 259, 290, 298-299.

¹⁰⁸ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 214, 219, 254.

¹⁰⁹ Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 298, 300-303.

¹¹⁰ As suggested by a Partisan informant in April 1945., Krišto, *Katolička crkva*, II, 370.

¹¹¹ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, nr. 306, box 15, 3876. The report claim it was the SS forces wanted to take over the buildings.

¹¹² A. Benigar, *Alojzije Stepinac, hrvatski kardinal*, Rim 1974, 395, falsely and apologetically claims Stepinac „when the German troops came to Zagreb in 1941, personally took under his wing the old and sick Jews, and placed them in the little house of his summer villa in Brezovica, where they could live peacefully“

The home was to be placed in the commercial building of the castle, which was in a poor condition, so “significant funds and effort to acquire the material” were needed to adapt and improve two rooms, as to place the 58 protegees. A Carmelite monastery was already placed in another wing of the building.¹¹³ Valent Klancir, the co-owner of a hardware store from Zagreb, also helped by providing the needed goods “for free or heavily discounted”.¹¹⁴ This allowed for the elderly to be transferred by trucks to Brezovica on December 8th. The stay was partially financed by the Jewish Community of Zagreb, i.e., the Jewish organizations from Switzerland, and in part by the Church. Some of the protegees died before the war ended, while others were admitted to the home at a later date, during the war.¹¹⁵ The final liberation from angst was met by 52 protegees of the home in Brezovica in May 1945.

During the summer of 1941, it was already known that the lives of the Jewish refugees in the areas under the Italian control were not in danger. In Hungary and Bulgaria, as well as in some parts of the country annexed by Hungary (Bačka, Baranja, Međimurje), the chances of survival were far greater than in the NDH. For Croatian Jews, and partially for the Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the most accessible was the so-called Druga talijanska okupaciona zona (Zone B, or the Second Italian Occupation Zone), because it was formally within the borders of the NDH; a passport was not needed. They only needed a pass, which was somewhat easier to get or falsify.

The Italian government at first feared the large amount of people pouring in from the inner parts of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (not just Jews) to the somewhat poorer parts of the coast. Therefore, during the spring and early days of summer of 1941, they returned some of the Jews back to the territory under the Ustaša governance. Only towards the end of the summer, when they found out what was really happening in the Ustaša death camps, did the Italian government stop returning the fugitives. Since then, a significant number of Jews from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even Serbia, around 5000 of them, found salvation by escaping.¹¹⁶

During these months, the local Ustaša government complained to the competent services in Zagreb that the Italian military government simply ignored the existence of the civil government

¹¹³ HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, br. 306, kutija 10, 91, 151, kut 15., 3876, odnosno, izvještaj o radu židovske općine 1941-1945. godine tvrdi da je "nadbiskup pokazao mnogo razumijevanja za naše neprilike"; vidi Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 552-558.

¹¹⁴ JIM, fond ŽOZ, RN. 4865, sign. K-63-2-1/1-178.

¹¹⁵ JIM, fond ŽOZ, sign. K-65-4-1/1-249.

¹¹⁶ More in Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 500 ff.

of the NDH in the area. They also complained that the Italians did whatever they wanted with the Jewish refugees. The Italians did not demand that the Jews turn to the Ustaša government for the requests such as not wearing the insignia and similar matters.¹¹⁷ However, they did implement the directives related to racial laws they themselves declared; for example, Jews were forbidden from entering the main city bath in Split because of this.¹¹⁸

It was originally planned that the Jews were to be “picked up” as a part of the first deportations of the Jews from the NDH in August of 1942. Some of the Italian commanders on the occupied territory opposed that idea during the preliminary talks, sensing that the deportations would lead to death. According to a report made by the Germans, the local Italian commander in Mostar, said to the German representative that such actions, i.e., arrests and deportations, “are opposed to the honour of the Italian army”.¹¹⁹

The Italian diplomacy deliberately prolonged the negotiations. They notified Mussolini of the demands made by the Germans only on August 21st, 1942. Mussolini wrote on the margins of the petition “nulla osta” (“no impediment”), therefore giving his permission to let 5000 people be led to their death.¹²⁰ However, the Italian soldiers in the Zone B did not accept Mussolini’s broad remark as a direct order, so they continued to avoid being a part of the German plans. Mario Roatta, the commander of the Second Italian army, the person in charge for the entire area, was fronting this opposition. To avoid the extradition of Jews to the Nazis, the Italian authorities decided to intern them to “liberal confines” in October of 1942.¹²¹

The reference works often refer to these places as camps, but the difference in the conditions between the two was substantial. It was often the case that they were placed in abandoned hotels, and the Italian soldiers were only there as to not let anyone out of those buildings at night, and that no one crosses over to the other parts of the town during the day. Božidar Steiner, a veterinarian, although confined in Vela Luka, moved freely and performed his job on the island of Korčula.¹²² The largest camp on the northern part of the Adriatic was in Kraljevica, while in the

¹¹⁷ Ristović, *Jevreji*, 119.

¹¹⁸ M. Krivić, *Djeca Davidova — Put u Palestinu*, Zagreb 2000, 166.

¹¹⁹ R. Hilberg, R., *The Destruction of the European Jews*, New York 1985, 715.

¹²⁰ On the complex negotiations and correspondence on the faith of the Jews in the B Zone, more in Hilberg, *Destruction*, 714-718 and B. Krizman, *NDH između Hitlera i Mussolinija*, 3. izd., Zagreb 1986., 557-561, see also Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 502-504 and lit.

¹²¹ Krizman, *NDH između*, 558-559.

¹²² Testimony of Stjepan Steiner, M.D.

south, the Jews were mostly confined on the island of Korčula; in the city of Koručula and in Vela Luka.¹²³

The German intelligence thought this was almost too idyllic, so they claimed that in the Kraljevica camp “the Jewish committee has good relations with the Partizans”, “the Jews live a nice life and enjoy a lot of freedom”, that they are “allowed, because of the corruption of the Italian command of the camp, to leave the camp for few days” etc.¹²⁴

The pressure made by the Ustašas and the Germans on Italians, to hand the confined Jews over, intensified in the spring of 1943, when the second large deportation of Jews to Auschwitz was organized. The Italian government, however, opposed that more severely than the year before. It was therefore decided that all Jews, with a few exceptions, scattered around the Zone B, are to be transferred to the Kampor camp on the island of Rab; this happened in July of 1943.

There are several interpretations of the reasons why the Italians made the decision to concentrate all Jewish refugees on Rab. Some claimed that the Italians wanted to show the Germans that they were “doing something”, and the treatment of Jews became harsher, i.e., pressure was alleviated. Others claimed that the top members of the Italian army suspected that they will soon have to capitulate before the Allies, so they wanted to hide the Jews away from the Ustaša or German intervention. This in turn meant that the Italians will be in a better position when the war ends. There were talks that general Rotta himself once said, in front of the Jews, that the Rab camp “is a submarine which the Jews will use to dive under the sea while the war is ongoing, and will surface after the war, thus keeping their heads on their shoulders”.¹²⁵

The story of a dangerous, uncertain and often adventurous path to salvation of a hundred or so Jewish orphans from Austria and Germany which lasted four years, is well known and poignant. Running from the Nazi persecution towards Palestine, some of the orphans arrived in Zagreb in the October-November period in 1940,¹²⁶ but they did not manage to run away before the attack on Yugoslavia. The path to the east was still blocked. However, a whole group, under the leadership of Joško Indik (Josef Itai in Israel) from Zagreb, in June managed to reach a part of

¹²³ On Jews in Vela Luka: J. Maričić, *Luka spasa — Židovi u Veloj Luci od 1937. do 1943*, Vela Luka 2002.

¹²⁴ HDA, fond MUP SRH, 013.0.65, III. dio, 229.

¹²⁵ Testimony of Alfred Pala.

¹²⁶ Minutes of the XXVII. session of the Izvršnoi odbor SVJOJ od 21. 11. 1940, JIM, Beograd, 103.

Slovenia annexed by Italy. They crossed into Italy, then into Switzerland in 1943, where they remained until the war ended, upon which they arrived in Palestine.¹²⁷

When the organized resistance to the Ustašas and the occupying powers began in July of 1941 in parts of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, many of the members of the Jewish community who were combat ready, including the Zagreb Jewish Community, were already in prisons or in camps. However, by the end of the year, 224 Jews from Croatia and 388 Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina had joined the Partisan squads, to sabotage groups in the towns or in other forms of organized resistance. Because the main organizer of resistance in the NDH in 1941 was the Communist Party, the first Jewish fighters that were a part of the resistance were mostly communists, or previously related to communists. Their accession to the Partisans was in equal part the result of their political activism, as it was the chance to escape the peril of the Ustaša persecution. Fifteen of those Jews were a part of the International Brigades with the war experience from the Spanish Civil War, while a few dozen were political activists skilled in revolutionary-political activism. They soon became the first fighters of illegal sabotage groups in towns and the first Partisan squads in the woods (Pavle Pap, Ilija Engel, Robert Domany, Pavle Goranin, Samuel Lerer, Adolf-Drago Steinberger, Vilim Drechsler, Gustav Perl, Josip-Pepo Polak, Vojko Hohšteter, Menahem-Mento Papo, Vladimir Majder and others).¹²⁸ Jelka Schwabenitz (1919) was also communist-oriented. During the summer of 1941, she escaped to Sarajevo with falsified documents; her boyfriend waited for her there. She was arrested shortly after, but she managed to escape from prison and join the Partisans. The Četniks captured her in 1942 and killed her after a horrible torturing.¹²⁹ Of the Jews who joined the antifascist movement from its beginning, barely a quarter of them survived to see the war's end. From Zagreb alone, 16 Jews were given the Spomenica award for taking part in the uprising of 1941; a few of them moved to Zagreb in 1945, or in the following years.¹³⁰

Josip and Stjepan Engel built an illegal radio station in Tuškanac street in Zagreb. The station allegedly transmitted the proclamation of the Central Committee of the League of

¹²⁷ In detail, J. Itai-Indik, *Djeca bježe*, Jevrejski almanah 1963-1964, Beograd 1965, 129-136; Ristovic, *Jevreji*, 141, 328-330; *Ha-kol*, 57-58, Zagreb 1999; HDA, fond 252, RUR, Ž. sec. 27266

¹²⁸ See list in: Romano, *Jevreji*, 229-230.

¹²⁹ Testimony of Vera Zoričić b. Schwabenitz.

¹³⁰ J. Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945, žrtve genocida i učesnici narodnooslobodilačkog rata*, Beograd 1980, 277.

Communists of Yugoslavia on July 4th, 1941, “for the people of Yugoslavia for an armed uprising”. The story is not quite convincing, and it is apparent that the communist post-war historiography exaggerated the story¹³¹; the reach of the station was quite limited.

Robert Domany and Adolf-Drago Steinberger, the commandant and the political delegate of the first Partisan units in Kordun, in April 1942 fell as the victims of a Četnik betrayal. They were thrown into a karst pit.¹³² The assistant on the Faculty of Science, a brilliant biologist, Pavao Wertheim (1911), a member of the Communist party, was killed in 1941 in one of the prisons of Zagreb.¹³³ Pave Pap, a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, during the first months of NDH, lived in Zagreb where he handled the actions of the first youth sabotage groups. In August 1941, he was ordered to go to Split to assist the local communist organization to help with the uprising. He took part in the formation of the first seven Partisan squads, for which he was selected to be the political commissioner. However, the Italian Carabinieri had him captured and shot.¹³⁴ The head of one of the sabotage groups from Zagreb, with twenty youth members, was Haim Friedman who died in November of 1941, battling the Ustaša agents.¹³⁵ Vojko Hohšteter joined the Partisans as a communist in 1941; he was a deputy commander in multiple brigades. He was a part of some of the most significant battles the Partisans led. When a bullet shot by the Četniks pierced his ear, the witnesses stated that he cold-bloodedly shouted “jebal mu vrag mater, dobro gađa” (son of a bitch, he is a good shooter). Hohšteter died in battle in Obrovo, near Zagreb, in May 1944.¹³⁶ Moša Albahari was a prominent member of the Communist Party of the University of Zagreb. He was sent to Istria and the Croatian Littoral to organize the uprising. In July 1942, he was captured by the Carabinieri after being wounded. Albahari was then taken to Rome, where he was sentenced to death and shot in November of the same year.¹³⁷

¹³¹ See more in, Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 517.

¹³² JP 9-10/1966; 9-10/1971, 9-10/1984; Romano, *Jevreji*, 228.

¹³³ ŽOZ Bulletin 6-7/1988; JP 5-6/1977; T. Švob, *Dr. Pavao Wertheim (1911-1941), sjećanja i podaci o istaknutom biologu*, Novi omanut 21, Zagreb 1997, 2.

¹³⁴ Romano, *Jevreji*, 227

¹³⁵ E. Ivanc, *Nepokorena mladost*, Zagreb 1961, 154-155, 164.

¹³⁶ Lj. Đurić, *Naš komandant Vojko Hohšteter*, ŽOZ Bulletin 4-5, 6-7, Zagreb 1988.

¹³⁷ Romano, *Jevreji*, 228.

Elijas-Ilija Engel was one of the first fighters of the Partisan squads in Žumberak in August 1941. He was also one of the leaders in the Croatian partisan movement. Engel died of a plane bomb in May 1944.¹³⁸

Of the Jews from Zagreb, and those who lived in Zagreb before going to Partisans, Robert Domany, Adolf-Drago Steinberger, Samuel Lerer, Ilija Engel and Pavle Pap were declared national heroes.¹³⁹

In the period from 1942 to September 1943, 452 Jews from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Partisan units and their auxiliary services. By far the largest number joined only after Italy capitulated in 1943.¹⁴⁰ There was a slow reaction to joining the Partisans, as was the reaction to the clearly announced genocide by the Ustašas and the Nazis. There were multiple reasons for the late joining, primarily because of the families; at the beginning, while the Partisan movement was not so strong, entire families going to the Partisan areas was not feasible. One combat ready member leaving for the area under Partisan control additionally threatened the rest of the family, not yet deported. The Ustaša regime had precise lists of Jews, and they carefully monitored their movements, limiting them by introducing curfews, restricted zones and special permits. Any disappearance could be considered an escape abroad or to the Partisans, the consequence of which could be the murder of close and distant relatives or Jewish hostages in general. Ultimately, joining the Partisans from Zagreb and other cities was only possible via conspiratory connections. The connections were held in utmost secrecy, which made joining the Partisans that more difficult, especially for those who had no contacts with the leftist revolutionary movement; those individuals were the majority amongst the Jews. A certain number of Jews from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Partisans on their own accord, but they were captured and killed along the way.¹⁴¹ Ivo Löw, M.D., ran into the Četniks who allegedly sold him to the Germans for ammo; the Germans then shot him.¹⁴² There were also some peculiar twists of fate. Ernest Fischer (1903-1986) from Zagreb, arrived in Montenegro in 1941, and immediately joined the Partisans (his name amongst the Partisans was Velja Fijolić). He was captured during a

¹³⁸ Romano, *Jevreji*, 357.

¹³⁹ Romano, *Jevreji*, 278.

¹⁴⁰ Romano, *Jevreji*, 281.

¹⁴¹ Romano, *Jevreji*, 205-206.

¹⁴² Testimony of Stjepan Steiner, M.D.

deceptive action conducted by the Četniks. Fischer was then handed over to the Italians, but when Italy capitulated, he joined the antifascist movement once more.¹⁴³

Jews and their families (children included) started joining the Partisans independently only when the Partisan units took power over a more compact territory in the second half of 1942. Families with children were certainly considered to be an extra weight in some areas, but it is not recorded that they were rejected anywhere in Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina. The only incident of this kind happened in Bosnia in 1941, when the headquarters of the Kalinovik Partisan squads decided against accepting a group of twenty-odd young Jews from Sarajevo. The reason was that “they did not need ‘kaputaše’”, i.e., bourgeoisie among the partisans. Many from that group who managed to get to the Italian occupational zone using different methods, later joined the Partisans in Dalmatia and Croatian Littoral.¹⁴⁴

After the racial humiliations and deadly persecutions under the Ustaša government, and the relatively minor, but still humiliating discrimination in the Italian zone, the Jews among the Partisans were no longer persecuted; their dignity returned, they felt equal. These actions were further confirmed in the documents of the Partisan movement. The Provincial Council of the Communist Party of Croatia for Dalmatia noted in the *Platforma* papers in September 1941 that “the Fascist conquerors, with the help of the Ustašas, introduced to our homeland an uncultured tradition of the so-called “new order”, antisemitism, i.e., killings, robberies, mockery and persecution of Jews. It is our duty to resist the terror and the persecution of Jews.”¹⁴⁵ The secretariat of ZAVNOH, in a circular letter made in the autumn of 1943, signed by the secretary Pavle Gregorić, M.D., warned that “any act against Jews as individuals or as a group, which shows hostility or hatred towards Jews, will cause an investigation and a severe punishment”.¹⁴⁶

The Jews in the Partisans have been placed into fighting units and auxiliary services, according to their age and capabilities. They were most successful and numerous in the Partisan ambulance. Most of the Jewish doctors that went to Bosnia to treat syphilis, joined the antifascist movement when it appeared and grew stronger in the area. Out of 73 doctors in the Partisan

¹⁴³ V. Kovačević, *Pod otvorenim nebom*, Beograd 1985, 408-409 and elsewhere.; JP 3-4/1986.

¹⁴⁴ S. Goldstein, S., *Židovi Hrvatske u antifašističkom otporu*, in: *Antisemitizam, Holokaust, antifašizam*, zbornik radova, Ed. N. Lengel-Krizman and I. Goldstein, Zagreb 1996, 150.

¹⁴⁵ Gizdić, *Dalmacija 1941*, Zagreb 1957, 279.

¹⁴⁶ Goldstein, *Židovi Hrvatske u otporu*, 153.

ambulance, 40 of them were Jews. After Italy capitulated in September 1943, the Jewish doctors from the liberated Italian concentration camps joined the Partisans. On the territory of the NDH, there were around 200 Jewish doctors and around 400 other medical personnel (pharmacists, veterinarians, students of medicine, nurses with various levels of education and others) who were a part of the Partisan ambulance.¹⁴⁷

The biggest number of Jews and Jewess started joining the Croatian Partisans after Italy capitulated, when the Italian concentration camps were liberated; 1203 Jews from Croatia and 868 from Bosnia and Herzegovina joined during the period from September 1943 to the end of 1944. By far the biggest number of Jews and Jewesses joined the Partisans from the concentration camp in Rab. On the day when Italy capitulated, September 8th and 9th, the inmates disarmed the Italian guards as well as a part of the garrison. They formed the Rab Jewish Partisan Battalion with the confiscated weapons; 243 inmates joined the garrison voluntarily. A while later, another 448 ex-inmates from the Rab camp were mobilized or volunteered to join the Partisan military units, and 648 joined various auxiliary services on the territory the Partisans liberated.¹⁴⁸

The Rab Jewish Partisan Battalion could not continue as an individual unit, because none of the commanders or the fighters had the necessary military education or experience. There was fear that the enemy would find of the existence and the operative range of the battalion, resulting in a vicious attack. It was therefore decided that the members of the Battalion are to be incorporated to other units, like the reminding volunteers and those mobilized from the Rab camp. Out of 1339 Partisans from the ex-Rab camp, 119 of them were killed in combat, while 17 of them died.¹⁴⁹

To avoid the prisoners being captured by the Nazis, the Partisans arranged a complex action which took place during the autumn of 1943. The aim was to evacuate almost all the prisoners of the former Jewish camp; 1812 out of 3151 were noncombatants.¹⁵⁰ This was one of the largest and most successful actions of extracting Jewish inmates during the WWII, and the only time that an entire camp was liberated. The noncombatants were mostly placed in the rural areas in Kordun, Lika and Banija which were under the Partisan control, while a smaller number went to Italy (Bari),

¹⁴⁷ Goldstein, *Židovi Hrvatske u otporu*, 151-2.

¹⁴⁸ Romano, *Jevreji*, 282-284

¹⁴⁹ A. Lebl, *Četvrt veka od formiranja rapskog bataljona*, JP 1968/7-8.

¹⁵⁰ In detail, N. Lengel-Krizman, *Sudbina preživjelih Židova iz logora na Rabu 1943-1945*, ŽOZ Bulletin 46-47, 7-16.

from where they continued to other countries. Oskar Quinter and Hermina Nemlich stayed in the house of Tone Dasović in Švica (7 kilometers west of Otočac in Lika) from September 1943 to January 1944, when they had to run away from the incoming German forces.¹⁵¹

204 ex-inmates from Rab camp, mostly elderly and sick, stayed on the island.¹⁵² While the Partisans and the allies were making plans on how and when to evacuate them, the German forces landed on the island in March 1944.¹⁵³ Gestapo immediately started a widespread hunt to capture the Jews on the island. The residents were told that hiding the Jews “is a crime against the Reich”, which was punishable by death. Therefore, majority of the Jews were arrested within three days. Only a few managed to hide, among them was a girl who hid in a house, one family from Mostar hid in the monastery of St. Anton, and the two married couples, the Hoffmans from Prague, and the Mittlers from Zagreb, who were hidden with a family.¹⁵⁴ Those arrested were then deported to Auschwitz, but only a few returned.¹⁵⁵

Evacuating and placing the noncombatant inmates on the territory liberated by the Partisans had its difficulties, but it was mostly successful. The recommendation of ZAVNOH was that the Partisans “are to meet the Jews in terms of food and accommodation, and special attention needs to be given to the children, elderly and sick during the transportation”. It was first thought that the noncombatant Jews should be directed to the Partisan territories in Slavonija, where they could be fed more easily. However, transportation proved to be an uncrossable obstacle. Only one group of 250 people was transported to Slavonija, while the other group, around 230 of them, were “placed in other towns of Gorski Kotar, Pokuplje and Lika”. Between 1500 and 2000 Jews were placed in the villages of Kordun and Banija.¹⁵⁶ ZAVNOH itself admitted that they “have no accurate or any data” of the displaced refugees.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ JIM, fond ŽOZ, no RN and sign.

¹⁵² M. Šelah, *Sudbina jevrejskih izheglica na otoku Rabu*, Zbornik Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja 7, Beograd 1997, 190-197; Romano, *Jevreji*, 283-285.

¹⁵³ In detail, V. Isaić, *Njemački desant na otok Rab - operacija "Illusion"*, ŽOZ Bulletin 39-40/1995, 10-11.

¹⁵⁴ . Kovačić, *Kampor 1942-1943, Hrvati, Slovenci i Židovi u koncentracijskom logoru Kampor na Rabu*, Rijeka 1998, 337-339; V. Isaić, *Časno djelo sestara franjevki na Rabu*, ŽOZ Bulletin 46-47/1996, 6; testimony of Branko Polić.

¹⁵⁵ In detail, Goldstein, *Holokaust*, 509-511; HDA, fond ZKRZ GUZ, nr. 306, box. 11, 1238-1253; Kovačić, *Kampor*, 336-337; Lengel-Krizman, *Sudbina*.

¹⁵⁶ According to the reports of Socijalni odjel ZAVNOH from March and April 1944 — ZAVNOH 1944/11, Zagreb 1964, 238, 529, 654.

¹⁵⁷ ZAVNOH 1944/II, 654.

“The property status of the Jews is quite weak, because of the continuous withdrawal before the enemy, many lost all their assets they had with them; therefore, only a third of them have sufficient funds to live, the other third has temporary funds, and the final third have no funds. So far, the richest helped the poorest, but this is no longer possible”, the Social Department of ZAVNOH claimed in a report made in April 1944.¹⁵⁸ When they went to Banija, it was recommended that they “try to ask the peasants for any kind of job, because the people today, in this bitter fight, distrusts those who do nothing, but seek to be fed although they are capable of work. On the other hand, the people themselves lack food, as do the fighters fighting the enemy. Many Jews are capable of work but did not take up work to this day. Instructions were given to the committees, primarily to employ all the Jews capable of work, in farms or workshops.”¹⁵⁹ These complaints can be partly explained by the differences in culture and behaviour; Jews from primarily urban setting, are now in a rural setting. Still, the antagonism never escalated above this level. For a while around Kordunsko Zagorje in Kordun, some Četnik proponents robbed the Jewish refugees who were passing by. The robbers were brought to the National court in the summer of 1944.¹⁶⁰

The employment and integration of Jews into the Partisan movement and society on the liberated territories were successful, despite all difficulties presented. In the conclusion of the aforementioned report, it is mentioned that “the Jews in the Glina Kotar mostly started working in the fields”.¹⁶¹ This was the way a lot of the Jews managed to repay for the accommodation and food; by knitting, sewing, taking care of the wounded and the ill, doing various repairs, cooking, and even teaching the illiterate and partaking in cultural activities. In Banija, Gustav Jungwirth, M.D., took care of the children. Miro Kaiser from Zagreb and Hugo Drucker from Sarajevo, both dentists, had an infirmary in Glina.¹⁶² On the session of the Economic Division of ZAVNOH, in April 1944, they claimed that “there are a lot of experts amongst the Jews... they should be found and introduced to the workforce... we lack merchants...”¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ ZAVNOH 1944/11, 529

¹⁵⁹ ZAVNOH 1944/11, 529.

¹⁶⁰ Testimonies of Branko Polić and Slavko Goldstein.

¹⁶¹ ZAVNOH 1944/11, 529.

¹⁶² ZAVNOH 1944/111, 188, 248; J. Romano, *Jevreji zdravstveni radnici Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Žrtve fašističkog terora i učesnici u NOR-u*, Zbornik JIM 2, Beograd 1973, 179.

¹⁶³ ZAVNOH 1944/11, 389-390.

With the enemy lines closing in, the Jews ran from and returned to the burned villages. From the summer of 1944, they started receiving aid via the allied missions from the international Jewish organizations, which made their lives somewhat more bearable. Out of 1812 Jews liberated from Rab, by the end of the war, i.e., in the following 18 months, 126 of them were killed, while 15 of them died.¹⁶⁴

Aside from the large group from Rab, during the retreat before the German-Ustaša offensive, in the Autumn of 1943, more than a hundred Jewish families joined the Croatian Partisans in Dalmatia. Around 130 young individuals joined the fighting units, while the noncombatants were taken care of in the background. Some noncombatants, 122 of them, were evacuated a while later during the famous escape via Bari to Egypt (El Shatt). At the same time, the Partisans from Dalmatia were joined by the group of 117 Jewish volunteers from Bari, who were freed from the Ferramonti Italian concentration camp.¹⁶⁵

2339 Jews from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina survived to see the end of the war as a part of the Partisan units. 804 of them were killed. 1737 Jews were a part of the antifascist fight in Croatia. 325 of them were killed, 90 of them were from Zagreb.¹⁶⁶ Ultimately, this means that every fourth Jew in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, who survived the war, was a part of the antifascist fight.

Almost 2000 noncombatant Jews who survived the war on the territory liberated by the Partisans, returned home with the Partisans. Therefore, out of 9000 or more Jews from the territory of the NDH who survived the Holocaust, around half of them were saved by joining the antifascist Partisan units, or by residing on the liberated territory. In other words, around 10% of the pre-war Jewish population participated in the antifascist fight, or actively supported the fight by living in the territory under the Partisan control. It was the largest number of Jews involved in the resistance movements in the parts of Europe under the control of the Axis power; at the same time, it is the largest number of Jews saved because of the antifascist resistance.

¹⁶⁴ JIM, fond ŽOZ, RN. 4863, sign. K-62-5-1/1-276; JIM, fond ŽOZ, no RN. and sign.

¹⁶⁵ Romano, *Jevreji*, 269-271, 284-285.

¹⁶⁶ Projekt "Dotrščina", HDA.

3.3. Newspaper article in Croatian

Spasonosni bijeg u antifašističke odrede: Moj tata je partizan!

Autor

dr. sc. Ivo Goldstein

Poslije smrtonosnih progona pod ustašama i diskriminacije u talijanskoj zoni, Židovi u partizanima više nisu bili progonjena žrtva

Kad je u srpnju 1941. godine u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini počeo organizirani otpor ustaškim i okupatorskim vlastima, dobar dio borbena najsposobnijih članova židovskih zajednica, pa i zagrebačke židovske zajednice, bio je već u zatvorima i logorima. Usprkos tome, do kraja su se godine 224 Židova iz Hrvatske i njih 388 iz Bosne i Hercegovine uključili u partizanske odrede, u udarne grupe po gradovima ili u druge oblike organiziranog otpora. Kako je glavni organizator otpora 1941. u NDH bila Komunistička partija, tako su i prvi židovski borci u tom otporu u većini bili komunisti ili već otprije povezani s komunistima. Njihovo pristupanje partizanima bilo je barem toliko rezultat njihova političkog opredjeljenja koliko i bijeg pred opasnošću od ustaških progona.

Među njima bilo je i 15 bivših interbrigadista s ratničkim iskustvom iz Španjolskoga građanskog rata, kao i više desetaka političkih aktivista vičnih organizatorskom revolucionarno-političkom radu koji su ubrzo postali istaknuti prvoborci ilegalnih udarnih grupa po gradovima i prvih partizanskih odreda u šumama (Pavle Pap, Ilija Engel, Robert Domany, Pavle Goranin, Samuel Lerer, Adolf-Drago Steinberger, Vilim Drechsler, Gustav Perl, Josip-Pepo Polak, Vojko Hohšteter, Menahem- Mento Papo, Vladimir Majder i drugi). Od Židova koji su se od početka uključili u antifašistički pokret jedva ih je četvrtina doživjela kraj rata. Tijekom 1942. i do rujna 1943. partizanskim jedinicama i njihovim pomoćnim službama pristupilo je još 452 Židova iz Hrvatske i BiH, a daleko najviše pridružilo ih se partizanima tek poslije kapitulacije Italije 1943. godine. Baš kao i u reakcijama na jasno najavljeni ustaško-nacistički genocid, kasnilo se i u odlasku u partizane. Razlozi tome su višestruki, a najviše obiteljski: u početku, dok partizanski pokret nije bitno ojačao, odlazak cijelih obitelji na partizansko područje bio je nezamisliv, a odlazak samo

jednog za borbu sposobnog člana dodatno je ugrožavao one članove obitelji koji još nisu bili deportirani.

Ustaški režim imao je precizne popise Židova i pažljivo je nadgledao njihovo kretanje, ograničavajući ga policijskim satom, zabranjenim zonama i specijalnim dozvolama. Svaki neobjašnjiv nestanak mogao se tumačiti bijegom u inozemstvo ili u partizane, a posljedica je mogla biti da stradaju bliži i dalji bjegunčevi rođaci ili židovski taoci općenito. Konačno, odlazak u partizane iz gradova bio je moguć samo preko konspirativnih veza. One su držane u najvećoj tajnosti, što je otežavalo odlazak u partizane, osobito onima koji s ljevičarskim revolucionarnim pokretom otprije nisu imali kontakte, a takvi su među Židovima bili u velikoj većini. Izvjestan broj Židova u Hrvatskoj i BiH samoinicijativno je krenuo u partizane, ali je na tom putu uhvaćen i ubijen. Tako je dr. Ivo Lõw naletio na četnike koji su ga navodno za streljivo predali Nijemcima, a ovi su ga strijeljali. Tek kada je partizanska Narodnooslobodilačka vojska u drugoj polovini 1942. pod svojom kontrolom uspjela uspostaviti kompaktniji oslobođeni teritorij, pojedini Židovi počeli su se pridruživati partizanima s cijelim obiteljima, uključujući i malu djecu. Poslije rasističkih poniženja i smrtonosnih progona pod ustaškom vlašću, poslije razmjerno neznatne, ali ipak ponižavajuće diskriminacije u talijanskoj zoni, Židovi u partizanima više nisu bili progona žrtva. Vraćalo im se ljudsko dostojanstvo, osjećaj da su ravnopravni svima ostalima. Ovakvi postupci u praksi dodatno su bili potvrđivani i u dokumentima partizanskog pokreta – tako Pokrajinski komitet KPH za Dalmaciju u Platformi u rujnu 1941. godine naglašava: “Fašistički osvajači pomoću ustaša uveli su u našu domovinu nekulturnu tekovinu tzv. novoga reda, antisemitizam, tj. ubijanje, pljačkanje, izrugivanje i proganjanje Židova. Naša je dužnost da se odupremo teroru i proganjanju Židova.”

Židovi su u partizanima bili raspoređivani po borbenim jedinicama i u po-moćne službe, već prema životnoj dobi i sposobnostima. Posebno je brojno i uspješno bilo njihovo sudjelovanje u partizanskom sanitetu. Većina židovskih liječnika koja je otišla 1941. u Bosnu liječiti sifilis priključila se antifašističkom pokretu kada se on u tim krajevima pojavio i ojačao. Tako je potkraj 1942. od ukupno 73 liječnika u cjelokupnom partizanskom sanitetu čak 40 bilo Židova. Poslije kapitulacije Italije u rujnu 1943. partizanima su se priključili i židovski liječnici oslobođeni iz talijanskih koncentracijskih logora, tako da je u partizanskom sanitetu na području NDH do kraja rata bilo blizu 200 židovskih liječnika i još oko 400 drugog medicinskog osoblja (farmaceuti, veterinari, studenti medicine, školovane ili priučene medicinske sestre i drugi).

Najbrojnija pristupanja Židova i Židovki hrvatskim partizanima uslijedila su poslije kapitulacije Italije, kada su oslobođeni talijanski logori: 1203 Židova iz Hrvatske i 868 iz BiH u razdoblju od rujna 1943. do kraja 1944. godine. Daleko najviše Židova i Židovki otišlo je u partizane iz logora na Rabu: na dan kapitulacije, 8. i 9. rujna, logoraši su sami razoružali talijansku stražu i dio garnizona pa su zaplijenjenim oružjem formirali Rapski partizanski židovski bataljon, kojem su dobrovoljno pristupila 243 logoraša. Nešto kasnije još je 448 bivših logoraša iz rapskog logora bilo mobilizirano ili je dobrovoljno pristupilo u partizanske vojne jedinice, a 648 u razne pomoćne službe na oslobođenom partizanskom teritoriju.

Rapski židovski bataljon nije se mogao održati kao posebna jedinica jer nitko od komandanata, a ni od boraca nije imao potrebnu vojnu naobrazbu ni ratno iskustvo. Postojala je i bojazan da će neprijatelj saznati o postojanju i kretanju bataljona i okomiti se na njega s posebnom žestinom. Stoga je po odluci Glavnog štaba NOV-a Hrvatske već u listopadu bataljon priključen 7. banijskoj diviziji NOV-a, a pripadnici bataljona raspoređeni po jedinicama te divizije. I ostali dobrovoljci i mobilizirani logoraši s Raba raspoređeni su na sličan način.

Evakuacija i smještaj neborackih logoraša na oslobođenom partizanskom području nisu prošli bez teškoća, ali su ipak uglavnom uspješno obavljani. Jedna grupa od 250 osoba uspjela se prebaciti u Slavoniju, a druga grupa od oko 230 osoba “raseljena je po ostalim mjestima Gorskoga kotara, Pokuplja i Like”. Između 1500 i 2000 Židova razmješteno je po selima Korduna i Banije.

S nailaskom neprijateljskih ofenziva, Židovi su bježali zajedno s drugima i vraćali se natrag u popaljena sela. Od ljeta 1944. počela im je preko savezničkih misija stizati pomoć međunarodnih židovskih organizacija pa su se prilike donekle poboljšale. Od ukupno 1812 tih Židova, evakuiranih s Raba, do kraja rata, dakle, u idućih 18 mjeseci, poginulo je 126, a umrlo njih 15.

U jesen 1943. hrvatskim se partizanima u Dalmaciji pridružilo više od stotinu židovskih obitelji. Oko 130 mlađih ljudi tu se uključilo u borbene jedinice, a neborci su zbrinuti u partizanskoj pozadini. Istovremeno, iz Barija se dalmatinskim partizanima priključila grupa od 117 Židova dobrovoljaca koji su poslije kapitulacije bili oslobođeni iz talijanskog logora Ferramonti.

U partizanskim jedinicama kraj rata dočekalo je 2339 Židova iz Hrvatske i BiH. Poginula su 804. Konačno, to znači da je i u Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini od preživjelih Židova čak svaki

četvrti sudjelovao u antifašističkoj borbi. S partizanima se kućama vratilo još gotovo 2000 Židova neboraca koji su preživjeli rat na partizanskom oslobođenom području. Prema tome, od ukupno nešto više od 9000 Židova s područja tadašnje NDH koji su preživjeli holokaust otprilike se polovina spasila kao pripadnici ili pripadnice antifašističkih partizanskih jedinica ili boraveći na oslobođenom teritoriju.

Drugim riječima, oko 10% ukupnog predratnog židovskog stanovništva sudjelovalo je u antifašističkoj borbi ili je boraveći na partizanskom području aktivno pomagalo tu borbu. Bilo je to proporcionalno najbrojnije sudjelovanje Židova u pokretima otpora u dijelovima Europe pod kontrolom sila Osovine i ujedno proporcionalno najveći broj spašenih Židova zahvaljujući antifašističkom otporu. Židovska zajednica bila je već tada ponosna na svoje sudjelovanje u antifašističkom pokretu. Šestogodišnja Mira Altarac krenula je u prvi razred u izbjegličkom logoru El Shattu. Na “jednoj tatinoj fotografiji napisala sam ponosno tek naučenim slovima: ‘Moj tata je partizan!’”

3.4. Translation of the newspaper article

Salvage Escape to the Anti-fascist Detachments: My Dad is a Partisan!

Author, Ivo Goldstein. PhD

After the deadly persecutions under the Ustašas and discrimination in the Italian zone, Jews in the Partisans were no longer persecuted

When the organized resistance to the Ustašas and the occupying powers began in July of 1941 in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, many of the members of the Jewish community who were combat ready, including the members of the Zagreb Jewish Community, were already in prisons or in camps. However, by the end of the year, 224 Jews from Croatia and 388 Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Partisan squads, to sabotage groups in the towns or in other forms of organized resistance. Because the main organizer of resistance in the NDH in 1941, was the Communist Party, the first Jewish fighters that were a part of the resistance were mostly communists, or previously associated with communists. Their accession to the Partisans was in equal part the result of their political activism, as it was the chance to escape the peril of the Ustaša persecution.

Fifteen of those Jews were a part of the International Brigades with the war experience from the Spanish Civil War, while a few dozen were political activists skilled in revolutionary-political activism. They soon became the first fighters of illegal sabotage groups in towns and the first Partisan squads in the woods (Pavle Pap, Ilija Engel, Robert Domany, Pavle Goranin, Samuel Lerer, Adolf-Drago Steinberger, Vilim Drechsler, Gustav Perl, Josip-Pepo Polak, Vojko Hohšter, Menahem-Mento Papo, Vladimir Majder and others).

In the period from 1942 until September 1943, 452 Jews from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Partisan units and its auxiliary services. By far the largest number joined only after Italy capitulated in 1943. There was a slow reaction to joining the Partisans, as was the reaction to the clearly announced genocide by the Ustašas and the Nazis. There were multiple reasons for the late joining, primarily because of the families; at the beginning, while the Partisan movement was not so strong, entire families going to the Partisan areas was not feasible. One combat ready member

leaving for the area under Partisan control additionally endangered the family who had not yet been deported.

The Ustaša regime had precise lists of Jews, and they carefully monitored their movements, limiting them by introducing curfews, restricted zones and special permits. Any disappearance could be considered an escape abroad or to the Partisans, the consequence of which could be the murder of close and distant relatives or Jewish hostages in general. Ultimately, joining the Partisans from towns was only possible via conspiratory connections. The connections were held in utmost secrecy, which made joining the Partisans that more difficult, especially for those who had no contacts with the leftist revolutionary movement; those individuals were the majority amongst the Jews. A certain number of Jews from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Partisans on their own accord, but they were captured and killed along the way. Ivo Löw, M.D., ran into the Četniks who allegedly sold him to the Germans for ammo; the Germans then shot him. Jews and their families (children included) started joining the Partisans independently only when the Partisan units took power over a more compact territory in the second half of 1942.

After the racial humiliations and deadly persecutions under the Ustaša government, and the relatively minor, but still humiliating discrimination in the Italian zone, the Jews among the Partisans were no longer persecuted; their dignity returned, and they felt equal. These actions were further confirmed in the documents of the Partisan movement. The Provincial Council of the Communist Party of Croatia for Dalmatia noted in the *Platforma* papers in September 1941 that “the Fascist conquerors, with the help of the Ustašas, introduced to our homeland an uncultured tradition of the so-called “new order”, antisemitism, i.e., killings, robberies, mockery and persecution of Jews. It is our duty to resist the terror and the persecution of Jews.”

The Jews in the Partisans have been placed into fighting units and auxiliary services, according to their age and capabilities. They were most successful and numerous in the Partisan ambulance. Most of the Jewish doctors that went to Bosnia to treat syphilis, joined the antifascist movement when it appeared and grew stronger in the area. By the end of 1942, out of 73 doctors in the Partisan ambulance, 40 of them were Jews. After Italy capitulated in September of 1943, the Jewish doctors from the liberated Italian concentration camps joined the Partisans. On the territory of the NDH, there were around 200 Jewish doctors and around 400 other medical personnel (pharmacists,

veterinarians, students of medicine, nurses with various levels of education and others) who were a part of the Partisan ambulance.

The biggest number of Jews and Jewesses started joining the Croatian Partisans came after Italy capitulated, when the Italian concentration camps were liberated; 1203 Jews from Croatia and 868 from Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period from September 1943 to the end of 1944. By far the biggest number of Jews and Jewesses joined the Partisans from the concentration camp in Rab. On the day when Italy capitulated, September 8th and 9th, the inmates disarmed the Italian guards and a part of the garrison. They formed the Rab Jewish Partisan Battalion with the confiscated weapons; 243 inmates joined the garrison voluntarily. A while later, another 448 ex-inmates from the Rab camp were mobilized or volunteered to join the Partisan military units, whilst 648 joined various auxiliary services on the territory the Partisans liberated.

The Rab Jewish Partisan Battalion could not continue as an individual unit, because none of the commanders or the fighters had the necessary military education or experience. There was fear that the enemy would find out the battalion exists and where it moves, resulting with a vicious attack. Therefore, according to the decision of the General Headquarters of the NOV of Croatia, the battalion was incorporated to the 7th Banija Division of the NOV in October; the members of the battalion were deployed in units of that division. Other volunteers and mobilized prisoners from Rab were also placed in a similar manner.

Evacuating and placing the noncombatant inmates on the territory liberated by the Partisans had its difficulties, but it was mostly successful. Only one group of 250 people was transported to Slavonija, while the other group, around 230 of them, were “placed in other towns of Gorski Kotar, Pokuplje and Lika”. Between 1500 and 2000 Jews were placed in the villages of Kordun and Banija

With the enemy lines closing in, the Jews ran from and returned to the burned villages. From the summer of 1944, they started getting aid via the allied missions from the international Jewish organizations, which made their lives somewhat more bearable. Out of 1812 Jews liberated from Rab, by the end of the war, i.e., in the following 18 months, 126 of them were killed, while 15 of them died

In the Autumn of 1943, more than a hundred Jewish families joined the Croatian Partisans in Dalmatia. Around 130 young individuals joined the fighting units, while the noncombatants were taken care of in the background. At the same time, the Partisans from Dalmatia were joined by the group of 117 Jewish volunteers from Bari, who were freed from the Ferramonti Italian concentration camp after the capitulation.

2339 Jews from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina survived to see the end of the war as a part of the Partisan units. 804 of them were killed. Ultimately, this means that in both Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, from the surviving Jews, as many as one in four participated in the anti-fascist struggle. Almost 2000 noncombatant Jews who survived the war in the Partisan liberated area returned home with the Partisans. Thus, out of a total of just over 9000 Jews from the area of the NDH who survived the Holocaust, around half were rescued as members or members of anti-fascist partisan units or by residing in the liberated territory.

In other words, around 10% of the pre-war Jewish population participated in the antifascist fight, or actively supported the fight by living in the territory under the Partisan control. It was the largest number of Jews involved in the resistance movements in the parts of Europe under the control of the Axis power; at the same time, it is the largest number of Jews saved because of the antifascist resistance. Even then, the Jewish community was proud of its participation in the anti-fascist movement. Six-year-old Mira Altarac started first grade in the El Shatt refugee camp; “On one of the photos of my dad, I proudly wrote, in newly learned letters: ‘My dad is a partisan!’”

4. Analysis

One of the major challenges I had to overcome when translating these articles, was the authors writing style; the articles were written somewhat poorly in the source language. Croatian language differs from English, amongst other things, in syntax. The syntax tolerates, in a lack of a better word, various strains bestowed upon it. Sentences in Croatian language can be exceptionally long, sometimes the length of a paragraph.

Goldstein's way of writing is similar to a train of thought. Having witnessed one of his public lectures in person, I drew similarities with his way of writing and talking/giving lectures. His talking and writing can be unconnected and scattered, demanding the reader/listener, to pay close attention to what is written/said. Since English language does not tolerate this way of writing, unlike Croatian, it was not possible to keep the same style as it was in the source language. If I were to keep the style of the source text, the translation would not sound natural, nor would it be in line with the syntax and grammar of English language, nor would it be easy to read. Due to Goldstein's specific line of thoughts in talking and writing, I did not have the option to fully preserve the style of the source text, due to the differences between the two languages.

The long sentences, crammed with information in awkward places, frequent use of pronouns and the strained syntax can lead one to believe the academic article did not undergo quality proofreading before publication.

Therefore, one of the everlasting questions of translation is raised; when the translator is provided with a poor source text, how many interventions is too much? In my opinion, the whole text should be rewritten in the source language in a more coherent way, where it is obvious who the author is referring to when using pronouns, which part of the sentence is quoted, and the perhaps unnecessary information should be omitted. Therefore, some significant changes needed to be made in the translation for the translation to be good. Awkward syntax aside, both the academic and the newspaper articles were easy to comprehend.

What was somewhat unexpected was that the newspaper article in the source language did not differ in style from the academic article. The titles themselves are different, but the only difference between the two articles in the text itself is the newspaper article is significantly shorter, and there are three new sentences in the newspaper article. The first one was: *Stoga je po odluci*

Glavnog štaba NOV-a Hrvatske već u listopadu bataljon priključen 7. banijskoj diviziji NOV-a, a pripadnici bataljona raspoređeni po jedinicama te divizije.

The other two sentences are the last two sentences of the article: *Even then, the Jewish community was proud of its participation in the anti-fascist movement. Six-year-old Mira Altarac started first grade in the El Shatt refugee camp; “On one of the photos of my dad, I proudly wrote, in newly learned letters: ‘My dad is a partisan!’”*

Regarding the title, I was unsure whether to use *aid* or *help* as a translation for the term *pomoć*. Even though *help* is written in the Summary part of the article, written in English, *aid* sound more formal and appropriate for this article.

I opted not to translate the term Poglavnik, term relating to Ante Pavelić, into English. The main reason is that terms like *Führer* and *Il Duce* (both fascist leaders of their states, like Pavelić) are not adapted to English. Same should also be applied for Poglavnik, there is no reason to translate this as *Chief*.

I opted not to adapt the term *Ustaša* as it is written in Croatian, despite the term being written as *Ustasha* in the Summary (in English) at the end of the article. The *Ustasha* way of writing was used in the 20th century; more and more contemporary researchers of fascism are using the term *Ustaša*.

For the term *Ustaški stan* I opted to translate as the *Ustaša headquarters*, because it served as the main Ustaša office for a certain geographical area. The Ustašas had somewhat of a parallel government alongside the actual government, the Ustaški stan was a part of the parallel government. I got the translation and the explanation of this, and many other terms, thanks to Lovro Kralj, PhD. Kralj is the assistant professor at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Studies, an expert in the field of fascism studies and the NDH

The following sentence is just one of many burdened with information and perhaps irrelevant information.

Bilo je i onih koji su pomagali na druge načine: predsjednik zagrebačke židovske općine Hugo Kon i zagrebački rabin Miroslav Freiburger početkom 1943. godine, koji mjesec prije deportacija,

pismom zahvaljuju dr. Ivi Šaleku, asistentu Klinike sveučilišta, koji je pomagao štićenicima židovskog doma staraca u Zagrebu, „opetovano i nesebično... otklonivši svaku nagradu“.

The sentence is too long, it is missing commas, it has too much information crammed in one sentence, the word order is not in the right order, it is not clear what is the author quoting and the quotation makes little to no sense. The problem is that there are plenty sentences like this one throughout the article, containing all or most of the above-mentioned problems.

The solution to those problems would be to make three or more sentences in the target language. The translation would then be: *There were those who helped in different ways. Dr. Ivo Šalek, the assistant on the University Clinic was one of those people. Hugo Kon, the president of the Jewish Community of Zagreb and the Zagreb rabbi Miroslav Freiburger wrote a letter in which they thanked Šalek for “continuously and unselfishly... whilst not wanting any praise” helping the protégées of the Jewish retirement home in Zagreb.*

Because of the quotation, my final translation is: *There were others who helped in different ways. At the beginning of 1943, the president of the Jewish Community of Zagreb, Hugo Kon, and the Zagreb rabbi Miroslav Freiburger wrote a letter in which they thanked Dr. Ivo Šalek, the assistant on the University Clinic, for “continuously and unselfishly... whilst not wanting any praise” helping the protégées of the Jewish retirement home in Zagreb.*

One more sentence burdened with information that should not be written the way it is, is the following: *Kućipaziteljica zgrade u Zagrebu, koja je jedina znala da se u stanu obitelji Prašek skriva Zlata Frankl, kada su ustaše došle u raciju, vikala je na stubištu kako bi upozorila Prašekove i Zlatu: “Ovdje stanuje doktorica sa svojim sinom, a inače nema nikoga u stanu”.*

The translation is: *A housekeeper of a building in Zagreb, yelled to warn Zlata Frankl and the Prašek family when the Ustašas came to make a raid by shouting: “A doctress lives here with her son, otherwise there is no one in the apartment”; the housekeeper was the only person to know the Prašek family was hiding Zlata Frankl.*

The question of quotation is somewhat solved by looking into the footnotes; it is from the memoir of Prašek. But it would be helpful to know which part of the sentence is quoted, so that the whole sentence can be divided into two, or three sentences, making the reading, understanding and translating easier.

I had difficulties finding out what did *Zagrebački zbor* refer to. The term can be found in the sentence *Stižu molbe poput ove – da se “vati na posao Oton Mermelstein (1905) koji je odveden 21. Lipnja u Zagrebački zbor odakle se nije više vratio”*. I enlisted the help of Lovro Kralj. *Zagrebački zbor* was not necessarily a term a researcher of Holocaust and the NDH should know; the term refers to the old location of the Zagreb Fair (*Zagrebački velesajam*). The location consisted of empty pavilions and was used as a transit camp. Zagreb Fair is the official translation of *Zagrebački velesajam*, it can be found on the website of the Fair.

Therefore, the translation is the following: *Many of the requests made were along the following lines: for Oton Mermelstein (1905.), to be returned to work. He was taken on June 21st to the Zagreb Fair (transit camp, translators remark) from where he did not return”*.

Another difficulty while translating the whole article, were the segmented quotations. For example: *U travnju 1941 još su se pisala dugačka objašnjenja o tome zašto se neki Židovi žele pokrstiti. Ivan Klein (1911) je, tvrdi župnik, “čovjek pošten... inteligentan, koji je polazio sveučilište, učio kanonsko parvo, pa mu je zato o katoličkoj crkvi dosta poznato... Ja sam mu se zagrozion, a toga ću se i držati, ako ne nauči dobro... da ga neću vjenčati.”*

The translation is: *In April of 1941, broad explanations of why a Jew wishes to be baptized were still written. An example is Ivan Klein (1911) “an honest man... intelligent, who attended a university, learned canon law, so he knows much about the Catholic Church... I threatened him, and I shall stand by it, if he does not learn properly... I will not let him step into marriage”, a pastor claimed.*

The segmented quotations omit the sometimes-necessary information, such as what comes after *ako ne nauči dobro (if he does not learn properly)*. The question is what does Klein have to learn properly? Most likely this relates to the teachings of the Church; that Klein must abide by the rules of the Catholic Church/the Bible.

One of the terms I had some trouble with finding the right translation for is *neborci*. It relates to those who did not participate in the fighting, i.e., the war. At first, I opted for the translation of *non-fighting*. However, after doing some research, I found that *noncombatant* is the more appropriate term.

The two articles are brimming with numerous mistakes, some bigger than others. In this segment I tried to depict the problems I had to overcome by using the examples that showcase the most common problems that occurred while translating. Many of them occur in multiple places in the translation; there is no need to go over each and every one of them. Analysing additional sentences and paragraphs would take up too much space in this already burdened work.

4. Conclusion

To conclude, the two articles, one academic and the other newspaper, translated in this thesis were somewhat difficult to translate. The most difficult hurdle to cross was surely the authors writing style. The likely lack of quality proofreading before the publication of the academic article makes the reading and the translating of the article in the source language somewhat problematic. Numerous long, convoluted sentences, brimming with sometimes irrelevant information, meant that I often had to deconstruct the whole sentences, change the word order multiple times to make the translation coherent and easy to read. This is the reason why the author's writing style is not as evident in the translation, as it is in the source text. Deviations from the wording in the source text had to be minimal, because of the potential problems that could occur, relating to the distortion of the Holocaust. Syntax aside, the academic articles was easy to comprehend. Therefore, there were no instances, apart from one, where I, as the translator had to intervene, to explain certain terms.

Since the two articles are almost identical, apart from the newspaper article being significantly shorter, and the three added sentences, the translations were, thus, identical. There were no interventions by the editor of the newspapers, even though one would expect a newspaper article to be written differently than the academic one. The newspaper article was also easy to comprehend, especially because it was shorter, lessening the impression of the text being poorly written because of the syntax. Therefore, I did not have to make any interventions as a translator.

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