

JASENOVAC
SYSTEM OF CROATIAN USTASHA
CAMPS OF GENOCIDE 1941-1945

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CAMPS OF GENOCIDE 1941-1945



Second International Conference
Banja Luka - Donja Gradina
8 - 10 May 2000.

Banja Luka - Donja Gradina
8 - 10 May 2000.



An Ustasha in Jasenovac torturing old Vukasin from Klepci in order to force him cry loudly: "Long live Ante Pavelic!" Vukasin replies: "Child, you just do your job".

**SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
JASENOVAC - SYSTEM OF CROATIAN USTASHA
CAMPS OF GENOCIDE 1941-1945**

Banja Luka - Donja Gradina
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CAMPS OF GENOCIDE 1941-1945

Banja Luka - Donja Gradina
May 8-10 2000

Banja Luka, 2001

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Preface

With an aim to implement the conclusions of the First International conference "Concentration camps Jasenovac - "Dark Secret of the Holocaust 1941-1945 in former Yugoslavia", held at Kingsborough Community College, City University of New York from 29-31 October 1997, and to continue revealing the truth, in the interests of history and the future, about Jasenovac death camp in the Independent State of Croatia and the genocide committed by the Ustasha during the war 1941-1945, the Second International Conference "Jasenovac - System of Croatian Ustasha Camps of Genocide (1941-1945)" was held in Banja Luka from 8-10 May 2000, under the Republic of Srpska Government auspices.

After the dismemberment of former Yugoslavia, Jasenovac mass graves covering an area of about 210-240 km², had been divided between two sovereignties - the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Srpska along the Sava and the Una rivers. Donja Gradina, the greatest execution site in the Balkans, remained on the Serbian side.

The participants of the Conference, both domestic and foreign, in their speeches and papers tried to present the latest findings and discoveries. Revealing the truth about Jasenovac is an issue not discussed only by historians and scientists but politicians as well. To avoid manipulations regarding the number of victims, their background and nationality, the participants of the Conference appealed for objectiveness and scientifically based researches international experts should take part in.

Wishing to provide an insight into the speeches and written supplements of the participants to the Conference we publish the transcripts and submitted papers as well as the works of those who could not attend the Conference.

We hope that the published material will be an inspiration and motive for the research to be continued in order to have an objective assessment of the past, for the future's sake.

Janko Velimirovic

**THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
JASENOVAC, SISTEM OF CROATIAN USTASHA
GENOCIDE 1941–1945**

Banja Luka, April 17, 2000

Dear,

On behalf of the Organizational Committee, I am pleased to announce a Second International Conference on Jasenovac to be held from May 8–10, 2000 in Banja Luka, Republic of Srpska.

In light of your distinguished expertise in the field, I would like to take this opportunity to invite you to participate as a speaker in this historic Conference, which will bring together prominent experts on the Ustasha genocide to present and discuss recent developments concerning the genocide in the Independent State of Croatia during World War II.

Our purpose is to build on the work of the First International Conference. We will examine: the nature of the Ustasha system of camps, the scope of the crimes of genocide committed against the Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, the economic aspects of the Ustasha looted assets, the latest technology for research on the Donja Gradina complex of tombs, international legal protection for the Jasenovac memorial area, formation of an international commission of experts to establish the truth about Jasenovac.

The First Conference and exhibition on the Jasenovac concentration camps was held in New York at Kingsborough Community College on October 29/31, 1997 under the Chairmanship of Dr Bernard Klein, assisted by Professor Barry Lituchy. Participants included Dr Michael Berenbaum, Director of Shoah Foundation, Dr Eli Rosenbaum, Director, Office of Special Investigations, US Department of Justice, Professor Christopher Simpson, American University, author Vladimir Yerjavic, Croatian Institute of History, Dr Milan Bulajic, Director, Museum of Genocide Victims in Belgrade and other prominent authorities and scholars.

A concrete outcome of the First Conference was the extradition, prosecution and conviction on October 4, 1999 of the last living Jasenovac Commander Dinko Sakic.

The Second Conference will present an exposition of recent work on Jasenovac and will establish a firm agenda for future research and for the preservation of the truth about Jasenovac. There will be an exhibition with artifacts, publications, films and a visit to the memorial sites of Jasenovac, Donja Gradina.

Some of the confirmed speakers are: Dr Michael Berenbaum, Dr Bernard Klein, Professor Ian Hancock, International Union of Gypsies, Professor Water Roberts, Dr Jelena Guskova, Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr Srboljub Zivanovic, Royal Anthropological Institute.

The Conference Committee will be pleased to arrange and fund your airfare from the US to Banja Luka, as well as your accommodations there.

Should you require additional information or have any other questions please do not hesitate to contact Secretariat of the Conference:

tel/fax: +387 51 319 256, 319 257;

E-mail: jasenovac@blic.net in Banja Luka or Museum of Genocide Victims-Belgrade

tel/fax: ++381 11 3233-561, 3243-640;

E-mail: yumg@bits.net

With special respect,
Sincerely yours,

President of the Organization Council
Milorad Dodik

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
JASENOVAC, SISTEM OF CROATIAN USTASHA
GENOCIDE 1941-1945

PROGRAM OF CONFERENCE

SUNDAY May 07 2000

Arrival of participants (via Vienna, Zurich, Belgrade)
Registration and accommodation in hotel "Bosna", Banja Luka
Remembrance Ceremony in Donja Gradina

- 19,00 Opening of the exhibition "Jasenovac - graveyard of 19432
girls and boys" Gallery of arts of RS
- 20,00 Promotion of books - Jovan Mirkovic "Published documents
and literature on Jasenovac camps" and "Crimes in
Jasenovac camp - report od State commission of Croatia
(transcription on English) - Hole in Banski dvor Banja Luka

MONDAY May 08 2000

- 9,00 - 9,30 Registration of participants
- 9,30 - 10,30 Remembrance ceremony for the victims of Jasenovac camps
(His Holiness Patriarch Pavle, Rabin Atijas, Dragan Ackovic)
- 10,30 Opening speech and official opening of the Conference
RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik
- 11,00 - 13,30 Plenary session I Jasenovac - work camp or system of ustasha
genocide camps?
- 15,00 - 17,00 II Denying crime of genocide - number of Jasenovac victims
- 17,00 - 19,30 Visit to villages around Banja Luka where massacres were
committed (Drakulic, Sargovac, Motike)
- 20,00 Reception dinner for participants

THUESDAY May 09 2000

8,00 - 10,00	Transportation to Donja Gradina
10,00 - 11,00	Visit to massive tombs in Donja Gradina
11,00 - 11,30	Arrival of participants in Banja Mljecanica
11,30 - 14,30	IV Donja Gradina research project - presentation of achieved results
16,00 - 17,30	V International legal protection of the whole memorial area of Jasenovac
17,30 - 19,30	Return to Banja Luka

WEDNESDAY, May 10, 2000.

9,30 - 11,00	III Economic aspects of Croat Ustasha genocide against Serbs, Jews and Gypsies
11,00 - 11,30	VI Forming of the International Experts Commission for the truth about Jasenovac
11,45 - 13,30	VII Adoption of Declaration "Jasenovac - system of Croat Ustasha genocide camps"
	Departure

DOKUMENTATIONSZENTRUM

SALZTORGASSE 6/IV/5
1010 WIEN, AUSTRIA

DES BUNDES JUDISCHER
VERFOLGTER DES NAZIREGIMES

TELEFON 533 06 05, 533 04 31 FAX 535068

BALKVERBUNDIG
SCHLÖSSELEUTENSTRASSE 10
1010 WIEN, AUSTRIA

Dr. Milan Bulajić
Director, Museum of Genocide
Victims
Nikola Pasića Square
Belgrade
YUGOSLAVIA

WIEN, November 25, 1999
SN/Tr

Fax: 3233-581

Dear Dr. Bulajić,

I have received your informative letter about the prosecution of Dinko Sakic and read this with great interest. It is good that your holding a Second International Conference about the system of ustasha camps of genocide from 1941 to 1945 in the area of Jasenovac, Banja Luka and Donja Gradina concentration camps is very important both for the sake of truth and in remembrance of the many genocide victims.

Although I feel honored by your invitation to take part in this event, unfortunately I will not be able to participate. I will be 91 years old in a few weeks and since I and 1/2 years I have not done any traveling whatsoever; I am glad if I can still manage to come to the office for three hours each day.

I hope for your understanding, and please convey my personal greetings and good wishes to the participants in the Conference.

Sincerely,



Simon Wiesenthal

April 12, 2000

Dear Dr. Bulajic:

I greatly appreciate your invitation to participate in the Second International Conference on Jasenovac to be held in May in Banja Luka. Further research into the nature and scope of Ustasha regime's cruel and criminal actions against the various peoples of Croatia during World War II is an important and urgent undertaking.

I regret that I will be unable to participate in the conference. You do me an honor I surely do not deserve in calling me an expert in the field. My colleagues and I in the United States Government were proud to prepare a report in 1998 that drew attention to information, much of which was already known to experts in the field. There is little more that I am able to contribute, but I will look forward eagerly to the results of more knowledgeable specialists.

I hope that you will share the results of the forthcoming conference with me and my colleagues.

Thank you again for your kind invitation, and good luck on your vital endeavors.

Sincerely,

William Slany
The Historian, Office of the Historian
Bureau of Public Affairs



B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL

April 13, 2000

Dr. Milan Bulajic
Director
Museum of Genocide Victims
Trg Nikole Pasica 11/III
1100 Beograd
Yugoslavia

Dear Dr. Bulajic:

Thank you for inviting me to speak at the Second International Conference on Jasenovac, May 8 to 10, in Banja Luka.

Unfortunately, a previous commitment will make it impossible for me to participate. However, I wish you a good and productive conference, and hope that I will be available to speak if you decide to hold a Third International Conference.

I am enclosing some material that details B'nai B'rith's special role in the successful apprehension and prosecution of Dinko Sakic. You may want to use some of this in your conference material.

Again, thank you for the invitation. I hope you are well and I look forward to seeing you again.

With every kind wish,

Tommy P. Baer
Honorary International President

Encis.

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
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**SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
JASENOVAC – SYSTEM OF CROATIAN
USTASHA CAMPS OF GENOCIDE
(1941–1945)**

8 – 10. may 2000. godine
Banja Luka – Donja Gradina

**SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
JASENOVAC – SYSTEM OF CROATIAN USTASHA
CAMPS OF GENOCIDE (1941–1945)**

8 – 10. may 2000. godine
Banja Luka – Donja Gradina

Dr Milan Bulajić

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to greet you all, on behalf of the Organizational Committee of the Second International conference "Jasenovac – system of Croatian Ustasha camps of death" and thank you for your participations and discussions on this extremely important issue.

Allow me to greet his Grace, Bishop of Bihac–Petrovac region, Mr. Hrizostom and the representatives of the Orthodox Church, the honoured Rabbi of the Republic of Srpska, Jozef Atijas, all former inmates, present here, in memory of those who after the First Conference did not live long enough to attend the Second, Mr. Mirko Sarovic, Vice–president of the Republic of Srpska, Mr. Zivko Radisic, member of BH Presidency, Petar Djokic, president of the RS Parliament, Mr. Zivojin Eric, a Minister in RS Government.

I would especially like to greet our guests from abroad at this International Conference on Jasenovac, dr. Bernard Klein – the main organizer and coordinator of the First International Conference on Jasenovac, dr. Elena Guskova from the Russian Academy of sciences from Moscow, Mr. Marco Aurelio Rivelli from Italy, Mr. Alexis Troude from France, prof. Srboľjub Zivanovic from London, representatives of scientific institutions of RS, SRJ and Croatia, representatives of Banja Luka, public, cultural and economic institutions from Banja Luka and RS, representatives of the media and the participants of the Conference, all present.

Welcome and we hope we shall all work together to the success of this Second International Conference.

The program of this Conference aims at paying respects to the victims of genocide and on the occasion of the breakthrough of Jasenovac camp 55th anniversary.

I would also like to greet the President of the Organizational Committee, the Prime Minister of RS, Mr. Milorad Dodik.

To enable the effective work of this Conference I suggest that we choose the members of the Presidency: prof. dr. Bernard Klein, prof. dr. Srboľjub Zivanovic, dr. Elena Guskova, Mr. Alexis Troude, Marco Aurelio Rivelli from Italy, Mr. Milovan Zivkovic, Mr. Slobodan Mileusnic, prof. Barry Lituchy and dr. Milan Bulajic.

Thank you and I would ask the members of the Presidency to take their seats.

I would ask Mr. Dodik, the President of the Organizational Committee of the Second International Conference "Jasenovac – system of Croatian Ustasha camps of genocide", to open the Conference.

WELCOME ADDRESS OF MR MILORAD DODIK THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to, on behalf of the Government of Republic of Srpska and Organizational board of the Second International Conference "Jasenovac – system of the Croatian Ustashi genocide camps (1941–1945)," welcome: Their Excellencies, the Ambassadors and Representatives of the international organizations, Survivors from Jasenovac camp, dear guests – participants of this Conference from Europe and all over the world, as well as all of You and all those who are not with us today and who have helped this Conference.

This Conference is the sequel of the First International Conference and exhibition on Concentration Camps Jasenovac, held in New York, at Kingsborough College, Prof. Dr Bernard Klein presiding, who has my warmest welcome as well as other participants of the First International Conference.

At the first Conference, our American hosts rightfully called Jasenovac death camps "The dark side of the holocaust in ex Yugoslavia 1941–1945", the question of persecution, arresting

and extradition of the former commander of Jasenovac camp Dinko Sakic and his wife Nada Sakic has been raised.

Genocide criminal Dinko Sakic was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment in October 4, 1999. However, he wasn't convicted for genocide crimes, but only for the crimes against civilians.

An opportunity, which is in our common interest, especially in the interest of Croatian people, for the trial to the last living commander of Jasenovac camp to become "postponed Nurnberg", was lost.

Sakic wasn't on trial for the system of Jasenovac genocide camp, for the whole period of his activities in Jasenovac camp from February 18, 1941, but only for the period of a couple of months which he spent in command of the camp.

Nada Sakic, responsible for the genocide crimes against women and children in Stara Gradiska camp, awarded with "Iron medal of the King Zvonimir crown on war ribbon," was set free without the court's judgement by the state prosecutor in Zagreb, who himself asked for her extradition from the Republic of Argentina, despite the fact that not a single witness either from RS or Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been interrogated.

What do we expect from this Conference?

We expect international assessment whether Jasenovac camps were working concentration camps or death camps – the system of Croatian Ustasha genocide camps against Serbs, Jews and Romanies, war crimes against antifascists, Croats and other nationalities.

Drastic revision of the history of The Second World War was emphasized by the proposition to turn Jasenovac memorial area into the memorial of victims and criminals, which was condemned by the progressive world. Assembly commission for the war victims report, stating that 2,238 prisoners were killed in Jasenovac camps represents crime of war victims minimization.

The exhibition shown at this Conference "They were just kids – Jasenovac tomb of 19,432 girls and boys", based on the research by Dragoje Lukic represents the strongest accusation and negation of the claims that Jasenovac crimes were aimed only at political opponents.

At this Conference we are raising the question of compensation of the Serbian victims of genocide for the robbed and destroyed houses and churches, valuables, similar to the activi-

ties of the Jewish organizations at London and Washington Conference. Eisenstaadt report "Nazi Gold", which contains the chapter "Ustasha Gold" justifies this action.

After the disintegration of the ex Yugoslavia, Jasenovac area of massive graves covering 210 – 240 square kilometers, has been divided into two sovereignties – Republic of Croatia and RS (BIH) by the rivers Sava and Una.

On the Serbian side there is the greatest place of execution on the Balkans, at Donja Gradina.

Searching for the truth, against the crime of concealing the number of victims, experts' program of examining Donja Gradina has been started, in which the latest technology of radar and satellites was used.

Conference should agree to propose international legal protection of the whole complex of the system of the Ustasha genocide camps, on both sides of the border, in United Nations, UNESCO "World Heritage", the agenda which has already been discussed and on which certain proposals have been given.

In order to depoliticise the process of asserting the truth about Jasenovac camps, the proposal of the first Conference of establishing the parity Serbo–Croatian commission having not been accepted, we consider it necessary to form international commission of experts for asserting the truth about Jasenovac. The Government of RS is ready to host the meetings of the international commission of experts, and to contribute to the financial support of this working group.

The Honoured participants of the Second International Conference,

The capital of RS – Banja Luka, in which this Conference is being held was originally planned to be the capital of genocide naciustasha NDH.

We have the examples of unseen crimes in the surrounding villages Drakuluci, Sargovci and Motike in which in the course of a single "working day", from 6 a.m to 2 p.m. on February 7, 1942, 1,630 so far identified men, women and children had been killed.

Genocide was started in the elementary school when a friar Miroslav Filipovic from the convent nearby, slaughtered the first Serbian child, Vasilija Glamocanin, and then ordered the ustashi to do the same in the mine Rakovac and all the Serbian households, and having finished the slaughter come to church to ask for pardon.

Visits to these villages, scenes of crime and the meetings

with the survivors are planned.

I am convinced of the historical significance of this Conference. I hope that through your discussions you will prove that the establishment of the truth regarding Jasenovac camps enables the insight into the origins of the existing tragedy of people coming from ex Yugoslavia, creation of better future for the young generation, despite of religion and nationality.

In order to assert the truth about Jasenovac system of Croatian Ustasha genocide camps we should continue with the international discussions open to all opinions based on facts. I think that domestic as well as foreign public should be acquainted with the results of debates and conclusions of the first and the second International Conferences.

The RS Government will support publishing of all the relevant documents and facts in Serbian, Croatian and English language.

Ladies and Gentlemen, honoured participants,

I wish you a pleasant stay in Banja Luka and I hope that the third International Conference will be held in view of establishing the truth of Jasenovac camps, based on the research of the International commission of experts.

Thank you.

Prof. Bernard Klein

First, I must tell you it's a pleasure to stand up here and being able to speak without translation. I am at a disadvantage at this Conference as I do not understand your language but I do understand English so I'll speak in English and I hope you understand me.

I cannot say that it is a pleasure to be here because of the topic we are talking about. I think I would give anything that we shouldn't have had this experience to come together to talk about a tragedy, which happened in this part of the world as well as in others. I think that Jasenovac is a great distinction of a place where not only Jews were killed but non-Jews together with Jews. Usually it is only Jews who were killed, most of the time. But in Jasenovac, it seems there was no distinction made between Jews and non-Jews. They killed everyone: Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, it made no difference.

So I think that this at least brings all these people together and hopefully we are going to fight this kind of prejudice and

ideology – whatever it is whether in this part of the world or other parts.

I am impressed that so many of you dignitaries have shown up for this kind of commemoration. I am impressed by the turnout of you people who came here. I also want to express my gratitude to dr. Bulajic for organizing this Conference and I know the difficulties he had in doing so because I've done it in New York. I must tell you – in New York we had a much larger crowd from all over the world and it was quite impressive to see that so many people were interested in Jasenovac. I myself came to Jasenovac rather indirectly. Dr. Bulajic came to one of my conferences, which we organized in Jerusalem and presented a paper on Jasenovac and enlightened many people who didn't know what happened in this part of the world.

We all know what happened in Auschwitz, at Treblinka ...but few people heard about Jasenovac.

But few people asked the question where Jasenovac was, what happened there? As a result of this acquaintance and professor Bulajic's insistence we undertook to organize that Conference in New York and it turned out to be successful, despite the difficulties we encountered and the opposition of many groups to such a conference. I can tell you I invited the Croatian president, the Croatian ambassador to the United States, the Croatian counselor and so on and they were very skeptical and would rather not want the conference.

They told me outright: " Please, don't have the conference. It is only going to create problems. We want to bring people together. Well, we insisted and when this didn't succeed they tried threats and that didn't succeed and we had the Conference and nothing happened, it went peacefully. I don't know what we have accomplished but we are pleased we had the Conference and I think the things moved a little bit.

One of the great problems we had in Jasenovac is the number game. And I understand the reason. Tudman, as well as other Croats will try to minimize the number of people killed in Jasenovac for a good reason, from their point of view and I understand and I appreciate it.

However, the other side claims that the numbers are quite larger, much larger than they claim and acknowledge. We did accomplish at the last Conference that the delegates from Croatia who joined us did raise the number somewhat – it wasn't as low as that given by Tudman and some of the other people but, of course, it didn't come close to what the Serbian side

was claiming and what is the real truth about the numbers.

I am not sure that either side is right. Perhaps 1,000,000 or 1,200,000 or 700,000 – I don't know what the number is really and I don't think anybody knows. And this is the great problem. We have to establish somehow critically what is the real number. And it can be done. It takes hard work and time to arrive at these numbers and I do not know exactly how we go about it but possibly we have to go to the economic field instead of other areas and thereby reach some kind of number which is more realistic and more accurate.

I also think that in order to succeed in getting any further with this problem you'll have to involve the United States Government. I know that the reputation of the United States Government in this part of the world is not good, believe me, I can tell you that many people in the United States did not agree with the policies of the United States Government, we can tell our Government that they are wrong and sometimes they don't listen to us. Nevertheless, I think if we are going to resolve any problem that Government has to be involved. We have to find the way of involving it.

We can see it with the situation presently going on in determining what kind of properties were confiscated from people in Europe and what is the obligation of these different Governments to the victims of the Nazi holocaust. It could only be done because the United States was involved. And it has moved considerably.

I can also say this – that if the people in this part of the world are not going to make a move and come to terms with their past they are going to be reminded of it by the rest of the world. It is not going to die, it is not going to become quiet and forgotten and I think people are learning this lesson. Many people were hoping that what happened in the 1940-es will be forgotten the first generation dying out who was going to remember what happened in Auschwitz, at Treblinka or Poland and Germany and so on. But it turned out this is not the case.

Fifty years later, the United States opened that archives and we have a flood of information and these people are now being called to account for their behavior and for what they did and for the properties they have stolen and kept and refused to the present day many of them to come to terms with the victims they wanted to murder and they also wanted to inherit and this doesn't go. Remember the prophet already says that in the Bible. You murder you also want to inherit, it's not going to work

and you can not make a distinction between the perpetrators of the crimes and those who are victims at the same time but also benefactors of these crimes.

Of course, they all say: "We are victims. The Polish people are saying: "We are victims, we were occupied by the Nazis, what do we have to do with this. But they confiscated millions and millions of property and they say: "That belongs to us". Well, it doesn't belong to them. I don't know who it belongs to.

Unfortunately, the survivors are not around to claim it but it doesn't belong to the Polish people. It is not theirs. And it doesn't belong to the Czech people and it doesn't belong to the Hungarian people and it doesn't belong to the Croatian people, and it doesn't belong to the Serb people. Even though they are victims.

These things have to be accounted for and they have to be returned for the benefit of humanity, not for the benefit of one group in particular whoever they are even though they are victims and we have to acknowledge that and insist on their responsibility and it has already been talked about. I myself have spoken to other people who were involved in other parts of the world and I know some of these people very well. And they say: "We haven't had time to turn to Croatia or Serbia. We are too busy with the Poles and the Germans and the Swiss but the things have been settled now with the Swiss.

The Swiss are coming to an agreement I think, this week or next week. The Germans have come to an agreement; the Poles are on the borderline when this is going to be settled. I can tell you, Croatia is going to be next and if they think they are going to get out of it they are not going to get out of it.

What is going to happen we do not know but there is going to be an accounting. So I think it would be better from their point of view to come forth and say: "Look, we made mistakes, things happened in our part of the world which we regret. We apologize." It takes courage to apologize. And some people have done it. You have to do it. Look at the Austrians. Look at the French. They were all victims or resisters. The French people were all resisters to the Nazis, weren't they? They were collaborators. The Dutch people have a wonderful reputation, don't they?

Holland being so gracious, and so generous and so friendly toward the Jews. Look at Annie Frank. Forgetting that 90% of the Jewish population in Holland was killed. How did that happen? Because of the collaboration of the Dutch. The Dutch

were collaborators. Yes, there was a resistance. But the majority of people collaborated. Now they are being taken to account.

It took fifty years. Fifty-five years. But it is going to happen. So I wouldn't give up hope on the Croatians. They will have to come to terms with it. They ask me something else that I must mention here. People ask the question: "What about the Chetnicks in Serbia?"

If we are going to talk about the people responsible for persecutions and exterminations we have to pay attention to these people as well'. And I say: 'Yes, we have to. We have to establish the truth. What happened, did anything happen or did it not happen? We shouldn't avoid these things. We have got to speak about them, we have got to investigate them and come to a satisfactory conclusion. If wrong has been done we should admit it.

We in New York at the first Conference tried to come to groups with some of the problems, not all the problems but some of the problems.

We spoke about them, we clarified some aspects of the numbers and dr. Bulajic did some tremendous work in documenting by name, place of the people who were victims and that was one way of doing it but that is going to take about fifty years to get all the names.

There has got to be a more efficient method of getting to the bottom of this problem. and that is what we wanted to do with the hope that if we solve this problem the problem then becomes an agreement, maybe the relationship between the people living in this part of the world will be friendly and more cooperative.

If we don't settle this problem there is never going to be reconciliation. And you need reconciliation in this part of the world.

There is no reason why two people who inhabit this part of the world, two nations should not be able to work together. And if we do not do this you are not going to work together.

So there is the obligation of practically every group to come to understanding what happened here, which was responsible and accept the responsibility. And I think that was what I tried to do.

I have full sympathy and empathy for what you people have gone through. I haven't been in Jasenovac but I was in Auschwitz and I was in Mathausen, so I am perfectly familiar

with what happened. I lost my entire family in these places. so what happened in Jasenovac doesn't surprise me at all. The surprising thing is that it happened to non-Jews as well as Jews. I certainly am prepared to cooperate and help in whichever way possible to bring a resolution to this problem. So these are few remarks I wanted to say. Thank you for listening and I'll go on to the program. First speaker on this part of the program is dr. Bulajic and I think dr. Bulajic is well known to you, he doesn't need any introduction, you know the work he has done. He is a pioneer on this field in this part of the world and it is my pleasure to introduce him to you.

1 | **JASENOVAC – work camp or the system of Ustasha camps of genocide?**

1 | JASENOVAC, work camp or the system of Ustasha camps of genocide?

Dr Milan Bulajic

Allow me to thank professor Klein for what he had done by organizing the First International Conference on Jasenovac and for his words today.

My paper "Jasenovac – the system of Ustasha camps of genocide" should be an introductory paper. At the First International Conference my hosts called this problem "Dark Secret of the Holocaust in Former Yugoslavia (1941–1945)." At the lecture in Visental's center in the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles – "Belated Yugoslav Nurnberg," at Brunswick University – "untold story."

That is the summary of what I would like to speak of today trying to tell that untold story, to reveal that dark secret of the Holocaust with strong belief that it is the interest of Serbian, Croatian people, Muslims and all those living in the Balkans who were innocent victims.

Jasenovac represented a programmed crime of genocide, the gravest premeditated crime against humanity and international law. The objective of the establishment of concentration camps was defined in the camp in Lipari (Italy) back in 1934. They had then said that they would provoke rebellion amongst the Serbs in Croatia if the Serbs did not rebel of their own accord, and would thus find a reason for the liquidation of the Serbs in Croatia.

The Ustasha Jasenovac death camp could hold three thousand prisoners at the most, but was constantly able to receive new prisoners due to the systematic liquidation of the inmates.

Jasenovac was a system of Ustasha death camps established on territory occupied by Nazi Germany's military forces, but not one single Nazi German executioner took part in the crimes of genocide and holocaust. Crimes of genocide in the

Independent State of Croatia were, therefore, perpetrated not only by Croatian Ustasha, and especially not those 300 who came with Pavelic, but also by domobrani (home guards).

The Ustasha terrorist organization, the genocidal Nazi Independent State of Croatia and its leader Dr Ante Pavelic were not proclaimed criminal organizations, as was the case with the Nazi Third Reich and the Nazi Party.

Croatian Ustasha perpetrated the triple crime of genocide in Jasenovac: against Orthodox Serbs, against Jews and against Gypsies (Romas). One may even speak of a six-fold crime of genocide if we add the Old-Catholic Church, masons and communists – Yugoslavs, for their members were killed simply because of their conviction or the fact that they were members of the mentioned organizations.

Therein also lies the international significance of Jasenovac, which is of particular importance for the study of crimes of genocide, the Jewish holocaust and anti-Semitism.

The gravest mass war crimes were committed in Jasenovac against anti-fascists, members of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, Chetniks and Croatian members of the anti-fascist movement, those of Yugoslav commitment.

Jasenovac is not only a symbol of the most brutal crime of genocide, but also a symbol of heroism – the breakout of unarmed, exhausted and tortured people. The date of the breakout of the prisoners of Jasenovac, 22 April 1945, has rightly been proclaimed Remembrance Day for the Victims of Genocide against Serbs, Jews and Romas.

Jasenovac, the cruelest and most brutal system of death camps set up by Croatian Ustasha, functioned as such from 21 August 1941 until 22 April 1945. It encompassed an area of between 210 and 240 square kilometers of mass graves. Many people by mistake equal Jasenovac camp and the place Jasenovac. However, that is the system of camps. The survivors of those monstrous death camps testify as victims and eyewitnesses that the Ustasha rarely used bullets; they had special knives to cut the throats of their victims and special hammers to smash in their heads.

The first circle of Ustasha death camps was set up in Gospic, with execution sites in the Jadovno karst pits on Mount Velebit and camps on the island of Pag. After the renewed Italian fascist occupation of that area, the main execution site shifted to the region of Jasenovac.

Jasenovac was only one of the death camps on that vast

area of mass graves. There were many other death camps: Brodice, Krapje, Ustice, Mlaka, Dubicke krecane, Bajica jame, Slabinja, Sevarlija... up to Stara Gradiska. The "path of death" stretched along the River Sava.

Gradina was the largest execution site; it extended over an area of 116 hectares, with 64,880 square meters of mass graves.

Camps in Sisak and Lepoglava were within the system of the Ustasha Jasenovac genocide camps.

The third circle encompassed the entire territory of the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia, including Bosnia and Herzegovina and Srem (some 102,000 square kilometers inhabited by between 1,900,000 and 2,000,000 Serbs, that is 30 percent of the Orthodox population, and they had been destined for liquidation).

That circle of death also included the Nazi Sajmiste death camp on the banks of the River Sava near Belgrade, which was located on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, an entity created by Nazi-Ustasha-German occupation.

In a report to the International War Crimes Commission submitted in 1947, the Croatian National Commission estimated the number of victims at the Jasenovac camp at between 500,000 and 600,000. At The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia on 6 November 1991, however, Tudjman claimed that the total number of victims at the Jasenovac camp was 20,000, quoting "new German documents," which he never identified. He claimed that the total number of victims in all Ustasha camps on the territory of the Nazi Independent State of Croatia amounted to some 60,000, and that these comprised not only Serbs, but, indeed, mostly Croats.

Demanding that "there should be scientific research to reach ultimate results on that historical issue," Tudjman found "scientific" evidence in the census of the State Commission on the "Victims of War from 1941 to 1945," dating back to 1964, which the Museum of Genocide Victims has proven, with many examples, to be incomplete (597,000 victims in the whole of Yugoslavia) and incorrect. Tudjman, on the other hand, claims "that (according to what I have learnt to date) between 30,000 and 40,000 people died in Jasenovac, amongst whom Jews, Romas, Serbs and Croats. I did not correct that figure either...!"

At the first international conference, Dr Eli Rosenbaum, Director in the U.S. Department of Justice, also quoted a German document dated 8 December 1943 stating that 120,000

people had been killed in Jasenovac and 80,000 in the Stara Gradiska camp, which adds up to a total of 200,000 victims in this Ustasha camp system. This is ten times more than the figure put forward by Tudjman. Let us add that the figures quoted did not include the victims of 1944 and the first half of 1945, when brutality was rife. (These figures were also published by the U.S. State Department). According to a letter sent from Yadviga–Shem to President Tudjman of Croatia personally, on the occasion of the morbid idea of proclaiming Jasenovac a memorial ground for both victims and murderers, some 25,000 Jews were slaughtered in the most brutal manner in Jasenovac alone.

The research conducted by the Museum of Genocide Victims and by the Federal Institute for Statistics, research which is still underway, had by the first conference in 1997 identified by name and surname 78,163 victims, including 47,123 Serbs, 10,521 Jews etc.

In 1999, Dinko Sakic was tried in Zagreb for being responsible for the death of only 2,000 victims of genocide in the Jasenovac camps. In the sentence passed on 4 October 1999, the court estimated that, during the period that he had been commander, the number of victims had "not been less than a few hundred," while in another place it was stated that "at least several hundred inmates of the Jasenovac camp were killed."

The significance of this issue is highlighted by the fact that the report of the Croatian Assembly Commission for War and Post–War Victims states that a total of 18,410 Serbs were killed in the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia, that only 2,238 inmates of the Jasenovac camps were killed and that 293 Jews were killed throughout the whole of Croatia.

The establishment of the number of victims in the Jasenovac camps is a moral issue, an issue of broader responsibility. If the same legal regulations existed in Croatia as they do in the Federal Republic of Germany, all the members of the Croatian Assembly Commission that adopted such falsified conclusions on the number of victims of Ustasha genocide would be held criminally responsible. That is why we proposed to our colleagues in Croatia to work on it together.

People have spoken about Ustasha criminals, written about them, and they have been brought to court – although all this has been insufficient. Furthermore, data have been collected about the victims, while the issue of the economic aspect of the Ustasha crimes of genocide has virtually been neglected.

The discovery of large quantities of gold and gold objects

at the Catholic Kaptol in Zagreb has been proven and documented.

There was also a separate Office for the Settlement of Croats in the Serbian homes and settlements deserted as a result of genocide. A special body, the "State Commissariat for Reconstruction," later called the "Ministry for Reconstruction," was formed to that end in the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia.

It was established at the Zagreb trial of the former commander of the Jasenovac death camp, Dinko Sakic, that the Croatian State Archives contain some 20,000 dossiers from the State Commissariat for Reconstruction. However, that is still under the embargo.

A U.S. State Department Report on Nazi gold (the Eisenstat Report) of 2 June 1998, on the basis of which the London and Washington conferences were held, contains a chapter entitled "Ustasha Gold". It was that gold that made the "Rat Lines" possible, that is the escape routes for Ustasha and Nazi criminals at the end of the Second World War, among whom were Dinko and Nada Sakic.

The truth about the most brutal death camp for the extermination of Orthodox Serbs, Jews, Romas and anti-fascists has been kept a secret for the entire post-war period of over 50 years. That truth is still being hidden and prevented from seeing the light of day in Croatia even today. Documents on the crimes committed by the Croatian Ustasha and the victims of their genocide are inaccessible. That truth is being kept hidden on the international scene by the Vatican and by Germany on account of the responsibility they too bear for the crimes perpetrated in the Jasenovac death camps.

Those advocating "Tudjmanicisms" and the "Jasenovac Myth" explain away the Ustasha crimes of genocide as revenge for the crimes committed by Serbs against Croats not only in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia but also after the breakup of the first Yugoslav state.

However, what do the facts show?

Ustasha terrorists started to kill prominent Serbs as part of the program of genocide previously adopted in Italy and even before the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia on 10 April 1941 and the capitulation of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on 17 April 1941.

During the commemoration to Jewish victims in Srpski Brod on April 11 this year we determined something which is of

great importance for all historians. Namely, the first mass slaughter of Jews (crimes of genocide – holocaust) was perpetrated in Bosanski Brod on 11 April 1941, the day after the proclamation of the Nazi Independent State of Croatia, that is while the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was still in existence, before the arrival of the Nazi occupation forces.

That same day an Ustasha camp started to function in Bosanski Brod, and Ilija Jurisic was made camp commander." Out of the 37 Jews, 18 were sent to the Ustasha Jasenovac camps, 6 to Djakovo and 10 to the Nazi camp of Auschwitz.

The Ustasha did not wait long to commit the first mass acts of genocide against Serbs; 25 peasants were arrested and massacred in Staro Selo on 17 April 1941; some 600 people were dispatched to the Danica camp from Grubisko Polje on 26 April 1941; 195 innocent Serbs were murdered in the village of Gudovac near Bjelovar on 28 April 1941.

The Ustasha set up a concentration camp on 29 April 1941 in Koprivnica on the premises of the Danica chemical products factory.

The following had been known about the Ustasha crimes of genocide:

In 1941, the Serbian Orthodox Church informed the world through German generals in occupied Serbia of the mass horrendous crimes of genocide committed by Ustasha against Orthodox Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia.

The governments of the U.S.A. and Britain were to a certain extent acquainted with the crimes of genocide perpetrated by the Ustasha regime against Serbs, Jews and Sinti–Romas. In August 1941, Yugoslav ambassador to the U.S.A. Constantin Fotich received a report from the head of the Balkans Office in the State Department on the Ustasha "Comprehensive policy of extermination of the Serb race in the Independent State of Croatia," and the brutal massacres that had been perpetrated.

Yugoslav Ambassador Fotich was received by President Roosevelt on 20 December and examined together with him a memorandum on crimes perpetrated against Serbs. The President was shocked at the report and expressed amazement that Serbs, after such crimes, could ever again be prepared to live in the same state as the Croats.

Searching through the ICRC archives in Geneva, I found some twenty photographs depicting the Ustasha death and extermination camp of Jasenovac as some kind of Potemkin village, with the women working in the fields, the men at machin-

ery, with a modern medical laboratory containing microscopes, white-coated doctors and even cooks dressed in white preparing meals for the inmates.

A U.S. State Department report writes that the Vatican, which had a representative in Zagreb from June 1941, was fully aware of the extermination campaign. Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac totally approved the objectives of the new Croatian state and used his influence to have it recognized by the Holy See. On the day of the massacre of Orthodox Serbs near Bjelovar, that is on 28 April 1941, Archbishop Stepinac's pastoral missive was read in all Catholic churches in Croatia. In it, he called on the clergy to cooperate fully with the Ustasha leadership.

Pope Pius XII (Pacelli) was better informed, according to John Cornwell, about what was happening in Croatia than in any other country, except Italy. His envoy, Ramiro Marcone, travelled between Zagreb and Rome in military aircraft that were at his disposal as and when needed.

It has been established that Vatican representative in the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia, Guiseppe Masucci, and the secretary of the Archbishop of Zagreb, Stjepan Lackovic, visited Jasenovac on 6 February 1942 in the company of the most notorious perpetrator of genocide Eugen—Dido Kvaternik. Nothing was done after their visit to bring the horrendous genocidal crimes being committed by Ustasha in Jasenovac to light. Neither the Vatican nor the Zagreb Kaptol provided any explanation.

At the opening of this Conference we talked about horrible crimes in three villages near Banja Luka that you are going to visit this afternoon. It is interesting that the visit of Monsignor Lassucci and Monsignor Lackovic was on February 6, 1942. and the massacre in these villages led by Franciscan Filipovic on February 7, 1942.

A group of Catholic priests from Slovenia, who had been banished into the Independent Republic of Croatia for the simple reason that they were anti—Nazis, were arrested by the Ustasha and sent to the Jasenovac death camp because they refused to serve a mass of thanksgiving (*Te Deum*) to the Ustasha leader Pavelic. Archbishop Stepinac was informed of the arrest of the Roman Catholic priests from Slovenia and their dispatch to the Jasenovac death camp. We got these data about the destiny of Catholic priests from Slovenia and I think they are very significant for the topic we are discussing today.

The Zagreb Kaptol refused to discuss the matter, as all those against Hitler and Pavelic, "who are fighting for the cross", were criminals. One of the imprisoned priests from Slovenia, Anton Rantasa, was released from the hell of Jasenovac and, on 10 November 1942, informed the Kaptol in Zagreb and the Apostolic legate Marconi on the fate of his fellow priests and the genocidal crimes being perpetrated in Jasenovac. He was told to keep quiet. This testimony, written in 1950, has been preserved.

According to data from the U.S. Intelligence Service, St Jerome's College in Rome, the center for Catholic priests studying in the Vatican, was, during and after the Second World War, the focus of clandestine Ustasha activity and the Croatian "underground" that helped Ustasha refugees and war criminals escape from Europe after the war.

It is a fact that the Pope never visited Jasenovac, although he visited Auschwitz accompanied by cardinals on 7 June 1979. The sentenced war criminal, Zagreb Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac, was rewarded with the red biretta of a cardinal. Not even during his visit to the second independent state of Croatia on 10 September 1994 did Pope John Paul II accept the invitation to visit Jasenovac.

His Holiness Pope John Paul II, accompanied by Cardinal Sodan, the state secretary of the Holy See, Zagreb Archbishop Cardinal Kuharic and other cardinals and bishops, knelt before the grave of Archbishop (Cardinal) Stepinac in Zagreb Cathedral. Pope John Paul II visited the second independent state of Croatia a second time on 3 October 1998 for the beatification, that is the first step towards canonization, of Stepinac, which represents the permanent legalization of the crime of genocide against Orthodox ("schismatic") Serbs.

To mark the new millennium and the "Holy Year" 2000, Pope John II addressed seven prayers in the Basilica on St Peter's Square in which he also called for repentance for the sins committed by the "sons of the Church." The fourth repentance was for the persecution of Jews and the sins perpetrated against the people of Israel. He did not, however, mention the holocaust. It was stated that the Church had committed injustice against "the most socially impoverished groups such as immigrants and Gypsies." Neither the genocide against Orthodox Serbs nor the crimes perpetrated in the Jasenovac camps and other execution sites in the Catholic Ustasha Independent State of Croatia were even mentioned.

It is a fact that the lifelong President of Yugoslavia, Josip

Broz Tito, never visited Jasenovac, although he did visit many smaller execution sites. The author knows for a fact that Tito passed by Jasenovac on several occasions, and that he received invitations to visit Jasenovac, to which he did not respond.

Jasenovac was never liberated.

Units of the 21st Serbian Division entered abandoned Jasenovac on 2 May 1945, after the death and suffering of inmates – of 1,000 of them only 87 survived.

Instead of determining the truth and restoring the Ustasha death camp, the camp remnants were dismantled and removed in the first post-war years; all inquiries into the matter were banned, and the pits containing the bodies of the victims of genocide were cemented over.

The waters of the River Sava washed hundreds and even thousands of bodies, the victims of genocide from the area of the Jasenovac death camp, onto the riverbanks by Belgrade.

The author has established that neither the Ustasha death camp nor the Ustasha genocidal crimes have been entered into the registers of the archives of the U.N. Commission for War Crimes, located in New York. In confirmation of this incredible fact, the author received a written reply signed by the Chief of the Archives Unit, United Nations War Crimes Archives, Mrs Marille Gulpit, dated 17 September 1991.

The author asked what had happened to the "Memorandum on Crimes of Genocide Committed against the Serbian People by the Government of the 'Independent State of Croatia' during World War II," which was submitted in 1950 to the President of the fifth U.N. General Assembly in Flushing Meadows in New York. No reply was received!

Professor Srboljub Zivanovic, who is here with us, himself admitted that he had left Yugoslavia on account of the silence imposed on the truth about Jasenovac; he obtained British nationality and lectures on Jasenovac in Oxford. In an affidavit to the Zupanijski sud (District Court) in Zagreb dated December 1998, he continues to claim that the truth about the victims of Jasenovac lies one and a half meters under the ground, and that this can be internationally verified

At the "International Scientific Gathering on Jasenovac – 1945–1988" organized at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on 21 and 22 November 1988, the author proposed the formation of a data bank to collect all data in one place (similar to what the Jews had made in many places from Jad–Vashem to the Museum of Holocaust, Museum of Tolerance and numerous

other places; the last Museum of Holocaust I visited is in Taj Padej, Saint Peterzburg). The Museum of Genocide Victims was created on the basis of that proposal on 16 July 1992.

Dragan Dzoic obtained his master's degree at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in 1980 with the thesis *Ustaski zlocini u logoru Jasenovac kao primjer represivnog sistema NDH (Ustasha Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp as an Example of the Repressive System in the Independent State of Croatia)*. But immediately after Jasenovac myth had been publicly created by publishing of the book "Wastelands of Historical Reality," 1989. (Matica Hrvatska), the author published the commentary: "Real meaning of Tadjman's theory – neo-Ustasha movement and dismemberment of Yugoslavia."

A change, however, occurred in Croatian historiography concerning the scientific examination of the Jasenovac issue, and crimes of genocide in the Jasenovac camps were negated. Taking the same line as Tadjman's thesis on the "Jasenovac Myth", in 1998, Hrvatski studiji – Studia Croatica published a book by Josip Jurcevic M.A. entitled *Nastanak jasenovackog mita – problemi proucavanja zrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na podrucju Hrvatske (The Emergence of the Jasenovac Myth – Problems in the Study of the Victims of the Second World War in the Territory of Croatia)*. In that book, he stated that the designation of the Jasenovac Memorial Complex, albeit twenty years too late, was the beginning of the Jasenovac Myth!

Instead of endeavoring to establish the truth as confirmed by facts, a book entitled *Srpski mit o Jasenovcu – skrivanje istine o beogradskim konclogorima (The Serbian Myth of Jasenovac – the Concealment of the Truth about Belgrade Concentration Camps)* by Josip Pecaric, a university mathematics professor, was published in 1988 by the Croatian Information Center and the Croatian Institute of History. This book, together with Philip Cohen's *Serbia's Secret War*, presents an ideology of genocide, an apologia for the crimes of genocide committed in Jasenovac.

After the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, the area of the Jasenovac Memorial Complex became split into two sovereign states, Jasenovac in the Republic of Croatia (located on the territory of Srpska Krajina), and the largest execution site – Gradina – in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (located on the territory of Republika Srpska). On 31 January 1992, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia submitted to the UN Secretary General and the President of the UN Security

Council a Memorandum on Crimes of Genocide in Croatia and the Desecration of the Jasenovac Memorial Complex. The world community did not react.

Dr Bernard Klein invited the author to speak at the fifth International Conference on the Holocaust on 30 December 1996 on the subject "Jasenovac – System of Ustasha Death Camps: What happened?" Together with Professor Barry Lituchy he made possible the presentation of the exhibition in New York and the First International Conference on the Jasenovac Concentration Camp from 29 to 31 October 1997 at Kingsborough College of the University of New York.

The first International Conference on the Ustasha Jasenovac death camp set into motion the issue of the persecution and arrest of former commander Dinko Sakic. The exhibition showed a photograph of Ustasha criminal Dinko Sakic with the English translation of his statements: that he was doing his duty in Jasenovac, that he did not regret what he had done and that he would do the same again. On the basis of that initiative, the official request of the government of FR Yugoslavia and the government of the Republic of Croatia, the government of Argentina extradited Dinko and Nada Sakic to Croatia.

Sakic was not convicted for crimes of genocide but for crimes against the civilian population.

Trial for crimes of genocide in the Nazi–Ustasha Jasenovac camp system presupposes the condemnation of the Ustasha terrorist organization and the genocidal Independent State of Croatia ("a belated Croatian Nuremberg"), which would make it impossible for Ustasha to return to the Republic of Croatia or to claim that the Independent State of Croatia was the "expression of the historical aspirations of the Croatian nation," of which the Republic of Croatia represents the continuation. The killing of tens of thousands of children between the ages of one day and 14 years, who were murdered simply because they were born Serbs, Romas or Jews, cannot come under the category of war crimes against a civilian population or political opponents.

The verdict of the Zupanijski sud (District Court) speaks of the "racial character of the Independent State of Croatia," "the institutionalized collective responsibility of Jews," while the other victims were "political opponents," "immoral and dangerous persons," of the "collective punishment of categories of the population according to national, religious or political criteria." There was no mention of crimes against "Orthodox Serbs."!

Sakic was not tried for the crimes of the Jasenovac system

of Ustasha genocide camps. He was accused and sentenced only for crimes he committed personally, that is as commander of the Jasenovac camp from May 1944 to 28 October 1944, although he had personally stated that he had been in the Jasenovac camps from 18 February 1942.

He was neither tried nor sentenced for crimes perpetrated in the Stara Gradiska camp, where he performed the duty of deputy camp commander. The District state prosecutor did not even mention that Dinko Sakic had been transferred from Stara Gradiska camp to take up the post in Jasenovac of commander of the notorious camp III. Witnesses at the trial claimed under oath that Sakic was in Jasenovac as late as April 1945 together with Luburic and Friar Soton (Filipovic–Majstorovic) when the human witnesses and material proof of the crimes committed in these camps were being destroyed.

In the case of Dinko Sakic's wife, Nada Sakic, the District state prosecutor's office in Zagreb stated on 1 February 1999 that it "was abandoning further criminal investigation as no grounds had been found to confirm the claim that she had committed the criminal act of which she had been accused." The decision was passed three months before the expiry of the investigation's deadline, although not one single witness from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or Bosnia and Herzegovina – Republika Srpska had been heard. That was despite the fact that the minutes of the hearings of witnesses that had testified before the investigative judge of the Okruzni sud (District Court) in Belgrade and the Opstinski sud (Municipal Court) in Jagodina had been submitted.

The prosecutor's decision was not confirmed by the District Court in Zagreb, which, on 4 August, dismissed the objections of Nada Sakic's defense lawyer as unfounded. The decision is contrary to the principles of international criminal law with respect to the act of the extradition of Nada Sakic by the Government of the Republic of Argentina, which accepted the District Prosecutor's claim that there existed reasonable grounds for believing that a criminal act against humanity and international law had been committed. In the meantime, the decision of the Nazi–Ustasha leader of the Independent State of Croatia dated 27 March 1944 had been submitted establishing that Nada Sakic had been an "Ustasha official of the Stara Gradiska camp from 19 October 1942" and had been decorated with the iron medal of the crown of King Zvonimir on ribbon of war.

The sentence passed upon Dinko Sakic by the District Court in Zagreb, "bearing in mind his obligation to provide care for his wife (Nada Sakic) exempted him from paying any costs arising from the criminal procedure."!

The establishment of the truth about Jasenovac and the system of Ustasha camps could contribute to a perception of the roots of the contemporary tragedy of the Yugoslav nations, especially the Serbian nation.

The determination of the truth about the Jasenovac system of Ustasha death camps is a precondition for future Serb-Croatian relations, for the prevention of political manipulations on the part of Croats and Serbs, and for neighborly relations, if such were not possible in a common state. On 5 September 1997, the author proposed to the first Embassy of Croatia in Belgrade that common work should be undertaken on the project of the establishment of the truth concerning the number of victims, especially those of Jasenovac

No official response was received.

In the Memorandum on crimes of genocide committed against the Serbian people by the "Independent State of Croatia" during World War II to the President of the V General Assembly of the United Nations, Fact Finding Mission, October 1950, it was proposed "that the General Assembly of the United Nations in a special resolution set up a Commission for investigating the Ustashi of genocide and call upon its member nations to facilitate the work of this Commission on the spot.

It is not known if this proposal was examined at all in the United Nations!

In order to overcome the lack of confidence, the creation was proposed of an international commission to establish the truth about Jasenovac, that is a United Nations Fact Finding Mission. But this proposal was not accepted by the Croatian side either. Dr Franjo Tudjman, creator of the Jasenovac Myth, called from 1965 for the scientific establishment of the truth about the Jasenovac camps.

Over ten years ago, in 1989, the author proposed the formation of an international commission of experts in a public dialogue with participants from Zagreb, including Vladimir Zerjavic. This was during a television program bearing the symbolic title of Porota (Jury). With the aim of removing the crimes committed in the Nazi-Ustasha Jasenovac camps from the realms of politics and myths, the creation of an international commission of experts to look into the truth about Jasenovac is

doubtlessly the best way to establish objectively not only the truths about the Second World War, but also the roots of the contemporary tragedy of all Yugoslav nations.

Thank you for your attention.

Prof. dr Bernard Klein

Thank you dr Bulajic. I just want to make some corrections if you permit me. It seems you said that Jean Paul II admitted that the church has committed some mistakes and asked for forgiveness. The Pope never said that. The Pope distinctly said that the church is not guilty. Christians are guilty but not the church.

That was his position which I understand as rather noble for the church but you know that the church, the Pope can not sin ex cathedra but we haven't heard that the church cannot sin but this Jean Paul's position and he therefore didn't say that the church sinned.

Also I must mention to you that not only Jasenovac was not liberated by the allies. No camp was liberated by the allies. Neither Auschwitz nor any of the camps.

The ally policy was not to liberate camps, the ally policy was to win the war and therefore what happened to victims in these camps was secondary. If they came across a camp they freed it but did not liberate camps.

Furthermore, I must say that Sakic has been tried not for the sins in Jasenovac but for the crimes against humanity or something like that. This was the policy of the first Nuremberg trial, that was never a trial convicting anyone for the crimes committed against Jews. And that is in the category of the crimes against humanity. I assume the Croats learned a lesson from the Nuremberg trials and that is what they did to Sakic as well. Well, before calling on other speakers I just want to remind you that we are going to limit the speakers to about ten minutes and I shall signal you when the end is to be reached. So, please, limit your remarks to ten minutes. Perhaps we will have some occasion for questions and answers at the end.

Next speaker is Barry Lituchy, who happens to teach in my department. It is my pleasure to introduce him to you.

Prof. Barry Lituchy

Thank you ladies and gentlemen and distinguished guests. I've been asked to speak here today about the collection of documents from the first Conference so I will give to you today a brief overview of some of the important aspects of that first Conference as contained in those transcripts. I've brought with me a complete set of the transcripts although they are not yet ready for publishing. But we have a team of translators in New York completing that process and it is more or less de facto as editor to supervise that editing process and translating process.

If I have time I'd also say a few words about the related work toward the collection of documents and historical records concerning the first Conference including the video tape presentation of video history of the first Conference which has been completed and which I have information for you, for all participants here today.

As you know the documents consist of the records of the three days of the Conference, the first day being the opening of the exhibition and Conference. The speakers on the first day included dr. Klein, the UN ambassador from Yugoslavia Vladislav Jovanovic, the vice president of the College Michael Ziprin and dr. Milan Bulajic.

In these transcripts some of the important points that you will see, some of the points raised by dr. Klein, for example, and I think a very important one, was the question of holocaust revisionism and in general the question of historical revisionism, the fact that today we see that there are many national organizations in France, in Switzerland, in Denmark and in other countries in Europe that wish to portray themselves as being anti fascists or having participated in the anti fascist struggle but who in fact were not and I think the importance of that observation is that there is often a great deal of regret among Serbs that the truth about Jasenovac is not known yet.

The same can be said about the holocaust in general but there is a great deal of historical revisionism, holocaust revisionism, holocaust denial in all countries around the world and I think that it is important therefore to put the question of holocaust revisionism as it pertains to Jasenovac in that perspective that even though it is quite true that the denial or the cover-up of the history of Jasenovac is far greater in degree nevertheless the nature of this revisionism is something that is continuing and is not unique to Jasenovac or the holocaust and the

crimes of genocide committed by Croatia.

Another very important point that was raised in dr. Klein's presentation is the importance of not seeking political advantage when doing, when carrying on these Conferences.

The fact that the First Conference went to a great length to invite representatives from Croatia and from all around the world to present their views and indeed the delegation did come from Croatia that was officially recognized by the government of Croatia and that was the source of great controversy at the Conference but nevertheless if anything positive can be said about that delegation their leader Vladimir Zeljevic did at least try to present his arguments by pointing to his documentation and his sources, I'll say a few words about it in a moment, the other speakers at the opening session included the vice president of the Kingsborough College Michael Zipring who is a native of Slovakia and who spoke about the importance of the holocaust in Slovakia and did some interesting analogies in what happened in Croatia.

In dr. Bulajic's comments at the opening presentation dr. Bulajic emphasized the many national origins of the victims of Jasenovac and that was the theme that came up at other points in the Conference particularly testimonies given by survivors of Jasenovac, and I think that the aspect or dimension of the holocaust in Yugoslavia is very important because what it shows is that there are qualitative differences in political and racial and religious motivations of the Ustashi of the Fascists in Croatia and that these questions have to be taken separately.

Dr. Bulajic also spoke about the very interesting incident at the opening of the First Conference about the acquiring of a ritual knife used by the Ustasha which he purchased for 500 DM from I believe a descendent of an Ustasha and the interesting point about that, I believe, is that it shows that even with a little bit of resources a great deal of important historical evidence can be acquired. Of course, it also brings to life the sad fact that we don't have sufficient resources to do the necessary research and to collect the necessary evidence, so that was an interesting point.

Also brought up in that Bulajic's comments was the information about or the role of the United Nations in covering up information regarding Jasenovac and the holocaust in Yugoslavia as well as the role of the International Red Cross and here is an important point for the historians to evaluate because we really, I don't believe we have assessed the development of the

United Nations and the International Red Cross in recent times in light of the role it played in suppressing information about the holocaust in Yugoslavia and why it did so.

That in itself is a separate historical question. I should say dr. Bulajic also recognized the survivors sitting in the front of the opening ceremony and he also turned to the exhibition and emphasized the biography of Dinko Sakic which was highlighted in the exhibition at Kingsborough College and of course, as you know, that Conference played an instrumental role in bringing Dinko Sakic to the trial regardless of whatever the shortcomings of that trial may be.

As far as the exhibition is concerned, I think that I should also add something about the fact that the exhibition did not actually get to other universities and museums as we had hoped. It remains in New York at the Yugoslav Mission at the UN in boxes.

It has never really been shown anywhere else after that Conference. It was shown for a month at Kingsborough. After that we were unable to bring it anywhere else and I think that this is in itself a very important question – why is that so? It is certainly not for a lack of try.

We approached a number of holocaust museums, we approached a number of universities, all of them expressed interest but also expressed their regrets. Now why is that? Well, perhaps it's not my part here to speak to this question in great length but I will say that in the official record of the US holocaust museum itself in Washington D.C. the authors state quite clearly that when they opened up the museum in Washington they deliberately did not deal with the holocaust in Yugoslavia and they claimed in that book, it's there for everyone to read, that they did so because they felt it was not right to present information about the holocaust in Yugoslavia while at the same time, as they claimed, Serbs were committing crimes of genocide in Bosnia. And here we are in Bosnia.

They then went on to say that they felt they were under political pressure. This is all in the book itself, so you can read it and you can debate it but I am telling you it's in their own historical record. They then went on to say that they felt they were not going to be put under political pressure to present information on the holocaust in Yugoslavia. I think that this set the tone for many other holocaust museums around the United States and I think it goes a long way to explain why the exhibit was not shown elsewhere.

In his closing remarks as he did again today dr. Klein pointed out that Jasenovac was not the only camp not to be liberated and it was not the last camp either where the victims were freed, Mathausen being the last of those camps on May 5, 1945. So, I think again it points that we need to look at the tragedy of Jasenovac in context of the larger tragedy of the holocaust and put perspective on it in that way.

In the next two days of the Conference I'll make my comments brief, the opening panel was the panel dealing with the question of numbers of victims. Speaking on that panel were dr. Bulajic, Anton Miletic, and Vladimir Zeljevic from Croatia and since I don't have enough time right now I won't go into details – Zeljevic argued at the Conference that there were only 80,000 victims that's total victims, not just Serbian, in fact he claimed that there were 25,000 Jewish victims and even more Jewish victims than Serbian victims.

Also speaking on that panel as reporters were several interesting historians such as Savo Bosnic from Canada, Thomas Popovic from NASSA Community College in New York and also Aleksandar Motic who is here today who spoke on various other documentary resources.

Zeljevic, by the way, seems to rely almost entirely on senses and using senses to prove his arguments I think in a rather instrumental or bad way of using primary sources.

I'll just conclude by saying what we are doing in terms of collecting the transcripts of the documents and publishing them is absolutely invaluable in terms of providing a basis for future research on the holocaust in Yugoslavia and I believe that the testimonies of the survivors themselves offer invaluable insights regarding details about the holocaust serve also I think in a sense, as a moral compass from which we can all learn. So I'll end at that. I have literature also available on the video history of the Conference which was produced by Vladimir Bibic and Joe Friendly in New York and is available for purchase in Europe.

Thank you very much.

Prof. dr Bernard Klein

Thank you, I think that in order to bring about greater publicity for an exhibition on Jasenovac that will depend a great deal on doing more public relations not only concerning the exhibition but concerning in general this area and I think this will have to wait sometime before this can happen certainly you have to wait for the next president to come into office which is only going to be in a few months. So, be patient.

The next speaker is going to be Marco Aurelio Riveli who is going to speak on the role of the Vatican in Jasenovac. You know the Vatican has played a role which has been questioned by many people in area of the holocaust. Pope, P XII has never spoken out to condemn the atrocities committed by the Nazis. Furthermore, the question is what has happened to the gold which had particularly been taken from Croatia as supposedly deposited in the bank of the Vatican and so on.

And also the role of the Vatican in making possible for the Nazis to escape from Europe and find refuge in various countries particularly in catholic countries in Latin America as well as Spain and so on and so forth.

These questions have to be come to terms with. Eventually, I am sure that the present Pope has tried his best to bring about closer relations with other people but he still has a long way to go especially if one wants to beatify P XII which is not sitting very well with other people but we have little to say in the affairs of the church.

So, Marco Aurelio Rivelli will talk about the Vatican.

Marco Aurelio Rivelli

I had not been preinformed and therefore I am not ready but never mind. We shall still go on, take over from here. The role of the Vatican had been essential not only in the genocide of Serbs but also afterwards, after the war.

As a difference with other countries in occupied Europe, shall we say, where the Catholic church chose to close its eyes and not see what was happening, in this part of the world the clergy, in fact, participated in the massacres. At the end of the war Vatican helped at least 200 Ustascha to escape and be in secure lands. Among the Ustascha who were saved by the Vatican we have to mention, of course, a special criminal Ante

Pavelic who lived for the period of three years in Rome and then was helped to emigrate to Argentina.

Besides keeping the gold which had been stolen from the victims, the Vatican kept that and continued to do a number of other activities in the same sense.

We must not forget that the Vatican beatified Stepinac, a man who could not under no pretence at all be beatified at all, because during the period of war he collaborated, he helped completely in massacres and genocide.

The Vatican has also helped in the dismemberment of the past Yugoslavia by recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. It is very important that the truth be said about this genocide. We must not forget that many people in fact have no knowledge of it, even in Italy which is so close to Croatia or Yugoslavia.

Most people know nothing about it so the truth has to be told loudly. The present Pope has been begging for forgiveness for so many things but at no point has he mentioned the massacre of Serbs.

To make it short we have to say as much as possible and repeat the message and repeat what happened in Croatia against the Serbs so that hopefully it will not be repeated again. Thank you so much.

Dr Venceslav Glisic

A long way to the truth in the Independent State of Croatia, especially in Jasenovac

Dear Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,

The basic issue at this Conference is to determine where we actually are in the research of the genocide in the Independent State of Croatia, especially in the System of the Jasenovac camp. Why have we made such a slow progress in understanding this problem and why has everything we have achieved so far been turned into a myth, an invented story, a fairy tale by the Croatian side?

I have been dealing with the history of Yugoslavia and Serbia during the Second World War, including the victims of the war, for more than forty years and I realized that ever since the

genocide had been committed in the Independent state of Croatia by the Ustashi and their followers and since the first reports had been made about it by the Serbian Orthodox Church, the genocide had been manipulated over and it had been denied by the Croatian representatives in the Yugoslav government of that time.

They tried to exclude the Catholic Church and the Vatican from the genocide committed over the Serbs, the Jews and the Gypsies. This denial of the genocide lasted from 1941, from Juraj Krnjevic and Rudolf Bicanic and other delegates of the HSS in Yugoslav government, over Tadjman, to the latest books written by Pecaric and Juricevic.

As the end of the war was approaching the fear of common responsibility among the Croatian people because of the crimes committed by the Ustashi, was being intensified. This fear was even reinforced by the Ustashi and Partisan's propaganda that in case Draza Mihajlovic's chetnics (the exponents of the Yugoslav Royal Government) won there would be revenge over all the Croatians.

The Partisan propaganda had a special role in this by saying that the Chetnics slaughtered, I quote: "everything that was Croatian, with no exception" and on the other hand they were the first who started glorifying the struggle of the Croatian people against fascism, thus offering the form of equality and preventing revanchism.

The genocide over the Serbs, the Jews and the Gypsies in the Independent State of Croatia was used for the political manipulation by the Yugoslav and British Governments, the Vatican, the leaders of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) and the Ustashi and in the late 80s Tadjman declared it to be a myth created by the Serbian historians so it is no wonder that the genocide committed in the Independent state of Croatia remained in the darkness for so long. Even Tukidid, explaining why he as a contemporary of the Peloponnesian wars wrote about them, predicted that time would come when a lie would become truth and truth would become lie, and that the posterity would magnify both.

Therefore, a great responsibility is upon us, the historians, to come as close as possible to the historical truth about the genocide in the Independent state of Croatia and our countries should help us present it to both, domestic and international public.

In the research of the genocide in NDH, especially in

Jasenovac there are three periods. The first period lasts from the moment when the crime had been committed to the beginning of the 60s when the Institutes for history of workers' movement and NLB were formed in different Republics of Yugoslavia and when the building of the Jasenovac memorial complex was started. The second period encompasses 60s and 70s when a more detailed research of the NDH structure was conducted. The crimes were mentioned and the documentation was being collected for the system of Jasenovac concentration camps, the first anthropological research were conducted and the first exhibition on crimes committed in Jasenovac were organized which was qualified by Tudjman as the beginning of the Jasenovac myth creation.

The third period encompasses the last 20 years of the 20th century when the research of the genocide in NDH, especially in Jasenovac, was intensified.

During this period a number of documentary and polemic-scientific publications by Miletic, Dedijer, Bulajic, Lukic. Tudjman, Persen, Pecaric and Jurcevic were published.

In the Jasenovac memorial the conferences are being held and polemics about the number of victims of the genocide in Jasenovac have been started and are still continuing among Serbian and Croatian historians.

During the first period immediately after the Second World War sources about the committed genocide in NDH were being destroyed but at the same time collected. All the difficulties we are encountering in our research are the result of this because the sources were not collected on time and in the way they should have been.

Each victim of war was registered with the Territorial Commission for determining crimes of occupiers and collaborators and commissions finished their tasks but on the higher level, instead of summing up the number of victims, approximate estimation was made and the number of loses was determined in this way – 1, 706, 000 victims in Yugoslavia and in Jasenovac 500, 000 – 600, 000 victims.

The documents of the State Commission for Determining the Crimes were not saved on the whole due to our well-known carelessness and so, it is no longer possible to determine this number of victims.

Also, two registrations of victims which were undertaken afterwards were not completed properly so that their results were kept hidden from the historians. The stated total number

of victims was accepted by Josip Broz and other leaders of communist Yugoslavia and was mentioned in their speeches.

In this period mainly memoirs of witnesses of the genocide crimes in Jasenovac written by Milisa Nikolic and others, were published.

There were attempts by Lah and Kasic to calculate real demographic data in Yugoslavia during the Second World War by using statistic methods.

Two important books written by Viktor Novak and Sima Simic appeared, dealing with the role of the Vatican and the Catholic Church in the genocide in NDH.

Professor Novak was familiar with the internal organization of the Catholic church and was among the first who noticed that it was this church which was behind all the negative political and social occurrences in Croatia and Yugoslavia during the 20th century and that Ustashi terror would not have had such enormous dimension if it had not been helped and supported by the catholic clericalism which he referred to as real monstrous clerofascism.

However, those books were proclaimed to be non-scientific and were kept away from the public although they were and still are elementary material to all those who study clericalism as the main inspirator of genocide. Until the first half of the 60s the foreign historians – Peri, Kisling, Broslat and others with their books on Ustashi state of Croatia and their crimes, were the ones who contributed a great deal in realizing what NDH was.

In the second period, at the beginning of the 60s, I was a witness and participant of the discussions between the Serbian and the Croatian historians about a number of questions of their history.

However, discussions were about who and since when participated in National Liberation Battle (NLB), and not about the victims of the genocide.

Tudjman's stated that the main activities of the Institute for history of the workers' movement in Croatia in the 60s, where he was the director, were researching the victims of war. This statement is incorrect. The institute was researching the history of the workers' movement and trying to affirm NLM in Croatia.

Tudjman himself then wrote that the whole Croatian people were on the side of NLM even in 1943, which is the reason why I criticized him. The only person who dealt with the victims of war at that Institute was Bruno Busic. He was the first

who accused Partisans of crimes of genocide over Croatian people in Bleiburg.

In the late 60s I realized that the organization of scientific work in the Republics was risky and I stated publicly that there is a growing tendency to close history within territorial and national borders and that this parceling of science would seriously affect understanding of certain historical events such as victims of war etc. At that time the questions concerning genocide were avoided by the institutions until the Jasenovac memorial complex was built in the 60s, and when they started collecting documents about the System of the Jasenovac concentration camp.

Although, since then, Jasenovac was proclaimed not to be a taboo, there was no planned research of the crimes of genocide nor did Yugoslavia or its leaders show any interest whatsoever.

It was believed to be a duty of Croatia and its historians. Other historians were reluctant to study this question with excuse that there were not enough sources and the state and its leader, in the interest of brotherhood and unity, were pushing the victims of the genocide into oblivion.

It was all about, as I emphasized regarding Miletić's books and documents on Jasenovac, their inability to get to the heart of the problem of genocide and explain the reasons for the explosion of national and religious hatred which over ustashi-terrorist and clero-fashistic organization vented on the Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.

Some of the authors who wrote about the losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War, for example Zeljević, mentioned that Tito was not ready to remove this stone of hatred and did not want to get involved into this matter. He had ambivalent relationship towards the Serbs, on one side he feared the hegemony of the Serbian people and on the other he mostly relied on the Serbs during the war.

After the war, the Serbian contribution was symmetrically divided so that it turned out that all Yugoslav peoples fought equally for freedom.

I remember that on the conferences during the 60s and 70s we tacitly avoided, and it was punishable, to measure who contributed more in the fight against fascism and who had the greatest number of victims in order not to offend other nations and national minorities who, allegedly, at the beginning of the

occupation believed the occupiers liberated them from the Serbian domination.

In the beginning, Tito strengthened the unity of the state by diminishing Serbian hegemony and established the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija. Croatian–Serbian discrepancies were diminished by establishing a new republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the borders from the period of Austro–Hungarian occupation. He restrained the Croats by proclaiming the Serbs to be a constitutive nation of Croatia but Croatia remained intact despite the claims for the autonomy of Dalmatia.

His relationship towards the Catholic Church in Croatia was also ambivalent from which he demanded to become independent from the Vatican.

When he did not succeed in this he ordered the punishment of Stepinac, but he allowed Stepinac to be buried in the Cathedral in Zagreb.

He allowed the building of the Jasenovac memorial complex but he never visited it nor did he ever comment on the number of victims in Jasenovac which gave Tadjman a pretext to write that he with an instinct of the great politician and statesman predicted where fury and monstrosity of the Jasenovac myth were heading.

One thing is certain – during Tito's life it was not permitted to go further than the given number of victims and it was not possible to have any scientific approach to the research of the genocide in NDH. It was believed that the research of the genocide could provoke and intensify national hatred, although the dismemberment of Yugoslavia had already started during the 60s and the long suppressed national conflicts came to light.

During the period of growing nationalism in Croatia, at the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s, fear that the genocide could be repeated became common among the Serbs so that they were preparing for defense. The Croats understood this as the Serbian attempt to prevent social development of Croatia and to separate themselves from Croatia by using the alleged genocide committed in NDH.

Despite the unstable political situation in Croatia during the 70s they started studying the state structure of NDH, but they wrote little about the concentration camps. When Fikreta Jelic Butic published a book on NDH in the 70s, she could write no more than one page about the camps that is she could only mention them, so that Tadjman, ten years later, and Jurcevic,

twenty years later criticized her for having analyzed the victims of war in NDH poorly and non-scientifically, I quote: "not daring" according to Tudjman, "to go beyond the Jasenovac myth."

They were both hiding the crux of the matter and that was that she was not allowed to write more about it. "I hardly published that single page", Fikreta told me, "because even in the 70s there was a strong opposition to studying collective and working camps, as they were called by the Ustashi."

The same happened to Narcisa Lengel-Krizman who published two articles – "Women collective camps in NDH 1941–1942" and "Destiny of the Gypsies in NDH 1941– 1945" – in the 80s.

Despite her enormous efforts to show the sufferings of the Gypsies and the number of victims, her articles were proclaimed non-scientific.

The third period in the research of genocide began after Tito's death, when it was possible to write more freely about genocide in NDH, especially in Jasenovac. Since then the Memorial complex has been in the center of public interest. Conferences are being held there. At the same time the Contemporary History Institute made the project "Yugoslavs in concentration camps and prisons" and the research on all the camps in Yugoslavia and abroad began. As I was the president of the scientific council in that project I was familiar with the outcome.

Many camps in Yugoslavia and abroad were studied successfully and the books were published about them. We did not have any success only in Croatia. The Institute for History of Slavonija and Baranja in Slavonski Brod was in charge of the research of the Jasenovac camps but they did not have qualified personnel to do the research nor did they get the resources to carry out the research.

On the other hand, the best-known Croatian historians, such as Ljubo Boban who had never before dealt with the problem of genocide, took part in the discussions about the number of victims in Jasenovac. He tried to dispute the results achieved by the historians Miletic, Dedijer, Bulajic and others, who were studying the system of Jasenovac camps.

Later, in the late 80s with his book "Wasteland of Historical Reality", Tudjman took part in the discussions, declaring all the results of the research of the genocide especially in Jasenovac by Serbian historians to be a myth. Defending position of Boban and Tudjman was based on the incomplete regis-

tration of victims from 1964. First relying on this registration they claimed that there were about 50, 000 victims in Jasenovac and later they minimized that number to the present 20, 000 victims. In recent times, it has already been mentioned what the Parliamentary commission did. Such denial of genocide in NDH, especially in Jasenovac could not lead to scientific discussion, let alone determine the historical truth about the genocide.

When, a couple of years ago, I tried to do some research on the war damage done to the Serbs in NDH I found myself in even more difficult situation with the documents than I was when researching victims of the genocide. The state commissions did not register this damage and the Ustashi made reports only about plunders by the Chetnics so that it is impossible to determine this damage without the documents from the Ministry which was mentioned by Dr. Bulajic and which are inaccessible to us.

By forming the Museum of the victims of the genocide the new era began in the research of the number of victims. An action has been started to determine the number of victims by their names and surnames, first in Jasenovac.

Although I was afraid it would be too late for that after more than fifty years, we got the first results from which it is quite obvious that the registration from the 1964, which is referred to by Croatian historians, was not done properly. We found about 30, 000 more names besides 50, 000 names which were listed during the registration from 1964. I expect that my estimation of 100, 000 victims in Jasenovac will be confirmed.

Our expectations that the Croatian historians would join us in this research of the genocide in NDH did not come true. As if they are still impeded by the same fear of the Serbian revenge from the Second World War or the shame because it was done by somebody who belonged to their nation, they mostly wrote about the alleged genocide and guilt complex which was forced upon them by the Serbian people.

From what I have said here it is clear that there were numerous obstacles in the research of the genocide in NDH imposed by Yugoslav as well as Croatian communist leaders but neither Serbia nor new Yugoslavia, not even the Serbian Academy of Science, which called off the Board for genocide because allegedly there was no one to replace recently deceased president of the board Dr. Radovan Samardzic, showed much interest in the research of the genocide in NDH.

We are still not quite satisfied with our results because the Serbs suffered great losses in the 20th century and their inefficient descendants were unable to register all the victims. Despite the difficulties I have mentioned we are encouraged by the growing number of foreign researchers of the genocide in NDH such as Marco Aurelio Rivelli and others who contribute a lot in realizing how great the crime committed in NDH was. We are also encouraged by the results achieved by the Museum of the genocide victims.

Milan Koljanin

"Why Jasenovac in Jasenovac?"

Dear Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,

I called my paper "Why Jasenovac in Jasenovac?" Of course it is a word play – why do we have the camp Jasenovac in a place called Jasenovac?

It is not possible to answer the question why the most important and the biggest camp of death in the Croatian fascist state was situated in Jasenovac without considering some basic historical facts and processes, some of them lasting for a long period of time..... When a cock crows in Jasenovac it is heard in three empires: Austrian, French and Ottoman.

However, at the same time, another fact is even more important in a completely changed situation, after the fall of the great empires and after forming some new national states among which was Yugoslavia, after the great war in 1918. We are talking about the ethnic structure of the population on the territory where Jasenovac was.

Former Austrian military border with the Ottoman Empire stretched over a relatively wide region along the Una, Sava and Danube rivers and was mainly inhabited by Serbian borderers.

After the Austro–Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, within the dual monarchy there was another vast region inhabited by mainly Serbian population, which was also bordered by two free Serbian states. Serbia and Montenegro were the core of the Serbian integration into one state, but at the same time, were a hope for the Yugoslav movement, which saw the future of the South Slavs in one big country from the Alps to the Black sea.

Further Austro–Hungarian and German imperialistic break–through to the Balkans and on to the Middle East was impossible without first solving the Serbian problem. Several methods were applied here. They were all directed towards diminishing the Serbian people in the monarchy and conquering of the free Serbian states economically, politically, in war and militarily. In that effort, the crucial instrument of Vienna and after that of Berlin was great–Croatian political idea and policy which was soon in symbiosis with the aggressive political and social action of the Catholic Church, and was created at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Identification of all the Catholics who spoke Serbian language with the Croats was not only the means of Croatian national propaganda and integration but also political break–through of dual monarchy to which Croatian politics offered itself as a bridge to the Balkans. The same policy was renewed in 1941.

Yugoslav state was established in 1918 on liberal European basis, which were discordant with the undeveloped and diverse social structure of the new state. For the Croats united in one state the new political system meant activation of the most numerous social group – peasantry and finishing the process of national integration, which was recorded in Croatian historiography (Mirjana Gros studied it). However, it was just the end of one phase of the development of the Croatian nationalism, the basis for what is the ideal of every nationalism – independent state.

Croatian nationalism, especially since the second half of 1930s entered its aggressive phase – destruction of the existing country and started preparation for establishing their independent state.

It is wrong to attribute Croatian separatism to Ante Pavelic and the Ustashi organization only. Croatian policy in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, with all modifications, was based on the demand for the greater autonomy on a large territory and acquiring the support of the major forces for the Croatian independent state.

Open separatist option under the protection of Rome, that is Pavelic, was on the margin of events. Establishment of Croatian region (Banovina Hrvatska) in 1939, shortly before the beginning of the Second World War, was only a temporary solution for the Croatian political elite and just a step towards the great independent state.

International political circumstances – destruction of the system of common security created after the Great war 1918–1919, lack of unity and flexibility of the Serbian political elite, supposedly governing, helped the plans of the Croatian political elite a lot.

Hesitation of Vladimir Macek, the vice-president of the Yugoslav government, after the coup d'état on March 27, 1941 in Belgrade ended in the traitorous act of support to NDH on April 10 1941.

What were the plans of the Croatian political elite with the Serbs in "great Croatia" within the so-called ethnic and historical borders on the Drina and the Danube?

By asking this question we come to the very title of this discussion – "Why Jasenovac in Jasenovac." This question is in fact only a part of a much bigger question – why Jasenovac? From all that has been said here it is quite clear that before 1941 the new Croatian state was to be a Croatian national state with Muslims included, whereas the position of the Serbs was not clear.

Ideological basis for the denial of the Serbian national awareness were formed even in, never forgotten, Austro-Hungarian monarchy with the only difference that they were widely accepted.

For Croatian Slavonija of a much greater importance was the thesis that the Serbs inhabiting the territory of the former Austrian military border were intruders on the Croatian land and they were constantly threatening survival of Croatian people.

The new element related to the Greater Serbia was the thesis of the Serbian exploitation of the Croats, naturally supported by the Jews, and threatening their Catholic religion.

The hopes for bringing schismatic Serbs to the union and the Catholic Church, were replaced with the animosity against the Yugoslav state and the Orthodox religion in the Vatican and on the Capitol in Zagreb, just before the beginning of the Second World War.

Judging by the very scarce historical sources as well as the actions undertaken by Ustashi Croatia to solve the so-called 'Serbian question', we can conclude that such plans were made before April 1941, when the time came for their realization.

We can find data on that in the paper "Ustashi struggle from the beginning of Ustashi activities till the leader's emigration" written by the distinguished propagator Mijo Bzik based on

the archive of the Ustashi movement. In this book he also treated activities of Ante Pavelic during the time of good relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, after the conclusion of the Agreement on amiability from 1937. In the same year Pavelic wrote his book "Dangerous illusions" and worked hard on, I quote, "foundations for the future constitution of the Croatian state." "During that period the leader studied statistic data in Croatia, created the basis for the future settlement and displacement of the people and made many maps."

In accordance with the activities of Pavelic and NDH we can presume that since then the directions of the attack on the Serbian ethnic territories were planned not only by settling, naturally, the Croats and displacing, of course, the Serbs but also by actual physical extermination of the Serbs.

The beginning and the first months of the genocide committed by the Ustashi state show that the major attack was directed towards the central Serbian ethnic territory, the region which divided the territory of NDH into half, then towards Eastern Herzegovina, Eastern Bosnia, that is east state border.

There is another precious testimony on the pre-war plans of the Croatian policy in Bosnian Krajina. The diaries of Alojz Stepinac are very valuable historical sources, unfortunately published only in excerpts.

The short excerpts from the diary are kept in the Archive of Yugoslavia, and they include one very important testimony related to our subject. In the third book on page 365 the talks are described between the leader of the governing Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) Vladimir Macek and archbishop Stepinac.

I will mention the next quotation from the diary: "Stepinac also talked about the foundation of the department for clerical business with the civil authorities, about the difficult financial position of the clergy, about the help for the religious education of peasants' children and about", I stress, "planned colonization of north-western Bosnia."

Then he added that Bosnia would soon become a part of Croatia and that bishop of Banja Luka Garic should, by all means, be supported in his endeavors.

I conclude with this. Thank you.

Aleksandar Fredi Mosaic

Myth about Greater Serbia and Serb-oriented hatred as the base for the genocide in Jasenovac

Honoured Presidency, distinguished participants of the international Conference, ladies and gentlemen,

Initial mentioning of the year 1102 in the discussion about myth, about Greater Serbia and Serb-oriented hatred as the base for the genocide and holocaust in Jasenovac, is not intended to inspect the history of the middle and new age in Croatia in the first half of the 20th century, but to try to explain the origins of the name of Croatian Rights Party.

What kind of rights are in question here and how come that it is the precursor, nucleus, founder of the Ustashi system and government in the territory stretching from Zagreb to Mostar and Petrovaradin from 1941 till May 1945.

Since the agreement of twelve tribe leaders and Hungarian King Koloman in 1102. until the Ottoman victory at Mohach field in 1526, Croatia is a part of Hungarian Kingdom, and from 1527. it is under Habsburgs' rule. After Austrian Empire had been turned into dual monarchy in 1867, and after the Croatian–Hungarian Agreement in 1868, Croatia was totally under the political and economical dependence of the government in Budim.

This brought about to the foundation of the Croatian Rights Party in 1861, based on tradition of the Croatian landowners' struggle for their rights supposedly given by the Agreement of 1102. This tradition was accepted by the new citizenry but now strongly nationally oriented.

Old rights had the glow and emotional attraction of an inviolable legend so they soon turned into ultra-nationalistic theories and ethnic phobia and later even into ethnic hatred. First it was directed against the Hungarians, and later against all those peoples in Croatia who were non-Croats. It mostly affected the Serbs descendents of the frontiersmen from the 17th, 18th and 19th century.

The origin of this are in Vlach statutes from 1630, which grant to the Serbs inhabiting the territories devastated during the Austro–Turkish fighting, privileges for their military services which were in contrast with the feudal political organization

of that time.

Feudal lords both clerical and secular were fighting for two and a half centuries to turn the free frontiersmen into peasants (kmet) and converting schismatics to catholic religion or Uniate. Together with the political weakening of the political influence of feudal landowners this fight was acquiring nationalistic character.

Strongly affected by nationalism and revolutionary enthusiasm from 1848, 'old rights' appealed to new citizenry as well as dissatisfied peasants. In these conditions Ante Starcevic, a writer and a passionate opponent of the Habsburgs, founded the Croatian Rights Party in 1861. He considered the Serbs to be a disturbing factor and slowly introduced a dangerous statement which could already be heard in major European cities: convert one third of the population to Catholicism, expel one third and kill one third.

When Joseph Frank, a lawyer and political xenophobe who hated the Serbs a lot, replaced Starcevic as the leader of the party, attacks on the Serbs became common in the cities.

Royal government tolerated them, even induced them, especially during the preparations for the annexation of Bosnia, and all within the conflict of interest between Austro-Hungary and Serbia.

High-treacherous process against Pribicevic and 51 members of the Croatian-Serbian coalition based on forged documents in Zagreb from March to October 1909. and almost immediate Fridung process in Vienna, were the reason and the basis for the creation of Greater Serbia myth.

This forgery outlived Austro-Hungary Empire and Kingdom of Yugoslavia and served until the end of the 20th century to form a bad picture of Serbia and the Serbs in Anglo-Saxon countries and intensify hatred against the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia.

Croatian Rights Party was formally dismembered in 1918. but its members, now called Frankovci, joined Croatian Peasants Party. After the assassination of Radic brothers in the summer of 1928, they had a major influence over the new leader Vlatko Macek.

A large number of the distinguished Frankovci emigrated then, among whom was Ante Pavelic who, in Italy, gathered young Frankovci in the camps for military and terrorist training and in summer 1932 he founded Croatian Revolutionary

Ustasha Organization, UHRO, similar to VMRO, which they were closely connected with.

Italian fascist government financially supported Pavelic and UHRO until April 1941 but it did not prevent them from getting closer to German Nazism.

Anti-Semitism in its worst racist form was the sign of political correctness for the Nazi, as it is now referred to in self-complacent, allegedly, democratic political environment. Nazi cry was "Jude fereke" – "death to Jews".

When the Ustashi in April 1941, under the protection of Vermacht took control over Croatia and Bosnia and in August of the same year founded the concentration camp in Jasenovac on the Sava, Franko thirds were no longer mentioned. All the Serbs, all the Jews and all the Gypsies who were deported to the camp were brutally murdered as the victims of the genocide and holocaust.

A terrible crime of genocide and holocaust was committed in Jasenovac as well as the Nazi concentration camps in occupied countries from 1935 to 1945. Scientifically said it was mega crime by the number and giga crime by the atrocities.

At a very respected conference about Yugoslav state from 1918. until 1988. held in Belgrade in December 1998, colonel Dr. Slavko Vukcevic, head of Historical Military Institute repeated that the truth about genocide could easily be determined without any kind of revanchism and without accusing the whole Croatian people in the period immediately after the Second World War.

Yugoslavia was then a stable and internationally respected state. Now scientifically unsolved problems are strongly influenced by the daily political events.

Jasenovac left the deep scars from the Mura, the Sutla, and the Kupa to the Neretva, Begej and the Timok. A few years ago and especially a year ago all the scars bled again, genocide over the Serbs was repeated.

Healing of these wounds can no longer last less than three generations in case we treated it seriously and honestly.

The victims of genocide and holocaust in the Balkans from the middle and the end of the 20th century must finally get their 'Jad Vasem', which means name and memory.

Thank you for your attention.

Petar Boskovic

War crimes against anti-fascists

Honoured clergy, ladies and gentlemen,

If the Jews, the Serbs and the Gypsies were treated as enemies of NDH by Ustashi movement and for that reason been exposed to genocide, anti-fascists who were captured by the Ustashi had the same destiny.

Trial to the ex-commander of Jasenovac camp Dinko Sakic once again confirmed that so called NDH was founded on crimes.

But ideology and actions of the Ustashi movement as well as the crimes committed in the system of Jasenovac camps was not qualified to be genocidal because it did not suit to the political leaders of Croatia. We should also mention that among the leaders were the ones who glorified Pavelic recognizing in his actions fulfillment of their thousand-year-long dream of their own ethnic state.

This theory was in a way confirmed by the relation of Croatian leaders towards Dinko Sakic's wife who was extradited on demand of Croatia, but that same state did not find it necessary to get her to trial because of the lack of evidence.

I observed the trial of Dinko Sakic as one of those who had suffered a loss, because, some of you may be familiar with this, he personally killed my brother Dr. Milo Boskovic on September 21, 1944.

Naturally, today many of us present here spoke about it, and it has long been spoken about the denial of the number of victims in the system of Jasenovac camps. One thing is certain, the Museum of victims of genocide in Belgrade determined that the number of people killed in the system of Jasenovac camps was 78, 544 persons by their names and surnames, of which 19, 432 children which confirms the character of these crimes was genocidal.

During the investigation it was determined, and confirmed by the verdict of October 4, that my brother was killed in the camp. He protested against the death penalty by hanging of twenty prisoners and asked to be executed by the firing squad. Sakic generously agreed and asked him to turn his back. My brother answered in return that Montenegrins never turned their back on their enemies and Sakic killed him, as we all know.

Sakic's deeds and the crimes in general which were committed in the system of Jasenovac camps presented a violation of human rights because the accused Dinko Sakic ordered, participated in torturing, permitted inhuman treatment and killing of civil population, ordered and carried out the terror and compelled them to forced labour.

As an observer of Sakic's trial I was convinced that the Regional Court in Zagreb, having in mind the indictment, worked in a correct way.

Mr. Sakic tried to present NDH* as a state in which he was the only one who carried out his duties in the right way. According to him, Jasenovac camp was a working camp and he was its administrative commander. Prisoners were treated humanely and the only individuals who were sent there were the ones working against NDH. According to him the relations and conditions within the camp were such that some of the inmates asked to stay in the camp after they had served their sentences.

He based his defense on the statement that he was only carrying out his duty. At one moment he addressed the judge and complained that he acted the same way Jakov Blazevic acted during the trial to Stepinac and Nobilo during the trial to Artukovic.

Concluding his defense he said: "You should not have called this court and exposed Croatia to such expenses. You should have just received the decision from Belgrade and read it here."

I did not base my own attitude to Sakic on revenge or hatred. However, having found myself near this man for a number of hours, I was trying, without success, to see through the mental structure of this inhuman being, with no morality and consciousness.

The maximum sentence for Dinko Sakic, murderer of my brother and many others anti-fascists would become significant if it helps people of former Yugoslavia learn a historical lesson from the recent past, to understand that crimes do not have a time limit, that you can not run away from your own history so it is necessary to come to terms with your past, to see your present realistically with no risks for the future.

There are no genocidal peoples, but there are genocidal individuals, parties, and ideologies. If the Christians did not abandon Christianity because of the Inquisition, the peoples of former Yugoslavia do not have to abandon their identity because of the extreme behaviour of some of their compatriots.

Thank you.

Dr Josip Jurcevic

Respected Mr. President, Presidency, ladies and gentlemen, First I am going to introduce myself. I am Josip Jurcevic, doctor of historical sciences from Zagreb. I work at the Institute of social sciences in Zagreb, and I teach two subjects at Zagreb University. One of them is general, that is world and European history of the 20th century and the other is national, that is Croatian history in this half of the century – 1941 to 1999. I emphasize this because I am going to speak in a modern and scientific language that the academically educated gentlemen from the western democratic parliamentary and civilized world will understand.

In this context, I want to say, again to be well understood by the gentlemen and in order to introduce myself in these ten minutes I have, that the gentlemen who were speaking before me often considered me, and very often it happened in the media as well, equal with Tudman, Zerjavic etc. and declared me a theoretician of Jasenovac myth.

On the other hand, I have a similar status in Croatia, which means that the gentlemen in Croatia, political, academic and other elites including the above mentioned Mr. Zeljevic, find me worse than Mr. Bulajic, meaning the representative of Serbian, Yugoslav and other interests.

However, the problem is simple, but at the same time more complex. I am simply a scientist who relies on conceptual, methodological and scientific principles, and in this part of the world, in former Yugoslavia, such principles are not welcome, are unusual and are undesirable, especially in the last half of the century.

That is why I am going to speak in this context today, that is, about the historical context of Jasenovac and about the contemporary aspects of Jasenovac, which are very interesting so I am asking Mr. Chairman to allow me to speak a couple of minutes longer because I am going to present a whole range of facts. This is going to be the language of facts and data especially contemporary ones which you are probably not familiar with, and later on I think, Mr. Chairman, I am going to be able to provide you with some valuable information about the existing documents, for which you are as I can see, from the point of the Jewish community and humanistic principles, very interested. Those documents are kept in Belgrade and Zagreb and were

probably hidden from you by both sides.

In this context, I am also very pleased that you came here and that I am given the opportunity to speak to you here above all as the representatives of the Jewish community whose history I am well acquainted with and I know what the idea of a victim means to the ethnic group of the Jews, not only the idea of holocaust in the 20th century but also holocaust which lasts for at least two thousand years and which was always justified by different mystified myths.

In western literature it was already established as a fact that the Jews were persecuted for centuries, thousands of years and the first accusation was that it was them who killed Jesus.

Of course, that is a myth that had been changing through centuries, shaping itself depending on whether it was North or Western or South-eastern Europe etc.

However, behind those myths, in relation with the Jews, there was always one hidden real and simple interest, which dominated the history of civilization all the time and that, was the materialistic interest.

So, such myths were spread, above all, so that the Jews could be plundered, simply speaking.

In that respect, I will try to explain the problem of research of victims of the Second World War in Croatia, including Yugoslavia, because it was my M.A. thesis, which was published in a book. That book was not banned because the circumstances after 1990 in Croatia did not permit it but that book was undesirable and its distribution was prevented and all the attempts to translate it into English were unsuccessful. The reason is simple. The facts in this part of the world are not welcome.

The problem of victims of the Second World War in former Yugoslavia is basically very simple although it is being mystified very often, the same way it is done here today.

It is a well-known fact that the second communist Yugoslavia was a totalitarian state. When I say this scientist understand straight away what it means. It means that in that state it was not possible to articulate any kind of social, political, economical or any other kind of interests except those which were established by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, that is, its leaders and in that context we can understand the position of the problem of research of victims of the Second world War as well as the position of all social sciences and humanities.

Here, the situation was completely different from the one

in Western countries. Namely, politics was defining the scheme in advance and social sciences and humanities had to fit in the given scheme and their role was solely to defend politically invented or declared thesis.

Those who could not accept this could not work in the field of science, were put on the margin or even killed.

The victims during the Second World War and after the war, which is important to emphasize, were put in that context, which means they were politically manipulated and all the findings you have heard today are partly forged and partly misinterpreted.

Everything what can be found in encyclopedias in Yugoslavia is mostly forged and functions as an apology for political system that was in power.

I am going to give you this book in Croatian, so if you can get it translated, you will see that it is not about any kind of nationalism, you will see that it is an overview of the problem of victims of the Second World War citing historical sources, anthropological researches, demographic and historical aspects.

According to this, all the findings which are used today in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina which are independent states now and were members of the second communist Yugoslavia are mostly forgeries made for the purpose of satisfying some political interests of, firstly, political establishment in Yugoslavia and later, when it was clear that Yugoslavia would be dismembered, there were tries to satisfy national interests in Croatia as well as in Serbia not to mention other parts of former Yugoslavia.

This differs to a great extent from the problem of victims of the Second World War in Western World where it was more or less objectively researched immediately after the war and the number of victims, the consequences and circumstances were verified etc. However, it was not possible in former Yugoslavia, and it is, unfortunately, still not possible in the new-formed states.

In Croatia, especially, it can no longer be impeded by law as in former Yugoslavia, but it is impeded by other mechanisms – independent scientists are not respected, like me, for example, our projects, which would objectively research the problem, are not approved of, so that the individuals like me finance the projects with their own means, meaning they work as much as their time and possibilities permit. They have no money to include young research assistants and other people who would comput-

er-process the archives and publish them.

The problem of Jasenovac is a specific problem and I will try to define it from the scientific point of view. One of the problems, what I emphasized in the book on victims of the Second World War in this part of the world, is that it was extremely simplified and turned upside down, which means it is a pyramid standing on its top and that is impossible.

The problem of victims of the Second World War was mainly, especially in the 80s, reduced to something what was called 'Jasenovac myth'. This term, just as information, was not invented by Franjo Tudjman but Vaso Bogdanov, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, who was Serbian, which is not of least importance, first mentioned it in 1962.

Already in 1962 he outlined Jasenovac myth. Since then until today all our knowledge about Jasenovac and the system of Jasenovac camps can be described as Jasenovac myth because scientific methods were not used in the research of this problem. Politics and political interests have dominated in the approach to this problem to this very day.

Other deception can be illustrated with the problem of the number of victims in Jasenovac camp. Namely, it is very simple to all those involved in the field of economy. In demography it is a very simple matter. In order to determine the income, the expenses and the rest in a firm, or in some demographic analysis, and to determine the number of victims in a camp or in some region, you have to have the number of inhabitants before and after.

It can easily be solved on the state level because there are censuses before the war and after the war and then by some demographic methods – summing up, subtracting, analytic synthesis, hypothesis etc., the number of demographic loses and the number of actual victims of war can be approximately determined and estimated.

When some smaller sites are in question, as Jasenovac, that model is also possible but we would have to know how many inmates were deported to the camp and how many of them left the camp (in a simple way). Then it is a simple mathematical operation. That mathematical operation can be based on the existing documents in the archives in Croatia and Serbia, that is in Zagreb and Belgrade. However, these archives are inaccessible, are hidden again because of specific political interests in Serbia and Croatia.

So, there are archives and registers of most people deport-

ed to the camps. It should be stressed that only a small number was sent there without being registered. Collective and individual registers were sent to different addresses during NDH, so it can all be easily determined.

In Croatia just a part of the documentation of the states' police is accessible, but there is a secret archive which is still kept in the police and which contains special files on Jasenovac, and I found out about it indirectly. Most documentation from NDH of most ministries is in Belgrade and it is under embargo and it is still not accessible. These data are kept secret because of some "national interests" as they are defined by some elites in Serbia or in Croatia.

In the second half of 1980, Jasenovac myth in its present form, was given a new function and it provoked a justified reserve of the Holocaust Museum in New York.

Namely, Jasenovac myth was abused by the Serbian aggression in 1991 and that is the simple truth. Cohesion inside the Serbian nation as well as inside the Croatian nation and other nations of Yugoslavia was carried out by using Jasenovac myth.

All national elites, political, scientific and the media participated in this and in that respect the reaction of The Hague tribunal to the ideologists of crime in this region will be very interesting.

Since I have run out of time, I am going to skip some topics but I would like to draw your attention to some current data about the consequences of Jasenovac myth from the humane standpoint. Now, you have come to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina where there were 655 concentration camps from 1991–1995, and this was determined by the expert commission of the United Nations founded by the Resolution 860 in 1992.

Have you heard it well? 656, according to internationally verified data. In order to keep to these national criteria, there were 331 camps under the command of the Serbs, 57 under the command of the Croatians, 93 under the command of the Muslims and 167 of unknown origin. There were also 8 private camps.

According to the data from the Republic of Croatia, Department for the Victims of war, which were verified by the International Commission, in Croatia there are 125 mass graves of the victims killed by the Serbs.vicitms were exhumed, these are international data, of which 2,400 are children. Yes, it is our topic. Jasenovac is a continuation of this. If there is a

meaning of a victim in history, it is that it should not happen again and in that respect all the International conventions for protection of the victims of war have been established. All humane activities dealing with the victims of war are directed towards the aim that the tragic history not be repeated.

So, this Conference, you should pay particular attention to that, was intended that everything happening between 1991 and 1995, and that is the repeating of Jasenovac and Jasenovac myth and victims regardless of their national or social origin, be forgotten. In Croatia there are still 1,620 missing persons who were probably killed. I could not get any information from Belgrade or Sarajevo.....

This was not a nationalistic speech. If Jasenovac and dealing with Jasenovac has any meaning, it is, as Mr. Chairman said, not to have the crimes repeated.

Thank you for being patient, yes, I will stay, and I submit this material to the representatives of the Jewish community. This was summarized by the International commission so that it can be seen what sort of camps these were and how history repeats itself. We all know very well what a ribbon on their sleeves meant. Here is a victim with a ribbon exhumed from the grave in Lovas and I will give it to you together with the book.

If you permit I will be glad to answer this gentleman's question.

Jozef Atijas

Honoured Mr. Klein, Mr. Jurcevic, it is an honour to greet you.

Of all you have said here today I like best the sentence in which you said that it all resembled a pyramid turned upside down. I would like to say here in this town on behalf of all the people present here, on behalf of the nation which has been persecuted for centuries that I belong to a family which lost neither more nor less than 153 members only because they were of Jewish origin.

I would like to quote the late ex president of the United States Abraham Lincoln who said: "You can lie to one part of the world for a certain period of time, but to lie to the whole world forever is impossible," and we have to accept that.

I want to present, if you wish, 153 birth certificates of the members of my family who were killed.

First of all, I am telling you, as a religious man, as a rabbi, that we are talking about people who were murdered in a most brutal way. My question to you is, without creating any tension or pressure: Who and why needs to play with the victims?

You, as a historian, know that when the Germans came to Sarajevo in 1941, the first two things they looked for were Sarajevo Hagada, thank God they did not find it, and Sarajevo Pinkas of the Jewish community. Lists of names of the Jews from 1492 when they came from Spain and 1561 to 1941, were given in Pinkas. Such Pinkas existed and still exist in the Jewish community in Zagreb, in Belgrade, in Sarajevo and wherever there are Jewish communities.

We do not need lectures about our losses from anyone. I am speaking on behalf of my people here.

Excuse me, you are a Croat and it is all right, you should be proud of it. But why would someone minimize the Serbs and say that only 2,000 Jewish people were executed. Please, what sort of honour or morality are we talking about here?

That would be all and thank you very much.

Djuro Zatezalo

Honoured Presidency, honoured ladies and gentlemen,

I had a heart surgery, so excuse me; I am going to speak slowly. I was not informed on time so I am not prepared for the speech, so I am just going to try, using simple language, to give you some information about my experience in research of the victims of the Second World War.

In 1951, as a teacher I started looking for information about crimes and I have been working with my team in Historical archive in Karlovac, Croatia, on the research of the victims of the Second World War in NDH*.

I am not like the others. I am a peasant child and I know only facts. I know nothing about politics and I have never been engaged in politics and I do not intend to because I do not have time for that.

At the meeting of the directors of the Centre for History of Workers' Movement and Archives in the Institute for History of Workers' Movement and National Liberation Battle in the 60s, I suggested that we should make a list of human losses in former Yugoslavia by name and surname and with all other data regardless of national, religious or any other background.

A victim is a victim regardless of who it is and whose it is. However, it was denied as well as the systematic research of victims of the Second World War was impeded for 49 years.

Socialist government impeded it in different ways. I know that very well. When I did not succeed in accomplishing it in Croatia and Yugoslavia, I and my small team organized groups in villages, towns and streets in the region.

We had 5 to 15 people in each village who were well acquainted with people and events in all those places. We made such register. We said: we want a name and a surname, name of the father, year of birth, place of birth, occupation of the victim – whether it was a child, or a teacher, or a professor, or an academic, nationality – Croat, Hungarian, Serb, Jew or Gypsy, where he was killed, who killed him – the Chetnics, the Ustashi, the Germans, the Italians. They were all killing us, all of us, more or less. So, who killed, where and when, in what way he was killed – hanged, slaughtered, massacred, forced to form a circle around the church and then burned alive together with the churches.

We were making such registers for 37 years and we made registers for the regions of Kordun, Lika, Banija, Zumberak, Pokuplje and Gorski Kotar. About 35 books were published and in each of those books you can find all the data.

Along with this, we came across other crimes in all other camps. Why do I say all other camps? I say that because in the regions we were researching there were no other camps except Jadovno on Velebit and Slano on the island of Pag. There people, women, children were killed at their doorsteps, in their yards, on their fields, at schools, wherever they found themselves. They did not choose neither the age nor the place. I will not talk about how it was done because it was all described in the books.

We registered all the victims regardless of nationality and religion. That is how we found out about Jasenovac and we specifically researched Velebit – Jadovno. Jadovno is a small village, 21 km far from Gospic towards Velebit, at the foot of Velebit and the camp formed there existed already at the end of April and lasted for 62 days. During these 62 days every day people were transported in G-cars, so-called cattle wagons. As a child of railroad worker I watched those people crying: Water! Water! Water!

Those people were transported here from all parts of NDH, from Banja Luka, Mostar, Sarajevo, Vlasenica and all other regions. They did not make any distinction between regions and people. According to these registers we discovered horrifying

information about that first Ustashi camp in Jadovno which also had a system of camps.

So, Jasenovac is, in my opinion, regarding its organization, one copy of that first system of camps on Velebit. People were not killed with fire arms there. They disappeared in bottomless pits. I saw 24 bottomless pits during several years of my research. People were killed with hammers, mallets, tied with wire two by two in groups of 10 to 100 people. Usually, first 5–6 people would approach the pit and then were hit with a mallet on their foreheads, and the others would fall into a pit. I will not talk about it because there are enough data about that.

Based on this data I will give you some information for one region consisting of three municipalities. For example, according to registration carried out in 1931, about 122, 557 people, Croats, Serbs and a few Muslims, lived in Kordun. Of these 122, 000, 28, 406 people were most brutally killed – 27, 625 Serbs, 464 Croats, 27 Jews and 228 Gypsies and some Russians, Checks and Slovaks. 6, 528 victims were children younger than 14. Jadovno camp was closed when, one day earlier, Jasenovac was formed. Italian fascists ordered the closing down of Jadovno and the whole system of camps and pits because of the massive uprising of people in Lika and other parts of Croatia. The Italians had such a tactic to show themselves as the protectors of the Serbs in order to win their confidence.

However, the Serbs as well as the Croats who wanted to fight against fascism did not trust them and they continued their struggle. I am not going to talk about that. There were about 1,064 Serbs, Croats and Jews who were not killed but deported to Jastrebarsko camp, temporarily, then to Lobograd, then to Jasenovac. Of this group several Jews and three Croats survived. Serbs were all killed and they were the first victims of Jasenovac camp.

I would just like to say that it is time we did something instead of arguing about the victims after so many years.

It would be best if science could do something. Unfortunately, it cannot because we were not allowed to do the research. I know that from my own experience. When we had made the registers by names we were told to forget about them.

In my opinion crimes and conflicts were repeated because of that oblivion. It would be nice to investigate these crimes now when there are more scientists and normal people or when there should be normal people.

Prof. dr Zdravko Antonic

Honoured Presidency, dear participants of the Second Conference, Let me say a few words about this topic.

History as a science still has not offered an answer to the question where the epicenter is, from which impulses for committing genocide in the Balkans are transmitted. A partial answer to this question could be found in the Turkish–Austrian wars during which, due to unpredictability of war luck, a great number of population of different religions was captured.

It was considered normal to convert the population into the religion of the winner. In some international agreements from the end of 18th century and the beginning of 19th century it was clearly stated that the prisoners of war with Turkey could not stay in the country which imprisoned them except in case they were converted into the religion of that country and vice versa.

If a Christian prisoner was lucky enough to stay alive in Turkish prisons he had to convert to Islam. It is from this perspective that we should examine the appearance of Omer–Pasha Latas and other imprisoned Austro–Hungarian officers who became Sultan's distinguished warriors. That is were we can find the basis for Ustashi legislature. There is, I quote "Legal regulation about conversion from one religion to another" passed on May 3, 1941.

This regulation was published in the press and sent to all Catholic priests as well as to the representatives of civil authorities who had to act in accordance with it.

Conversion of the Orthodox population to Catholicism in NDH was carried out after they had been expelled from Croatia and it continued until the end of the war.

Slobodan Milosevic and Dr. Miso Hamovic wrote about that deportation in their doctoral thesis. Extermination was the third way of destruction of Serbian, Jewish and Gypsy population. The genesis of this goes far back into the historical past.

In 1872, Austro–Hungarian consul in Sarajevo Teodorovic advised Turkish authorities to settle Muslims and Catholics in a greater number in Eastern Bosnia.

It was the way to break off the ethnic unity of the Serbian people and to create a religious Great wall on the Drina.

After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, there were plans to colonize the Drina valley by settling the Catholics. It started in the Villages of Semberija, more exactly

in Franc Jozef Felt village, but it did not get any further than Zvornik until 1941.

There are documents which show that after the assassination in Sarajevo there were not only high traitorous processes going on but also deportation of Serbian population from Bosnia to Serbia and Montenegro together with the withdrawal of Serbian and Montenegrin troops on the battlefield.

It is believed that the first mass slaughtering of the Serbian population was committed in October, 1914, at Celebici on the Drina when the Muslim volunteer detachment, so-called 'suckori', slaughtered 86 Serbian hostages. Since then until the end of the First World War, Bosnia had lost 360, 000 people but it was not permitted to examine this number by determining national origin of victims because of the establishment of the united state. For the same reason it was never determined how many Serbs died during the greatest genocide from 1941 to 1945.

In 1955, a historian Djordje Pejanovic established that there were 686, 000 victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. 66, 000 more than in the American Civil War, but he also did not establish the number of Serbs killed and the number of others.

Jasenovac and everything related to it is one of the most complex and neglected questions in Serbian history.

The new state was not willing to help the science examine and solve this problem.

Individual efforts of Dr. Nikola Nikolic, Dr. Milan Bulajic, Anton Miletic, Dr. Vladimir Dedijer, Dr. Radomir Bulatovic and others to contribute to the solution of this problem, to cut the Gordian knot, are to be praised but the results they achieved were not enough.

There were also efforts of some offices of the SUBNOR* organization but they were never successful.

Studying of Jasenovac could be compared to the building of Skadar – what was erected during the day would be demolished during the night. In light of everything that had happened, Serbian historiography today has the obligation to continue the difficult search for data about Jasenovac using scientific methods and to fight and to clarify all calculations and political manipulations aiming at violating history and remembrance.

I was the editor of this book by Nikola Nikolic in 1976, published by "Oslobodjenje". But 2, 300 pages remained of that author which have never been published.

Thank you.

Dr Nikola Zutic

"Roman Catholicism – inspirer of genocide"

I am going to speak about Roman Catholicism as inspirer of genocide. In this paper I will give a short historical overview of the origins of Roman Catholic intolerance towards Serbs, Jews and Croats – liberals, integral Yugoslavs. Above mentioned population represents the majority of victims in Jasenovac camps.

Many excellent works about genocide, criminals and victims were published. There are also published memoirs. However, the works which would study the causes of genocidal behaviour of the part of Roman Catholic population are missing.

In my opinion, we should emphasize the mental and character structure of a devoted believer and positive Catholic, who, by all means, in his frequent contacts with a priest, the so-called. daily worships, has to adopt his way of thinking and treating the so-called heterodox persons, heretics and schismatics.

Convert element of Croatian spirit or, in other words, ideology of Roman Catholics provoked fanatic hatred among that part of the population towards people of a different religious faith.

I will start with the Synod in Florence in 1439. Namely, in the Declaration adopted at that Synod, it was determined, I quote, "that the holy Roman Church strongly believes that everybody who does not belong to the Catholic Church, not only pagans but Judeas, heretics and schismatics, cannot go to Heaven but to Hell, which is meant for devils, if they do not convert to the right church before they die."

In the Vatican terminology used in documents, Serbian people were called the worst schismatic nation; Orthodox Churches were called dirty places of worship; infidelity and injustice were in Eastern Church.

On the other hand, the Catholic Church was called holy mother, Roman Catholic Apostle Church. It was presented as the unique interpreter and representative of original Christianity which based on the Greek term 'katolikos' had a constant tendency to take over Christianity as a whole.

There is one sentence often used in the Vatican documents, I quote, "one eternal catholic apostle truth under one visible and perpetual Roman Pontiff, head of all believers in the world." There were many followers of such ideology in the Balkans.

Most of them were educated in so-called Illyrian colleges in Fermuloet or in the Illyrian Institute Saint Jeronimus in Rome. Such missionary institutes gave zealous missionaries who undertook proselyte actions over Orthodox Serbs. The most talented attended seminars of Congregation for religious propaganda in Vatican.

As an illustrative example I will mention Vicentije Zmajevic from Njegusi, who lived at the end of 17th and the beginning of 18th century and was arch-bishop of Zadar and Bar and Serbian primate. As an apostate of the Orthodox Church he had to feel great hatred towards schismatics.

His religious affiliation overpowered his sense of his Serbian origin. By the way he described the origin of Serbian people he must have become an ideal to the party of Ante Starcevic, who in the same manner spoke about Serbian ethnic origin. In "Mirror of Truth" Zmajevic says about the Serbs, I quote: "Serbs are ancient Serbians from Serbia. After they had run away from Asian Sarmatia, Emperor Iraklije allowed them to settle, as servants of the state, in Mediterranean part of Illyric, which was later called Serbia. Cruel and bloodthirsty people, savage and ill-humored from birth. They came from the darkness into the light of Christianity during the rule of Emperor Vasilije Macedonian and thus replaced their slavery darkness." Ante Starcevic used almost the same terminology.

In the second half of 19th century the Catholic Church acted against the ideology of liberalism which was spreading among the Catholics. At that time the future archbishop of Zagreb Antun Bauer was very active. As the editor of the Catholic newspaper Bauer was aiming at, I quote, "destroying the building of religious liberalism which under the wing of science intended to, in the form of positivism, agnosticism and materialism, take over the soul of Croatian intelligence."

Liberated intelligence was, according to Bauer, I quote: "a great danger for religious life of Croats" and for that reason he published the article "Atheism of intelligence" in catholic newspaper. In that article he describes sacrificing for religion.

Bauer wrote articles "Awakened Christian Awareness" and "Jewish Issue" against destroying influence of liberalism, masons and Jews. Even later the Roman Catholic Church would often act against the Jews. Theologian Aleksandar Gas was particularly zealous in his lectures from the 30's.

We should mention the example of the organization of

Catholic reaction, so-called "young crunicars" who distributed anti-liberal brochure "Jewish Masonry". Roman Catholic clergy, after a short period of Roman Catholic pro-Yugoslav orientation 1918–1921, were becoming more and more afraid of the ideology in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians.

The Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church became the opponents of Yugoslavia because of the growing influence of liberalism and because they realized that would not be able to dominate the state predominantly due to anticlericalism and secularism of that state.

That is the reason why the main followers of the ideology of liberalism personified in Yugoslav nationalists – Croats, Slovenians, Serbs and Jews, found themselves under the attacks of Roman Catholic propaganda.

Liberal Sokols would fight for a number of years against the organization of Catholic action. The Croats – integral Yugoslavs had an important role in that fight, for example Dr. Oton Gavrančić, leader of Zagreb Sokols who submitted a draft bill banning the work of Jesuits to the Parliament.

Yugoslav Sokols were the ones who were the first victims of Ustasha camps. Dr. Oton Gavrančić, as a distinguished Yugoslav nationalist and anti-clericalist, was killed in Jasenovac, camp Brocnice, in 1942. at the age of 70. Jews, Serbs, Croats, integral Yugoslavs were accused of liberalism, anti-clericalism, secularism, materialism, Darwinism and naturalism by the majority of Roman Catholic Clergy.

Jubilee holy year 1925, which is celebrated every 25 years by the Vatican, coincided with the celebration of the so-called thousandth anniversary of Croatian Kingdom. The Roman Catholic clergy used the celebration of a thousandth anniversary of Croatian Kingdom to express their anti-Yugoslav and anti-Serbian orientation by glorifying Croatian Kingdom which was a thousand years old.

Priest Lamber Golovski, of Polish origin, during the celebration of Croatian Kingdom anniversary in Virovitica, 1925, shouted: "We will destroy the state but we will save our faith. Exactly at that time the main activity of the Catholic action was education.

There were numerous organizations of Catholic action such as: Maria's congregations, eagles, crusaders, Croatian heroes. Activity of the Croatian Eagles' Association was banned by the Act of abolition of Yugoslav Sokols. The crusaders, who would have an important role in the Second World War in NDH, were

organized after that.

Ideologists of Ustashi movement will call that state "Croatia Sacra" meaning "Holy Croatian State."

Thank you.

2 | Denial of crimes of genocide – number of Jasenovac victims

2 | Denial of victims of genocide – number of victims in Jasenovac camps

Dr. Milan Bulajić

Milovan Zivkovic, MA, the director of the Yugoslav Federal Institute of Statistics will present his paper "Yugoslav victims of the Second World War (number)".

Dr. Milovan Zivkovic

MA – Yugoslav victims of the Second World War (number)

I will try to be disciplined and in 10 minutes say what I have written. For those who are interested in it, this paper will be published and translated into English so that I am going to present only excerpts.

The paper consists of three parts. One is about the total number of victims in Yugoslavia 1941–1945. I quoted all the works published so far. The second part is the register of victims from 1964, which was mentioned several times yesterday and today. I will try not to defend it, because that registration was not successful, but explain what it was. The third part is Jasenovac.

One generation, which experienced the sufferings during the Second World War, is on decline. Some of those people, that generation undertook a very difficult task to determine the names and surnames of the victims and they are publishing, adding new names and completing the lists the same way it was done in Museum Jad–Vasem in Israel.

The bearer of this very important work is Dr. Milan Bulajic and the Museum of Genocide in Belgrade, I hope that both Dr.

Bulajic and the Museum will be remembered for this invaluable important work.

His assistants are Antun Miletic, Dragoje Lukic whose book and exhibition we were presented yesterday.

Yugoslavia in its pre-war borders was among several countries with the greatest number of victims of war, destruction and genocide.

That is the reason why such careless attitude towards the victims of war is even more surprising. We could find some political motives but not a justification. The fact that after the war it was not even attempted to include information about the perpetrators of the crime in the registers of victims can be explained with the intention of leaders of Yugoslavia not to create additional problems. In the situation of hardly settled national hatred, which culminated during the war, it was not wise to provoke conflicts.

That postponed serious analysis of the victims of war, completions of lists of victims, together with the identification of the criminals and their condemn created enough space for manipulation, guessing, underestimation and exaggeration. Today we can critically analyze estimations and evaluations made in the past and eventually determine irrefutable facts and thus come to the lower limit of the number of victims.

The first estimations made in new or second Yugoslavia are the reports of the reparation commission of the government of the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia in the document "Human and material loses during the war 1941–1945."

These estimations were made according to gathered data because during the Second AVNOJ and immediately after that an order was given to start gathering data about the number of victims. Commissions, today we would call them Republic commissions, and the data were collected in the Federal Office for Statistics.

Dolf Vogelnic, who is also doing some estimation, works in the Federal Institute for Statistics together with Dragoljub Tasic, Iva Lah and we should also mention two foreign estimations – Princeton University and Frukman's estimation.

Following these estimations two books appeared in the press, one by Bogoljub Kocevic, "Victims of the Second World War in Yugoslavia" in 1985, and the other by Vladimir Zerjavic, "Loses of population of Yugoslavia in the Second World War" in 1989.

We have the smallest number of documents for this first

estimation. But it was accepted in almost all students' books with the number of real victims – 1, 706, 000. I emphasize real victims because in other works there are demographic victims.

If everything I have said so far I repeated statistically it would be that the minimal number of real victims is 1, 000, 000 to max. 1, 800, 000 or on average 1, 350, 000, and demographic values were between min. 1, 200, 000 to max. 2, 854, 000 or on average 2, 098, 000. Vojislav Vukcevic, undergraduate in mathematics in his article published in the magazine "Our word" describes some interesting details about that first estimation of 1, 706, 000 starting from the bizarre fact that as a student of mathematics employed with the Federal Institute for Statistics, he was given a deadline of two weeks to complete such a difficult task and the instruction that the figure had to be significant and scientifically founded.

Vukcevic gives some details about this estimation, he does not mention that he was using all the data he got from the state commissions. Evaluation of this work cannot be done because there were no original scripts about the way it was done.

At this distance in time there are some serious questions that Vojislav Vukcevic could answer – how was it possible for him to contact Edvard Kardelj, when at that time, Vogelnik worked in the Federal Institute for Statistics and was the director together with Dimitrije Tasic and Ivo Lah.

How was it possible that his demographic victims differed so much from Vogelnik's estimation and how did he dare to publish them when he was a student of mathematics and Vogelnik was the director of the Institute. Why did he not publish his calculations and memories much earlier?

Kocovic and Zerjavic wrote good books and their estimations were more detailed, with better argumentation and more complete.

They are very similar, they differ in only 13,000 victims – in Kocovic's book 1,014, 000 victims and in Zerjavic's book 1,027,000 victims. The difference is related to the number of victims in Montenegro. Everything else is similar and what is very interesting, according to both authors the Serbs suffered greatest losses especially Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. According to the numbers mentioned in their books it seems that Kocovic wrote his book four or five years earlier than Zerjavic. There is no doubt that the Serbs from NDH suffered most.

I would like to say something about the register of the vic-

tims of war, the registration of the victims was carried out in November, 1964., almost 20 years after the war.

Preparations for this registration started seven years earlier and were motivated with an idea of claiming war reparation from Germany.

Original decision was that the Federation of Veterans should carry out the registration. This decision was changed after the trial registration in June, 1963.

In accordance with the decision of Federal Government (SIV) of June 10, 1964, Federal Commission for the Registration of War Victims was formed and it, together with the statistics institutes, made methodology and organized collecting of data.

The commissions were formed at all levels: federal, republic, regional and municipal. The commissions consisted of the representatives of veterans' organizations, socio-political communities, army and statistics.

With all the shortcomings which could be expected due to memory effect, the composition of the commission also make us suspect the registration was not done impartially. Namely, it is easy to see that the innocent victims among civilians were registered with more details and with no data among local population who were connected with or recruited by the Ustashi, homeguards, Chetnics and other units which were treated as opponents and quislings by the Partisans' movement and the new Yugoslav authorities. So, the registration did not have the aim it got later in the press and which it has today.

The registration is totally incomplete. It includes 56–59% of war victims, so it cannot be used or misused the way it has very often been done.

After the registration had been completed nobody was satisfied, not even those who ordered it. Some people got about 20 copies of this registration. Even Tadjman got one copy and he very often used the figure stated in that book 597, 000 victims, in total.

The registration was put aside and as a state secret was considered unsuccessful.

Many years later, all the material was sent to the archives of Yugoslavia thanks to people who insisted on the methodology of names and surnames. The boxes were opened and the lists with names and surnames were made. I think that the good thing about this registration is that it can be corrected.

I think that thanks to that registration and the Institutes of the Federal Institution, especially the Museum we now have

these three books you can see there and also the fourth book about the children and the names and surnames of the victims who died either in Jasenovac or generally and especially children.

The registration should be analyzed and completed. But it should not be used without the introduction because it is not complete. It includes only 56–59% of real war victims. Without it the registration should not be made public.

Since my time is limited, I just want to mention one important thing about Jasenovac and the number of victims.

Jasenovac is the most brutal and cruel system of NDH and Ustasha camps of death which was in function from August 21, 1941. until April 22, 1945.

Jasenovac is a complex consisting of 210–240 km² of mass graves. All doubts about the total number of victims in the Second World War are applicable to

the number of victims in the system of Jasenovac camps.

Seven years after the war, in 1952, the Yugoslav Association of Jewish Communities determined, based on testimonies, documents etc., that about 500, 000–600, 000 people were killed in the Ustasha camp in Jasenovac including about 20, 000 Jews. Jad–Vashem in Jerusalem estimated that the number of Jewish victims in Jasenovac was 25,000.

Some well-known scientists, among whom Josip Erlih, claim that 700,000 people were killed in Jasenovac camp. Most of them were Serbs, then Jews and Gypsies. There were Muslims and Croats and a few Slovenians, I think, about 11.

I also have to mention another process going on, and which has recently been intensified and that is the minimization of the victims. I consider this to be a new crime.

During the preparations for the late Yugoslav Nurnberg, the trial to the ex commander of the Ustasha camps of death Dinko Sakic, minimization of the victims in Jasenovac was on the scene again. Nikica Valentic from the History Institute of Croatia still claims that the number of victims of Jasenovac is between 30,000 and 50,000, so somewhere between Tudjman's and Puharic's assessments.

Director of Croatia State Archive, Josip Kolanovic stated that the authentic book of State Commission for Determining the Crimes Committed by Croatia from 1947. was found. According to that book, 15,792 victims from Croatia were killed in Jasenovac. from 1941. to 1945. These data refer to 34 districts starting from letter P.

Institute of Adil Zulfikarpasic in Zurich unfortunately misused this registration. They claim that the number of victims is 58,188.

In my paper I cited all the assessments given in well-known encyclopedias so I will not bother you with that.

So, there is a special commission investigating crimes committed in Jasenovac, formed by the State Commission for Croatia whose duty is to collect all the material related to crimes in this camp. It is estimated that there were 500,000–600,000 victims. I stress that state commission because yesterday we heard a lot about the book which was translated into English.

I find it very important that the Museum of Genocide in Belgrade, on the First International Conference and Exhibition on Jasenovac held in New York on October 29, 1997, came up with the figure of 78,163 victims in Jasenovac and today on January 25, 2000, that figure is 79,857. As a statistician I can only support that methodology and that road to the truth. It is not easy to come to truth and it is even more difficult to prove it but I think that here we should say that the number heard most often was 500,000–600,000 or 700,000 of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, Croats, Muslims and other nations and nationalities in Jasenovac from 1941. to 1945.

Thank you for you patience.

Dragan Cvetkovic

**"Concentration camp Jasenovac
April–November 1944."**

Honoured Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

The topic I am going to discuss is titled "Concentration camp Jasenovac April–November 1944." and the subtitle is "Why is Dinko Sakic to blame?"

Criminal responsibility of the Ustasha commander Dinko Sakic can be seen in two ways – his personal responsibility for the murders he himself had committed and his responsibility as a commander of the system of Jasenovac camps for the crimes committed there.

The crimes he had committed himself will not be the subject of this discussion because his guilt is indisputable. In this

discussion we are going to talk about the guilt which is the result of the subordination of Jasenovac camp where he as a commander of the camp is responsible for all lost lives.

So, it is necessary to determine the period in which Sakic was the commander of the system of camps. Unfortunately, in "Narodne novine" which was the official paper of NDH Government there is nothing about appointment or release of Dinko Sakic from the duty of the commander of the camp.

In the documents of the State commission for determining crimes of occupiers and their followers there is a decision from 18 March, 1947. made in Zagreb stating that from 1942. to 1944. Sakic was the chief of general department, and from 1944. to 1945. the commander of Jasenovac camp, which does not give us the possibility to determine precisely the period of his command.

In the sentence pronounced in Regional Court in Zagreb on 4 April, 1999, it is stated that the accused was the commander of Jasenovac camp in the period from May 1944. to October 1944.

At the same process the defense claimed that he was the commander of Jasenovac camp from 02 July, 1944. to 01 October 1944, meaning only three months.

Sakic himself, in an interview, given in 1995. said about his activity in Jasenovac: "I came in November 1942, and I was appointed the commander of Jasenovac in 1944. I stayed there until November 1944."

Many testimonies of the survived inmates and Captured Ustasha witness Sakic's presence and command of the camp during 1944. without quoting precisely the time of command. They mostly mention the events from June and September related to the murder of student Valner and Dr. Milo Boskovic.

Jakov Danon in his statement given to the State commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators on 26 May, 1945, immediately after the end of war operations on Yugoslav territory, states that Dinko Sakic was the commander of the camp from spring 1944. to September 1944.

Partially saved diary of changes in the number of inmates of Ustasha camp Stara Gradiska could help us determine the period in which it was certain that Sakic was the commander.

In daily reports about the number of inmates signed by the commander of the camp we have the period from 19–26 October 1944. signed by Dinko Sakic, four documents with his name in full and five with his initials.

Among the above mentioned documents there is only one with a problematic date. It is document F136/1 in which there is a correction of the date 05. 11. to 05. 10. which leads us to conclude that Sakic might have been the commander in November 1944. as well.

That is why we think that the period from April to November 1944. should be taken into consideration in determining the guilt of Dinko Sakic as the commander of the camp.

According to partially revised registration of war victims 1941–1945, the registration which was carried out in 1964 and which was mentioned here a couple of times and according to the revised registration done by Museum of victims of genocide with the Federal Institute for Statistics, Dinko Sakic who was the commander of the camp until November 1944, is responsible for death of 4,892 inmates identified by their names and surnames and all other personal data.

Victims were from all parts of Yugoslavia, most of them from the territory of NDH. From the Croatian territory there were 1,506 which makes 51.2%, from Bosnia and Herzegovina 2,093 or 42.8%, from Srem 160 or 3.3%, from Serbia without Srem 88, from Slovenia 33, from Montenegro 13 and from Macedonia 1 person.

Regions nearest to Jasenovac camp and inhabited mostly by Serbs suffered greatest loses. Bosanska krajina lost 1,703 persons which makes 34.8% of all people killed in that period or 81.4% of victims from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Slavonija lost 1,019 inhabitants or 20.8% killed in Jasenovac and 40.7% of victims from Croatia, Banija lost 891 or 18.2% of the total number of victims during this period and 35.6% of victims from Croatia. Remaining eight regions suffered considerably smaller number of loses in this period: Eastern Bosnia 177, Herzegovina 131, Middle Bosnia 59, Northwestern Croatia 267, Lika 119, Dalmatia 112, Kordun 48 and Gorski Kotar with Croatian coast 33 victims.

If we analyse this by months, the system of concentration camps was most active in June when 1,079 inmates were killed or 22.1% of all killed in that period, then in November when 1,076 or 22.1% inmates were killed, in October 1,010 or 20.7%, in September 862 or 17.6%, in August 281 or 5.7%, in April 210 or 4.3%, in May 206 or 4.2%, in July 168 or 3.4%. It is important to notice that the greatest number of killing happened in the last two months of Dinko Sakic's command, when 2,086 inmates or 42.7% of all killed during his command were mur-

dered.

The most brutal crime in the system of Jasenovac camps from 01 April to 30 November 1944. was committed over children.

During Sakic's command 963 kids were killed, aged from one day to 14 years.

Killed children make 19.7% of all people killed in the camp during the mentioned period. It is important to notice that the greatest number of children – 686 or 71.2% were killed in the last three months of Sakic's command, in September 152, in October 141 and in November 393 children. Insight into the national structure of killed inmates gives a more detailed picture of genocidal activity in NDH.

Serbs with 3,407 victims or 69.6% of all killed during Sakic's command make by far the largest group of killed inmates in the period we are talking about. Killed Serbs originate mostly from NDH, from Croatia 1,889 or 55.4%, from Bosnia and Herzegovina 1,289 or 37.8%. Bosanska krajina lost 998 Serbs or 77.4% of killed Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slavonija lost 838 Serbs or 44.4%. Croats lost 567 persons or 11.6%, Gypsies 522 or 10.7% and Muslims 150.

We should mention that most Jews in Jasenovac camp were killed in 1941. and 1942. so the number of 150 victims in the period we mentioned is quite accurate.

The structure of the victims shows that 2,893 males and 1,899 females were killed in the camp, which stresses the great death rate of women – in Bosnia 35.1% of the total number of victims, in Croatia 45.6%, so extremely high percentage.

All these data we have here, but which I cannot present to you because of the limited time, show that during these eight months 4,892 persons were killed in the camp and that during six months 3,606 people were killed. This shows that it was by no means a collective and work camp, which was its official name from November 1941, according to Pavelic's order, but that it was an example of the concentration camp organized in the same way as German concentration camps.

Thank you.

Dragoje Lukic

**Review of the book – "They were only children,
Jasenovac – mass graves of 19,432 girls and boys**

Honoured gentlemen, dear friends,

Please, forgive me if I, in my short address, do not find the right words to present this painful topic about the mass killing of children in the system of Ustasha camp Jasenovac. Many of them did not even have time to utter their first words or to make their first steps. It is not easy to describe the absurd, especially if we are talking about the greatest one in the history of human civilization.

While writing the report to President Truman in 1946, the attorney general of the United States Robert Jackson found himself in a great dilemma during Nurnberg trial.

It is difficult to find the right words for something that is beyond human understanding and what is on the edge of human common sense.

There are lucky peoples who did not have to fight in wars for hundreds of years. They were able to live their lives in peace and happiness. Unfortunately, we were not so lucky.

In these parts bloodshed succeeded another. Among other things we also had Jasenovac, the biggest mass grave of children in this part of the world.

In spite of all the efforts my book "They were only children, Jasenovac – mass grave of 19,432 girls and boys" was not published on time for this Conference.

Today when I see it being prepared for publishing as a monument, I would give anything that it does not exist because it consists of authentic testimonies about the most monstrous crime in the 20th century.

That is not my book although it is signed by me. That is the book of deceased girls and boys whose lives ended in Jasenovac camp.

This horrible collection of testimonies and names of the youngest victims of Ustasha madness may help other people understand what actually happened and not let them forget not because of hatred towards other nations but because of love towards their own nation and these innocent victims who were denied their right to truth.

In spite of the fact that contemporary law strictly forbids

any sort of criminal sanction to under age persons younger than 14 years Ustasha genocide reached its peak right in the destruction of Serbian, Jewish and Gypsy children.

Children, continuation of human race, decoration of the world, nightingales in the house whose life is a poetry in all its forms, in Pavelic's state were not spared if they were Serbs, Jews or Gypsies.

On page 316, among other things, he said: "Propagators of Jasenovac myth persevere in that that Jasenovac camp was organized exclusively with the aim to exterminate all inmates and that hundreds and even thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies were brutally slaughtered every day and the truth is that the camp was organized as labour camp with many agricultural and trade working units.

Thousands and thousands of miserable people were deported to the camp individually and in groups and they were also sent to other camps and to work in Germany.

Tudjman also stated: "Probably, about 30,000–40,000 people were really killed in Jasenovac, mostly Gypsies, then Jews, Serbs and even Croats. I am certain that the number can be determined exactly except for Gypsies," concluded Tudjman who in his voluminous book mentioned neither the children nor their agony right in Jasenovac camp.

Under the protection of Nazi Germany and its allies on April 10, 1941, the new state – Independent State of Croatia was proclaimed on the territory of 102,000km².

About 6,300,000 people inhabited that territory. One third of all population was Serbian and they lived on 60–75% of that territory.

When we speak of children victims, which were for the first time registered in the history book of NDH after more than 50 years, 74,762 children younger than 14 years were killed from April 1941. until May 1945. Among them there were 14,528 children who were identified and registered in the books of dead people as war victims.

The most brutal genocide was committed over 60,234 children. 32,054 boys and 28,012 girls were murdered and killed in other ways.

It was not possible to determine the gender for 168 kids. Serbian children were the greatest victims, 42,791 Serbian children were killed. It was not possible to determine the nationality for 273 children.

Lives of 36,730 boys and girls were taken on 1,398 places

of execution in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Srem, the areas that composed NDH.

By the number of identified victims and the brutality of Ustasha crimes, areas mostly inhabited by Serbs – Kordun, Lika, Banija, Slavonija, Bosanska krajina, Eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, suffered greatest losses.

In German, Italian and Ustasha collective and concentration camps and especially camps for children 23,504 children were killed. In Jasenovac alone 19,432 children were killed.

From 23 August 1941. to 22 April 1945. on places of execution of Jasenovac camps, Ustasha murdered and killed in other ways 19,432 children.

10,268 boys and 9,128 girls were buried in mass graves. It was not possible to determine the gender for 36 children.

The youngest victims of the system of Jasenovac camps were wearing diapers and the oldest were 14 years old.

Their lives were taken on the camp execution sites spreading over the territory of 210 km².

According to the data I have acquired so far 11,888 Serbian, 5,469 Gypsy and 1,911 Jewish children were killed in Jasenovac.

There were 132 Croats and 17 Muslims identified among the killed children. Nationality of 15 boys and girls was not determined.

Children together with their parents were transported to Jasenovac in different means of transport and children from Slavonian and Kozara villages were forced to walk in long columns.

Little Jasenovac hostages were driven to this execution site from 1,107 places of former Independent State of Croatia – NDH.

Lives of 8,030 kids were taken in Jasenovac camps, most of the killed children came from Bosanska krajina – 6,130 of which 5,877 boys and girls were from Kozara region, district Bosanska Gradiska which had the greatest number of children killed in Jasenovac – 3,689. Villages Podgradci and Turjak suffered greatest losses of children – Podgradci 450 children victims and Turjak 349 children victims.

Dr Milan Bulajic

Thank you, Mr. Lukic and I promise that we will read his second or third book, which is about to be published.

Dr. Novica Vojinovic is now going to speak about diminishing of the number of Jasenovac victims and the claims that the Croats were killed there.

Dr Novica Vojinovic

Ever since I escaped from the pit in Herzegovina on August 11, 1941, and ever since 234 people from my village – 24 members of my family and my two brothers – were thrown into the pit, I keep thinking why they were killing us with no reason at all, why when we are not guilty. I have been teaching national history for fifty years at three high schools, in Mostar, Stolac and Zadar, and four universities – Belgrade, Nis, Podgorica, Srpsko Sarajevo, Pale and Bjeljina.

Two years ago as a result of my research I published a book "Thousand-year-long genocide of the Vatican over Orthodox peoples." I included that well-known plan called 'Eastern field' from 1918. when communism spread over Slav countries Russia and Serbia 1941. and Vatican plan of converting Orthodox Russia and Serbia, the two strongest states, into Catholicism.

The title of my book, as Mr. Chairman has said, is "Diminishing the victims of Jasenovac".

I took the following data from Krleza's encyclopedia – they escaped on April 23, which is not true, they escaped on April 22, there were 33 of them in one group and three were from Kozara, and that is not true because 1,000 people tried to escape, 400 succeeded in it, – so they are lying, and there is a reason why they are lying.

It is written in Yugoslav encyclopedia that only Serbs and Jews were killed, which is not true because Gypsies and others were killed too.

In the encyclopedia of Yugoslavia there is nothing about it, nations are not mentioned, it says only that 700,000 people were killed, and I am amazed that Krleza wrote 700,000 when our Glisa says that only 100,000 people were killed and he is a scientist from Serbia. Krleza is, as you well know, the ideologist of Ustashi movement, one of the ideologists.

As to diminishing the number of victims there is one data from 1942, April 1942. when the American Intelligence at Rousevelt's order reported that there were 750,000 killed Serbs, 650,000 killed by the Croatian Ustasha, 10,000 by Shiptars, 6,000 by Bulgarians, 6,000 by Hungarians – 4,000 Serbs and Jews were pushed into the frozen Danube alive on January 7.

Our unfortunate historians did not dare to write about it until three years ago. If you lived during the Tito's era you could disappear for one uttered word. It was not imprisonment, you did not live long enough to be imprisoned. Those who do not remember it do not know what the criminal dictatorship of a tyrant, a ruffian, whose real name is not known even today, meant.

In 1943. Krajinia units wanted to liberate Jasenovac, but Broz said it was not possible – water on one side and fortress–es on three sides etc. It is not true. It was arranged with the Pope not to liberate Jasenovac so that the Ustashi could be converted from fascist to anti–fascist side.

Only three months later the Headquarters of the Partisan Army ordered: "Pavelic's army has the right to join the Partisans keeping their ranks and their war experience and everything else." 350,000 homeguards and the Ustashi joined the Partisans during two years and they later came to power.

People from fascist formations took the power and leading positions.

I will tell you that in my native Capljina, Jozo Jelcin who led me to the pit was the president of Capljina community for twenty years.

General Omer Mrgan, a famous hero from Herzegovina, he himself led me and my two brothers to the pit on Bivolje brdo – he was decorated with a medal. Abdurahman Ameta, brother of Alija Nemetak, an Ustasha was the principal of the high school in Capljina; Mirko Praljak, father of Tudjman's general Praljak was the boss in Capljina and he threw Serbian children in the pit at Dabar – I know them all, they took over the power and those people did not give any documents or Jasenovac victims. Why should they speak of Jasenovac victims when they were the ones who did it, why would they talk of their own crimes, why would one investigate the documents about one's own crime?

I knew Rafo Kresic who was in the unit for liquidation in Jasenovac; his brother Andrija took my cousin Danka from the camp, where we were captured, and married her, lived with her

for three years, she gave birth to his daughter and in 1944. he sent her to Jasenovac.

Danka, my cousin, my aunt's daughter, together with her daughter of an Ustashi father died in Jasenovac.

So, I was a bit astonished with the question. I liked professor from Italy Marco Aurelio Rivelli and prof. dr. Bernard Klein...

I am no longer invited to take part in the seminars because they say: "Novica will make a mess. Whatever he says cannot be accepted." They would rather have their salaries, their position and flats and other privileges. It is best to leave everything as it is.

Suffering of the Croats in Jasenovac – I believe there were Partisans patriots of all nations, not only Croats but Jasenovac camp and every camp in the Ustashi state and every camp in fascist system in Europe was established only because of the Jews in Europe and in Yugoslavia because of the Serbs, the Jews and the Gypsies.

There is a fact that nobody mentions and it is about my village Klepci, Loznica, Gnjiriste.

Loznica does not exist any more – there were 180 of us, only 12 remained, the village was destroyed and joined to Klepci. So I am not from Klepci but from Loznica. 82 women and children were killed in Jasenovac, my mother too. Before that they were all converted into Catholicism and they are registered in the local office in Capljina as Catholics.

Most Serbs from Herzegovina who came to Jasenovac, and I have them registered, were converted into Catholicism, me too. Yugoslav Assembly had never revoked that conversion; Broz never ordered Yugoslav Assembly to revoke that forceful conversion.

How did they convert us? They were slaughtered on Vidovdan in June, those who remained were promised that if they converted into Catholicism they would stay alive. People believed them and then – final massacre.

In Prebilovci 860 people were killed, 230 people from my village, 5–6 Serbian villages around Capljina down there near the Neretva were completely devastated. There are no Serbs there any longer and even if there are they had to convert into Catholicism.

I submitted in my paper that 52 people, 20 of them children younger than five were my cousins and among them was Danka and her daughter and my mother and the Toholjs.

The Toholjs are my godfathers, and that old Vukasin is my

godfather, he was slaughtered that night with my mother when Zire Frijanovic competed who would slaughter more people. While he was cutting into parts this old man he forced him to say: "Long live Ante Pavelic!" The old man replied: "You do your job, my son and I will not say it."

And he slaughtered him. He was from Herzegovina too. Nedo Zec wrote that he came to him to be cured, he got crazy and it seemed that he had killed himself with that same knife a month after that because a young man of 21 could not live with his crime.

The Pope has had a theory since 1303. – four rules for the destruction of schisma i.e. cockroach in Christianity. We, the Orthodox are the schismatics to them, the heretics that should be destroyed and there is no salvation of Catholicism until they are destroyed.

1. The first rule: Unity of the ununified i.e. uniting of the Orthodox to the Catholics,

I do not know why our bishops talk to the cardinal in Sarajevo. I am afraid he will deceive them because the Pope has deceived us a hundred times.

2. The second rule: There is no salvation without Catholicism.

3. The third rule: Greek Orthodox Church is not a church, it is not a religion, it is some sort of a sect which should be eliminated in order to achieve peace.

4. The fourth rule: Erase from your memory that the Orthodox ever existed.

And in the end the Pope says that there should be one flock the Catholics and one shepherd the catholic Pope.

Accordingly, the theory about schisma and the thesis of the Pope is the main cause of Jasenovac. Jasenovac is a part of the system of destruction of Orthodox religion.

The system of camps, the system of killings, the system of conversion, the system of total destruction of Orthodox religion – that is Jasenovac.

The Pope will not come to Jasenovac to pay respect to the victims. The pope awarded Stepinac with the Cardinal hat

because during his time 1,000,000 Serbs were killed. He himself reported to the Pope in 1943: "I converted 400,000 Orthodox people into Catholicism."

Arch-bishop Stepinac and Pavelic and his escort went to see the Pope on May 18, and on that occasion the Pope gave the rosary to Pavelic and congratulated him on his success and told him to continue and cardinal Tiseran gave him the Pope's document for conversion.

Thank you.

Jovan Mirkovic

'Crimes of genocide – Eterovic Mirko'

Honoured Presidency,

I am going to speak about one specific crime, that is one criminal. I should first say that organized, programmed terror against people based on religious, racial, ideological exclusiveness was carried out. It had all the elements of a crime against humanity, not only war crime and crime against civilians but also crime of genocide which is quite obvious if we compare the practice of the Ustasha movement to the definition of genocide with all its elements.

One report by the Italian Military Intelligence confirms that not only was organized terror and violent conversion of Orthodox population at play here but also planned genocide. They found the order of General Ustasha Headquarters (GUS) to massacre Orthodox population and inhabit Catholic and Muslim families in the area planned to be reoccupied by the Italian Army.

According to this document, published by Italian historian Rodone Talpo, the Ustasha want to "exterminate all the Serbs once and for all."

Many criminals, under the protection of the Vatican and through the ratlines, found refuge and were not prosecuted for the crimes they had committed. We should mention Pavelic, Luburic and many others.

There was a trial to the Ustasha Minister of the Interior Affairs Andrija Artukovic in 1986. in Zagreb. Last year there was a trial to Dinko Sakic and his wife Nada Luburic Sakic was

not even brought to trial.

It was even suggested that Rojnica be an ambassador of Croatia instead of being on trial.

Last year one name appeared in the media and I would like to present some facts about him. It was Mirko Eterovic proclaimed a criminal by the State commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators.

Eterovic was accused of arrest, torturing, deporting to camps, robbery of victims (cited in the submitted list under A) and arrest and deporting of 109 persons and terror and persecution of anti-fascists while he was in camp in Supetar and the department chief of Ustasha forces in Ustasha Headquarters in Zagreb.

The first day after NDH had been proclaimed on 10 April, 1941, high-school teacher from Nova Gradiska Mirko Eterovic became one of the leaders of Ustasha Command in Nova Gradiska and according to some testimonies, the chief representative of central Ustasha Government. Together with the officer Milan Lukac and others he organized and carried out the arrest of distinguished Serbs from Nova Gradiska – 57 persons, 7 children and 13 women. They were all of the same nationality and religion so we can consider this as an example of genocide.

This group of arrested Serbs, two of them were killed in Kotar prison, and then hanged in their cells in order to make it look like a suicide, were transported from Kotar prison to Stara Gradiska on May 6, after they had been beaten and tortured. This was ordered by the Ustasha officer and Kotar commander.

Ustasha leadership organized robberies and blackmails and extorted gift contracts from the arrested. By these contracts they gave away their property as a gift to NDH. The value of that property was about 19 million pre-war dinars.

After Germany had attacked Soviet Union on 22 June the inmates from Nova Gradiska were under the direct rule of the officer and the Great parish priest (veliki zupan) which confirms the presumption that the prison in Nova Gradiska was turned into concentration camp de facto on 10 April, 6 May, 22 June 1941.

Two of the people arrested on 10–11 April were killed in prison, 12 in Jasenovac camp and the rest were later deported to Serbia.

In the second article of this decision arrest of 109 persons was mentioned. They were deported to camp Caprag and then to Serbia. Among them was a priest Milos Dimic.

There are many witnesses who can confirm Eterovic's activity: Djuro Petric, Veljko Zec, Rajko Markovic, Mirko Trnic, Milos Dimic etc.

Eterovic went to Brac and became a camp officer. According to "Military Paper" he was promoted to sergeant major and reserve captain of Ustachi Army. He was decorated with an order of first degree by Commander Ante Pavelic.

State commission brought this decision in 1946. A month later it was confirmed by the state and Eterovic emigrated in 1947.

Last year we could read in the newspapers – "Novosti", "Politika" in Belgrade, "Jutarnji list", "Globus", "Vecernji list" in Zagreb, "Novi list" in Rijeka – that Argentina was willing to extradite Eterovic, that Eterovic denied his involvement in the crimes, that Eterovic had disappeared and finally that Eterovic as a citizen of Croatia was in Zagreb where he arrived with a regular airline. After that nothing was heard about him. Based on the Decision of the State commission and the testimonies of the witnesses there is enough evidence to prosecute Eterovic for war crimes and crimes of genocide if we talk about his activities in Nova Gradiska.

Conference on Jasenovac is a place from which we should send a message to all judicial organs of all countries on the territory of former Yugoslavia to undertake necessary activities not only regarding Eterovic but Rojnica, Nada Sakic and the others.

Thank you.

Marko Rucnov

Nomenclature of Ustasha crimes in Jasenovac camps

Honoured Presidency, ladies and gentlemen,

The topic is – Nomenclature of Ustasha crimes in the System of Jasenovac camps.

I would like to say something about this topic. A while ago it was talked here about one undergraduate mathematician and I would like to say something from a position of a graduated mathematician at Zagreb University because of some stories here, that we should work here in accordance with science.

My friend talked about Mirko Eterovic, a Latin teacher in

Nova Gradiska high school.

A process against him was stopped and he is at Gerontology Center Pescenica. He was admitted there and is using their services while waiting for the unjustified accusations against his people, related to Ustasha clero–nacism and crimes that movement carried within itself, to be dismissed.

I would like to say to young Mr. Cvetkovic that Dinko Sakic was a captain, and he was the first lieutenant when in command of the camp 'Tri Ciglane'. I would not mention any figures because that topic was imposed upon us from the very beginning. There was no counting in my research. I have just finished my book called "Why Jasenovac?" which is going to be published soon. The main part of it consists of the nomenclature of Ustasha crime, that is, personal structure, list of names and alphabetical lists.

There are approximately 3,000 names with personal portraits among whom is the name of the above mentioned teacher Eterovic who in his old age states that his hands are clean as is Nada Sakic–Tambic–Luburic, Esperansa or whatever her name is.

When she had learned that her husband captain Dinko Ljubomir Sakic would be extradited by the Argentine authorities she made a statement to the Reuters that he was as innocent as a newborn baby. These are literal facts as some kind of literature of absurd.

I would like to emphasize certain facts, which are mentioned in my books, and I will enclose my paper because of this time limit.

Among the portraits of 3,000 high Ustasha officers but also of the soldiers, many people remember them by their names and appearances, there is a portrait of one Ustasha (our dear Ljubo Mihajlovic remembers him) who drove a track Saurer and who knocked out teeth of the inmates he did not like by his hammer.

With these portraits I managed to research the process of changing inmates and that is a well–known fact. Between those two springs from April 10 to April 22, 1941. to April 22, 1945. they replaced about 800–1,000 inmates. This was documented with facts according to the principles of modern science and Western European civilization.

It would be interesting to note the structure of those 800–1,000 replaced inmates.

Slavonian partisans had more than 90% of Serbs but the percentage of Serbs among replaced inmates was completely dif–

ferent, about 7–8%.

I included Sajmiste (camp) in Zemun to the system of Jasenovac camps. Victims of Jasenovac administered the camp in Zemun for the last couple of months.

This system includes Kruscica near Travnik which is situated in the third country, if I am not mistaken, and at the same time it is an introduction to Jasenovac crimes.

The date of 21 August is also mentioned as the beginning of function of mega execution place and also mega working place.

I agree that work and working camps functioned that way in this system but work was one of the ways of killing people.

An inmate had to work very hard and die in great pain, that is the fact.

In the after war registers concluding with 1964. in Gradina there were only, you will not believe it, 128 victims – 6 of them registered as missing. I consider this to be literature of absurd.

It is interesting to note how many criminals there are in Ustasha uniforms who were registered as victims of fascist terror. That alchemy is wellknown to us in these last years of the passing century.

One researcher, Petar Zinajic could not come here. He was devastated during the American–German efforts in 1995. etc. Kordun, Banija, Lika as a way of introducing democracy. He found the list of 102 Ustasha criminals who were promoted to victims of fascist terror. It is a fact, not a myth.

I should mention something I was terrified with. I read everything written or said about this system of camps including volumes 4 and 5 of Collection of documents from NOR (National Liberation War)

Volumes 4 and 5 treat Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, former and present. The least frequently used word in these volumes is Jasenovac, those who do not believe in it should check. However, it is not true that the Partisans did not mention Jasenovac. They talked about this wound on their meetings. Canica Opacic wrote a poem "Jasenovac 1947" and was thrown to Goli otok.

His division commander said: "It is time to attack that factory of death", and was found dead the other day.

He said: "It is rumored, he died of a well-known gun." I would not discuss it.

Canica Opacic found himself on Goli otok because of a poem, as Dr. Vojinovic would say. Because of a poem. I will not say anything else.

Many issues, which were forgotten, will be discussed in this book. For example, how soldiers of Yugoslav army in their homeland, captured soldiers and the officers of Royal Army were treated at Jasenovac black archipelago. That is one horrifying fact of which I had no knowledge.

There is a great book about that: "Ways and disappearance of Sinisa Mihajlovic", who went all the way from Ohrid to Solun bay, through Serbia where he was captured by Germans, then Jasenovac – Stara Gradiska and then camps in Norway. It is worth reading and after it a man is not the same.

I want to finish with one sentence. There are documents, facts, however, up to this day it was utterly different. There is a discrepancy between existing documents and facts and the choice of those documents and facts. I myself was convinced in that by consulting abundant literature on this topic especially these collections and similar material, if I may say so.

I am going to enclose this paper in its full form.

Thank you.

Mladen Kumovic

MA – Suffering of people from Srem in Jasenovac

I am the author of the exhibition about Jasenovac in New York mentioned here. It was done by the Museum of Vojvodina and I came to this Conference on behalf of the Museum of Vojvodina.

Unlike some other regions in Vojvodina professional institutions which collected archive and museum material as well as other sources were formed rather early in the 50's and in the 60's they started studying that material. There were no restrictions to my knowledge similar to those we have heard of here. Not even one document was forbidden for usage or publication in these 20 years I have been working here.

My paper refers to victims in Srem during the Second World War. According to our reports and card catalogues about 40,000 people were killed in Vojvodina during the Second World War of which 21,000 people in Srem, so half of the victims were from Srem precisely 21,597. Identified by their names and surnames 9,644 people were killed in Jasenovac.

Here we have a map (we are just going to comment on it)

in which you can see NDH. In the far right end of the map you can see that two districts Zemun and Stara Pazova were under German administration. Otherwise whole Srem was under NDH administration. Other two parts of Vojvodina Backa – under fascist Hungaria and Banat – under German rule. So, this very figure of 21,000 victims on the territory of Srem, which is rather similar to other two units, shows that in Srem which was under Ustasha rule there were twice as many victims than in Backa or Banat which were under German administration.

Thanks to Germans, that is why I am showing this map, there were fewer victims because Ustashi were inhibited by the Germans fearing they would reproach them for the crimes they committed in other parts as well and that is the reason why they were more tolerant, at least in the beginning, especially towards Serbian population.

Jewish population in Srem was almost entirely exterminated at the very beginning of the war in 1941, of course in this case they also had German permission, so that we have accurate data that there were 2,223 Jews in Srem before the war. Only 199 Jews remained in Srem after the Second World War.

In this second map you can see NDH. The territory of Srem was under so-called rule of Great Zupa whose headquarters was in Vukovar and it also included districts of Vinkovci and Zupanja so that these data refer to the area of Western and Eastern Srem.

Gypsies had the same destiny and were massively imprisoned and deported to a camp in 1941. and especially at the beginning of 1942. and almost all of them were killed in Jasenovac. I have also given some details about capturing and deporting Gypsies from the vicinity of Sid to Jasenovac in my paper.

The greatest suffering of people in Srem started in August, 1942, when a special police action led by Viktor Tomic began and which was also supported by Germans. Systematic extermination of population of Srem, of Serbian population started then.

This is the proclamation he addressed to people immediately after his arrival, practically from August 10, daily imprisonment and killing of people started.

I chose only a couple of proclamations which were later published by the Ustashi. They distributed them from the airplanes and put them on the walls in order to intimidate people. These are the verdicts, there are two of them, you will see, but there are tens of them.

People were brought from different regions mainly accused of participation in communist conspiracies, they were court-martialed and immediately killed at one place in Vukovar called Dudik.

You will also see two announcements, I repeat there were tens of them. There were no more verdicts, no trials. Hostages were killed in front of a firing squad because of one killed Ustasha or for one raid they would kill ten hostages.

All these documents are kept in Vojvodina Museum, all these data, which are collected and computerized, about 9,644 victims of Jasenovac from Srem and 21,597 victims in the region of Srem. These data are based on archive documents, based on birth certificates, testimonies of witnesses but unfortunately they are not complete and we think that about 10% of victims were not identified.

This is a photograph from Dudik where 6,000 people are believed to have been killed in front of a firing squad and this is a wheat storehouse of Count Elc where people brought from Srem were kept and then deported to Jasenovac.

The first group was sent there in August. We have several Ustashi registers of people who were sent to Jasenovac. Most people from those lists never came back, from some places only one or two, but most people never returned.

Thank you.

Lazar Lukajic

The crimes of genocide in villages Drakulici, Sargovac and Motike on February 7, 1942.

When NDH was proclaimed on April 10, Ante Pavelic was trying out his new Ustashi suit at a tailor in Florence. He was wearing it at 4 o'clock in the morning of April 15, in the night he came to Zagreb secretly for fear of being seen by somebody. Friars and Ustashi started slaughtering Serbs, Jews and Gypsies immediately after the proclamation.

Since the Middle Ages the Catholic Church, I quote: was in constant offensive against Orthodox Church on our territory.

Vatican sent its representative Apostolic Visitor Rami Markoni of whom Mr. Bulajic spoke earlier.

Policy led by Alojzije Stepinac had to be the policy ordered

by the Vatican.

All Croatian bishops (I quote): identified themselves with the Ustashi in genocide crimes over Serbs, and nothing happening in this part of the world, neither Jasenovac nor Drakulici, can be understood unless we read *Magnum Crimen*.

Magnum Crimen is the most abundant work published in Yugoslavia in the last hundred years and there are 4.5 million characters. That is an encyclopedia.

The policy Zutic and others were talking about has its roots and its information in *Magnum Crimen* consisting of 1,200 pages. Its first edition was not successful and the second edition was published in 1989.

Never in history of human race and nowhere in the world were so many peaceful inhabitants killed in their homes in one working day as it happened on February 7, 1942, in Sargovac, Drakulici and Motike.

There were more victims in Jasenovac and Kragujevac and other places and in other wars but never were 2,370 people, according to the data of Ustashi Supervising Office, killed in one state in one single day.

I have been working for a couple of years on collecting testimonies from people who stayed alive by mere chance and I wrote a text on almost 500 pages. It includes neither contemplations nor philosophizing nor history but live testimonies. There were such witnesses this morning, in half an hour we will have two or three more witnesses, so I invite you and the journalists to talk to them.

Their speeches were recorded on the cassettes and can be listened to so it is the most authentic testimony. I have no time to quote it here because of limited time but I will quote the report sent by Ustashi Supervising Office from Banja Luka, No. 69/42 to the Command of Ustashi Supervising Office on February 11, personally to Eugen Dido Kvaternik, son of Slavko Kvaternik, commander of the army, the man who the chief of Ante Pavelic security squad, so the most secured person and the most reliable.

Pavelic did not trust anyone to guard his body but Slavko's son, commander's son Kvaternik. The Supervising Office from Banja Luka sent this radiogram to Zagreb on February 11, two or three days after they had collected the data.

"Related to your radiogram from 9 this month I report that one company of Ustashi army under the command of the first lieutenant Josip Misula, from Lipar school in Italy, from Lipar

camp accompanied by friar Vjekoslav Filipovic on February 7, at 4 o'clock in the morning took control of the mine Rakovac and killed 37 miners, who were Orthodox, with pick-ax. They continued killing men, women and children with pick-ax and ax in villages Motike, where 700 people were killed, and Drakulici and Sargovac, where 1,500 people were killed.

The massacre was completed on the same day at about 2 p.m. Since then Ustashi have been transporting food, cattle and furniture of the victims to their storehouses. Detailed report will follow, colonel Aleman, above report correct, detailed report to the great zupan of command from this office will be sent by a courier."

Number of people killed in Sargovac and Motike is 1,300–1,500.

This was reported by Ustashi Supervising Office, not by Serbian priest or Serbian nationalist but a man of confidence.

We do not have to believe in this but in German archive there is a document which was sent to German chief command by Hitler's personal friend Gless Horstenau. Among other things in this report there is, I quote: "In Sargovac there was also a massacre. One Catholic witness says that only in school 53 school children were killed. She herself saw when Ustashi impaled on a bayonet one one-year-old child and then shot him". Vasa Kazimirovic found this report in German archive.

Thank you.

A visit to village Drakulic
8. maj 2000.

A VISIT TO VILLAGE DRAKULIC

8. MAJ 2000.

Mrkonjic Teodor – one of the descendants of the survivors from this village, a retired vet

It is the truth that there are many execution places in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the greatest one is in Gradina, which we rightfully call the Serbian town under ground, but there is not a single place in the Republic of Srpska where about 2,300 people were killed in eight hours in the course of a single day. My father lost 32 members of his family and my mother 21. Unfortunately, I am the only one from this area who got a university degree.

I have been listening to you today and I could see that the great number of experts are present here today. I feel great responsibility while I am speaking to you because I am not a historian and I have never dealt with this genocide professionally.

I started studying it after Yugoslavia had been dismembered because there was nothing here on this monument before, neither a five pointed star nor a cross and at my own initiative I started collecting some money and with a reverend bishop Jefrem's blessings we tried to arrange it in some way. We did it on February 7, 1991.

Now I will talk about history. Pavelic and Mussolini agreed in 1936. that Banja Luka should become the capital of NDH, not Zagreb. As soon as he had come to power in 1941. he moved here the vice president of the government Kulenovic and two departments of the Ministry of agriculture, veterinary medicine and forestry, and the outskirts of Banja Luka were supposed to be cleaned of the Serbs.

This is a pure Serbian village – Drakulici. Only three or four houses on the route to Prijedor were Croat and two villages – Sargovac and Motike were mixed. It had long been planned how to destroy this Serbian nucleus.

Have a look at these meadows, this countryside. Peasants who were milkmen, who sold their milk in towns, who were very peaceful citizens, some of them worked on the railroads, in the mines or in the sawmills. It was the same in these other tow villages.

Organization of the destruction of these villages was started in January and was led by Viktor Gutic, who was an officer, a parish priest Nikola Bjelogrljic who was supported by the friars from the monastery here in Petricevac.

On January 24–25, 1942, a unit arrived consisting of 120–130 soldiers of Pavelic's and it was the guard commanded by the captain Josip Mislovin. It was agreed at the meeting with the commander to destroy these villages and the Serbs in the mine. In order to do that they had to kill all the dogs in the area a week before so that they could not wake the villagers up that morning. When the order was given, and Mr. Bulajic told us about it today, the action started on February 7, 1942. at about 4.15 in the morning.

First, the miners were killed. Not a single shot was fired here, first of all, not to disturb the town, being so near, and the inhabitants of these villages. Then, they headed towards the house of Djuradj Glamocanin. Forty four people were slaughtered. It was led by friar Miroslav Filipovic with a great support of the Croats from the neighbouring houses, who never warned their neighbours that there would be a slaughter. I insist on the term 'slaughter' because not a single shot was fired. They were hit by axes and pickaxes etc. They started from the bottom and reached Motike at about 1.30 in the afternoon.

Every foot of this land is soaked with blood. Some people survived mainly in Motike and they were mostly children who hid themselves under their beds. Other people who survived where the ones who were enslaved by German Vermacht. They returned here, started their families, forgot and forgave.

Nobody spoke of this frightful event. The communists, for the sake of brotherhood and unity, suppressed it and did not allow anyone to mention the slaughter. I admit that I did not have courage to talk about it. Much later they started talking. Only when Tito had agreed with Brandt on reparations, the registration of the killed villagers started.

Unfortunately, many of them were skipped because there were no survived relatives from a particular house. The surnames – Ozegovic, Savanovic, Radjevic etc. are unknown.

Stijakovic Dragan

I can briefly say what had happened. It was on February 6, at nine o'clock in the evening. Two Ustashi policemen came and stayed in our house until one o'clock after midnight and then asked me to take them to Ivan Grgic's shop where they had their guards. It was about one kilometer away. When we approached to about 200 meters they started firing and told me to go back. I went back. It was about one o'clock after midnight. Then I went to bed and got up at about seven o'clock in the morning when the dogs started to bark and mother shouted: "The Ustashi are coming!" I was sixteen at the time and I was often sent to dig canals and clean the snow. I was afraid that they would force me to clean the snow again. At that moment I saw Ante Maric through the window, approaching with the Ustashi. He was wearing the home guards' uniform.

They were leading my brother Stanoje and my brother Jovo and Stanoje's son Mirko aged 14. At that moment I threw myself under the bed. After five or six seconds the door opened and two Ustashi came in. One of them stood at the doorstep and my mother stood in front of him. He stabbed her with the knife. She fell down and he stabbed her face with the knife.

Then he hit my sister-in-law Joka with a child in her arms. She fell down and he impaled the child on the knife, he threw the child into the air and the child slid down the knife. The child was about six months old and it fell beside the bed.

I was in a state of shock. I could not move any part of my body and I could not speak. It lasted a couple of minutes. After that criminal had killed everyone in the room he went out and only the dead and the wounded remained.

I do not know how long it lasted when my brother Lazo's daughter Marica came and said: "Uncle, they did not see you." Then I could get up. I got up from under the bed laced my shoes and went out.

I did not see when my wounded mother left the room and went to a small house. She stood there leaning against the door and said: "Run away my son so that at least you stay alive." I saw a neighbour coming, our cousin Danica Stijakovic, aged 14,

daughter of Cvijo Stijakovic. She also escaped the massacre because she was in the stable with the cows and when she saw that they were killing everyone she escaped behind the stable.

She went to our neighbour Djuro Stijakovic and found Slavko Stijakovic with his head cut with an axe and he was stabbed with a knife twice on his face but he came to himself and she brought him in such a condition.

I took a scarf, tied his head. His skull was cut in two and his brain pulsing could be seen. We stayed there for some time and then Danica asked me to go to their house, which was about 80 m far from my house.

When we opened the door we witnessed a terrifying scene. There were chopped heads of children and women there, halved. In front of the house was Ilija Stijakovic's child who was 5–6 months old. A pig had bitten off its arm. I took the child and put it inside the house and closed the door.

We went back into my house and soon the Ustashi came back. My mother was still alive and she said to me: "Run away son, you cannot help us any more."

I with those two children and the wounded boy and Danica ran away and we managed to escape to the liberated territory.

Thank you.

VISIT TO DONJA GRADINA

9. maj 2000.

VISIT TO DONJA GRADINA
9. maj 2000.

Simo Brdar
director of the Memorial Complex Donja Gradina

In NDH, from 1941–1945, immediately after its establishment on April 10, 1941 the Ustasha led by their commander Ante Pavelic carried out mass arrests and liquidations of the Serbs, the Jews and the Gypsies and anti-fascists with an aim to create ethnically and racially cleansed state.

The Ustasha formed infamous concentration camps; the greatest, the most infamous was Jasenovac concentration camp. Jasenovac is situated in the central part of Serbian countries, at the mouth of the Una and the Sava rivers.

When we talk about Jasenovac we should abandon all the illusions about the territory in the shape of a football pitch in the center of Jasenovac, and talk about its physical dimension.

Jasenovac camp stretched from Croatia and Bosanska Kostajnica on the left, and the right bank of the Sava. It was about 60 km long, average width of the camp was 2 km on the left and 2 km on the right bank of the Sava and the Una which made 4 km, so that the concentration camp encompassed the area of about 240 km². Jasenovac concentration camp is, in fact, the system of five camps. Camp No. 1 – Krapje, camp No. 2 – Brodice, camp No. 3 – Ciglana and in fact that was the central camp of the whole system, then camp No. 4 – Kozara, which was situated in Jasenovac itself and camp No. 5 – Kula in Stara Gradiska.

When we talk about Jasenovac concentration camp we mostly think of the camp No. 3, i.e. camp Ciglana. That was an industrial complex, owned by Ozren Bacic, a Serb. This complex consisted of a brickyard, a sawmill, a chain factory and other buildings.

The Ustasha expelled Ozren Bacic, and that industrial complex was turned into a concentration camp. In the beginning

it was improvised, fenced by barbed wire, and later the inmates themselves built a wall three to five meters high on three sides.

The east side had a natural border – the Sava river. by the dimension of the crime, Jasenovac concentration camp is the third in Europe and, by the monstrosity and the way of liquidation of the inmates, there is no equal in the history of human race.

As if the whole universe had swooped down on it with all its horror: the Ustasha killing the inmates with blunt objects, mullets, hammers, bars, by stepping upon them, torturing them, exposing them to high and low temperatures, to hunger and thirstiness, sharp objects, knives, daggers, scimitars, axes, broad axes, saws.

The greatest number of the inmates was killed on Granik. The inmate had to come to Granik himself. Granik was a crane, which had been used for loading and unloading of the ships before the war. It was overhanging the Sava and the inmate had to come to that crane by himself, kneel down, bend his head, cross his arms at the back. The Ustasha would then tie his hands with wire and put railroad plates on his hands and would hit him with the mullet on the head and push him into the Sava. At that spot the Sava had swallowed tens of thousands of innocent human lives, taking away human bodies.

The great number of the inmates ended up in the dike. That was the dike stretching from the railroad in the direction Belgrade – Zagreb to the left bank of the Sava. It was built by the inmates in unbelievably hard conditions, with primitive tools, often with hats and caps, in the mud up to their waists.

They carried silt and soil to the dike; they were walking corpses without strength; most often they would fall down into the silt and mud and they were left in the dike. So, that dike was called "the dike of death" because it was reinforced with the skeletons of the inmates.

One of the commanders of Jasenovac camp, Hinko Picilli turned the furnace from the brickyard into the crematorium. As opposed to what the Germans did in their crematoriums, here the inmates were thrown alive into the furnace and today, in Jasenovac, there is a lake beside the very monument. It was made before the war when the soil was taken out to make bricks.

Today it looks so idyllic, almost poetically inspiring. But when its name is mentioned "Sablasno jezero" (Macabre lake), it warns immensely.

Namely, what is it all about? Towards the lake there were latrines or canals over which the logs were put, and they were

used as toilets. It all flew down to "Macabre lake", and there was no drinking water anywhere around. That was the aim of the Ustasha – to provoke diseases such as dysentery, typhus etc. From the terrible arsenal of torture and liquidation of Jasenovac inmates, I am going to mention that the Ustasha were trying to kill as many inmates as possible without using their own physical strength. Thus, they chose one group of the strongest inmates and put them in a pen, a small camp within the very Jasenovac camp to see how long they could endure without food and water. The spies reported that some of them were still alive.

It was beyond comprehension, it was beyond psychophysical capabilities of people. The Ustasha went over to see how it was possible that some were still living and they had something to see. Several survived inmates covered with stubble, with overturned eyes, growling like wild animals, and beside them were the white bones of their fellow-sufferers. In Jasenovac we had the cases of anthropophagy, I do not call it cannibalism because it would denote some mental characteristics.

... Now you are in Donja Gradina, its surface is 800 hectares. That is wider area and the narrower area encompasses the surface of 116 hectares. That narrower area is partly examined, protected and restored.

Of these 116 hectares, one third has been examined so far. It means that 9 grave fields have been discovered until today. On these nine grave fields 9 mass graves have been discovered. You are now at grave field Topole, then you have grave field Jasen, grave field Bare, grave field Hrastovi, grave field Kosute, grave field Orlovaca, grave field Brijestovi, grave field Vrbe, grave field Tisina, grave field Magile, grave field Cetvrti mrtvih, Grad mrtvih.

There are three types of graves in Gradina: the first type – they threw already killed inmates; the second type – they drove the living inmates, then hit them with blunt objects on the head, and although they were mostly not dead, covered them up. Those graves were moving for hours and blood was springing for months. The third type – they threw the remains left over after boiling and burning...

3 | Research project Donja Gradina

3 | Research project Donja Gradina

Dr Milan Bulajic

Ladies and Gentlemen,

After we had visited Donja Gradina, and had seen and heard that horrible testimony of the largest graveyard and the greatest mass graves in the Balkans, or even farther, we have the fourth theme on our agenda – research project Donja Gradina.

We have tried to join the old generation that had been working on this project, dr. Zdravko Maric, who was in charge of the research project of Donja Gradina in 1964, prof. dr. Srboljub Zivanovic, and the young generation of the researchers and engineers, who have already carried out some trial researches, using the most modern radar technology, of the mass graves in Donja Gradina. I would like to inform you that we had made an agreement to examine this area using satellites, in order not to talk about some myths or media promotion of whatever.

The aim of this Conference and all of us present here, is to determine the truth and nothing but the truth based on the latest scientific researches.

The moderator of the today's session of the Second International Conference – "Jasenovac – system of Ustasha camps of genocide" is prof. dr. Srboljub Zivanovic. After this item of the agenda we are going to have a lunch break and then continue with the topic – International legal protection of the whole Memorial Complex Jasenovac.

After we have finished that item of the agenda, as agreed yesterday, the participants, who did not have the opportunity to say what they wanted to, due to very busy schedule of the first day of the Conference, will have a chance to say it today.

Unlike yesterday when our time was really restricted, not by hours but by minutes, today, we are going to try to complete everything that had been planned according to the program, even if it means returning to Banja Luka a bit later, because we do not have any special engagements that would limit our time in any way.

Thank you. I would now ask prof. Zivanovic to address you.

Dr Zdravko Maric

Systematic research of grave pits in Gradina – what happened to the documentation

Good afternoon. I want to greet you all and thank you for coming. I took part in the preparations for this conference. Dr. Bulajic gathered us all last autumn.

Later I got a list of people who would be invited and I did not expect to see you in such a great number. I feared it although I do not know why, probably because I had that experience as a chief of some organizations that few people showed up. Anyway thank you for coming although we do not know each other and I do not know what countries you have come from.

I have already been introduced as a head of research; in fact, they are the first organized multi-disciplinary investigations of grave pits in Jasenovac. It is Donja Gradina site. These are fields, cultivable soil. The owners were inhabitants of Gradina who were mostly killed in Jasenovac during the war, even the children.

One boy Radovan Trivuncic was nine years and he was captured together with his family and was in Jasenovac. His whole family was killed; he was sent to different camps, he was even in Poland.

Later when I was working on it, Radovan Trivuncic, ex inmate, was the director of memorial complex Jasenovac.

I have already said that these were the first organized multi-disciplinary investigations and unfortunately I was not given enough time to organize it well and to gather all the experts I found necessary to gather, who should have taken part

in the investigation. Although I sent many letters I also got many rejections but we somehow formed a team, though deficient, with scarce equipment for investigation and that is how we started.

In the first place, since I was 24 I suffer from rheumatic arthritis. In the last couple of months I have been visiting different doctors.

There are many reasons why I had to leave Sarajevo and one of them is that I did not want to be killed because some family wanted to move into our apartment. And that was happening in autumn 1992.

We somehow managed to get out and we spent three years in Dalmatia.

During that time a part of the documentation I started collecting in 1990–1991. disappeared because the Government realized that Jasenovac was important.

I found a part of it but it was taken from our flat because our flat was, of course, occupied and one police family moved into it, so they took whatever they wanted.

So, one part of it, which I managed to get hold of, disappeared again.

Everything I am saying now and everything I am going to read is memory, and you know how much you can rely on someone's memory, even your own.

I have no documents any longer, not even a single photograph.

And now I am going to read my report:

There are hundreds of articles, books and studies about Ustashi concentration camp Jasenovac formed in August 1941, and burnt by Ustashi and liberated by the 21st Serbian division of Yugoslav National Army on April 27, 1945, but until this very day there are no basic archival investigations and fieldwork. These huge and diverse complexes of one of the largest and the most horrible fascist concentration camps are not even organized in such a way that every visitor can feel the horrors which were happening here.

The camp is situated on two banks of the great Sava river – camp buildings and smaller camp's graveyards on the left bank, the same bank where village Jasenovac is, and on the right bank just the graves. The camp was divided by the border between two republics of former Yugoslavia and now two states – Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During my first participation in multi-disciplinary investi-

gations from 1963. to 1965. no investigation of the camp on Croatian side was allowed.

It was also not allowed in 1990–1991. when we were looking for unregistered grave pits with the small team of pathologists from Sarajevo Institute.

Unfortunately, numerous greater or smaller destructions of a great number of grave pits on Bosnian side of the camp started immediately after the war and are still continuing. These damages were done individually or massively without teams of experts and without equipment.

Radovan Trivuncic, director of the memorial complex Jasenovac organized partial excavations of eight to ten big grave pits on the right bank of the Sava which we marked with Arabic numerals from 1 to 167 during our research in 1964– 1965. because we could not find more of them.

The visitors to the newly–built memorial complex Jasenovac asked on several places in the impressions book why the partisans and later the Yugoslav National Army did not liberate Jasenovac and thus saved many thousands of people, mostly peasants of horrible torture and death.

That is the question I asked because I knew that from autumn 1943. there were many strong partisan units in the vicinity of Jasenovac.

The Fifth Slavonian corps was in Slavonia then and the Tenth Zagreb corps fought a bit more to the north.

After the Yugoslav National Army had been formed in the beginning of 1945. the inmates of Jasenovac suffered as much as before that.

It is very significant that Franjo Tudjman with his great authority did not undertake multi–disciplinary research of the great complex of Jasenovac camp on Slavonian side.

I was included in the investigation of the concentration camp Jasenovac before financial means were obtained for such a research.

The director informed me in 1963. that I was appointed for the author of the research project and investigations of the concentration camp Jasenovac and that I would be responsible for obtaining a complete documentation and report for some republic administrative departments and for the League of World War II Veterans' Associations.

As it was predicted by the project to investigate only the grave pits on the right bank of the Sava, we calculated the surfaces of fields in Donja Gradina.

Grave pits were then marked by the darker shade of grass over the remains of victims but some grave pits were not visible because the peasants from Donja Gradina cultivated these fields and leveled everything they could.

The Bosnian bank is lower than Slavonian and unfortunately, the dike between the estuary of the Una river and the part of Bosnian bank was not built until 1955.

One part of the Bosnian bank was flooded by the Sava. Because of the shape of the curve of the Sava river streams of the Una were and still are sliding down only parts of Bosnian bank.

When the dike was built it was of noone's concern that the grave pits of Jasenovac victims were there, but by simple examination of the slopes and the upper part of the dike numerous human bones and parts of skulls are easily visible.

We could not spot anything on the surface of the land between the Sava and the dike due to very thick and low willow groves, so that we did not examine that area.

After the sliding down of the parts of Bosnian bank near the Una estuary, a great number of remains of Jasenovac victims were washed ashore. Thus it was determined that there were two more long grave pits and it is certain that there are more of them between the Sava and the dike on the right bank of the Sava.

Having been unable to determine the upper surfaces of grave pits by simple observation of cultivable field in this great area I asked Dr. Alojz Sercelj, paleo-botanist from Ljubljana who had the so-called Dutch drill with which it was possible to read the contents up to 6 m deep of every millimeter of the material drilled and taken out.

Dr. Sercelj accepted the invitation and started his independent examination by drilling all the areas where we expected to find a grave pit. So he found undiscovered grave pits and determined the directions of its spreading and the longitude of all excavated pits.

During 1964. the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina granted huge funds for multi-disciplinary investigations of this part of the concentration camp Jasenovac called Donja Gradina.

I sent many letters to the center of former Yugoslavia I managed to team up enough participants to do the necessary research.

"Sutjeska film" offered us its whole film crew to work with us for a month; Sarajevo television placed at our disposal one

professional tape–recorder for recording the statements of the survived inmates of Jasenovac and the relatives of the killed families in the camp from Gradina.

Geodesists from Dubica drew into the ground plan of Gradina, which they had made, the outlines of each grave and defined the spot precisely and wrote the number of paleo–botanic borehole.

This geodetic ground plan 100x70 cm was copied into 15–20 copies.

"Sutjeska film" edited a half–an–hour film about our investigations for the museum, for the memorial complex and for all the cinemas in Yugoslavia, but to my knowledge that film was never shown at cinemas.

Dr. Alojz Sercelj kept a precise diary of his work and he sent me a copy of it in his letters. I was very confused while I was reading the bore–hole profile in which it was said that, for example, to 0.46 m humus, from 0.48–0.50m a part of a basket, from 0.50–0.52m a part of a cup, from 0.60–0.62m black human hair, from 0.62–0.64m part of human skull, from 0.63–0.75m human brain etc.

The drill of Alojz Sercelj found the remains of human flesh, clothes, footwear etc.

I assumed that that grave pit was situated in a very low area that never dried, not even during the summer.

Thanks to dr. Alojz Sercelj we found 167 grave pits, mostly in 1964. and some in 1965.

Later we cleared the soil inside the rectangular grave pit and marked the angles of the pits and their surfaces.

Sejo Prolic, who died recently, a distinguished photographer of forensic medicine took about 600 photos on the locations of which only 25 photographs of different sizes were saved and which were mostly published by dr. Miodrag Bulatovic from Sarajevo.

Researchers, archeologists, historians, anthropologists, doctors of forensic medicine, assistants handed all the site original documentation, notes and sketches to me in order to make a complete report of the research project.

Anthropologists and doctors of forensic medicine completed and submitted their joint reports.

Reports together with rolls and edited films of "Sutjeska film" and the ends of film rolls were enclosed with all original documents and handed to Republic Department of the League of World War II Veterans' Association, Government of Bosnia and

Herzegovina, Republic Institute for Protection of Cultural monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Urbanization Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When I looked for the reports about research 1963–1965. again in spring 1971. and then again in 1990–1991. and at the beginning of this year I could not find even the traces of the report, not a single person who knew anything about it, Nobody knew nothing, there is nothing.

Mustafa Pirja, who was the minister in the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina then and an acquaintance of mine from Stolac, because I worked a lot in Stolac simply does not admit it. When I told him in 1991. that I handed the report to him he said: "I have never even been a minister" and that is how our conversation ended.

This report which was kept in the Institute for protection of cultural monuments and which was used by dr. Miodrag Bulatovic in his book on Jasenovac was not mentioned.

He called it and all the data anthropological report, anthropological data etc.

Bulatovic calculated based on data of the size of grave pits and the number of corpses that at least 1,110,929 persons were killed in Jasenovac.

It is difficult to establish the correct number of Jasenovac victims who were killed, buried in pits, thrown into the Sava, burnt in the ceramic furnaces of the brickyard, and those killed and thrown into the grave pits on Slavonian side or anywhere else on places of execution. Horrible mistakes must be made in any sort of calculations.

It is more likely that we are talking about hundreds of thousands of victims of Jasenovac camps, than about tens of thousands as it was suggested in spring of 1971. by some writers from Zagreb and later by Croatian nationalists, of course without any research.

During the examinations of the grave pit 112 b above the remains of humans we found cardboard suitcases, umbrellas, baskets with dishes, some poor clothes that were thrown over the pit after they had buried the victims. The clothes were well preserved, especially footwear.

By the remains of women's clothes it was clear that they were women's peasant costumes, the footwear was well preserved, some shoes were found, but peasant shoes (opanci) were mostly worn by the victims of this pit.

According to these data we can conclude that these are the remains of captured civilians driven from Potkozarje and Kozara and who were killed before they entered the camp.

In the end, you are probably interested in my opinion, and the gentlemen who know me know that I was the same 35 years ago. Enough written documents have been published so far from which it is quite clear that most of Jasenovac victims were Serbs captured in villages in the mountains which were not defended. I am completely convinced in it.

Prof. Srboljub Zivanovic

I am most grateful to dr. Maric for his presentation because it is the first time that we managed to hear some of the details that have been hidden from us for so many years. Now,

I am going to tell you something about the work of anthropologists or forensic anthropologists during the excavations in 1964. The Veteran Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina established a team of forensic anthropologists by the letter number 1582 signed by its president Dusan Misiraca on September 15, 1964 and The Veteran Association of Croatia established the same team of anthropologists by its letter number 0101744 signed by the president of the association Jaksa Singer on September 19, 1964.

The appointed members of the investigating team of forensic anthropologists were Mrs. Vida Brodar, research fellow of the Institute University of Ljubljana and Mr. Antun Pogacnik, assistant lecturer in anthropology at the same University and dr. Srboljub Zivanovic, then fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in London and assistant lecturer at the University of Novi Sad in the autonomous province of Vojvodina.

Aims and duties of the team were to excavate the number of designated pits on some of the massive graves of the fields in Jasenovac and Gradina Concentration Camp to get an idea of the contents of the mass graves, to inspect human remains from the pits and to establish sex, age, and cause of death, to estimate the number of victims. Report of the team of anthropologists was published in *Catena Mundi*, volume 1, on page 789 for Gradina and pages 778 and on for Jasenovac. Methods of anthropological investigation – the internationally accepted methods and instruments described by Rudolph Martin in *Werbuch der Antropologie* – Gustav Fischer, Vienna 1928, were

used by the team.

Preliminary information: the team received these preliminary information, verbal report and instructions by professor of forensic medicine, University of Zagreb and later University of Novi Sad professor Ante Premerov, himself a victim and inmate of the Concentration Camp at Jasenovac from 1941 to 1945 who managed to survive and who personally as professor of forensic medicine witnessed atrocities and criminal activities, mass executions, torture and slaughtering, deprivation of food and water and so on.

Professor Premerov himself was forced to dig out cadavers from mass graves and to burn them so that the number of victims could not be established after the war. In 1945 when the war ended he was appointed a member of the State Commission to establish the war crimes. Some of these reports are published in a book. You heard about the book during the last two days. Then the aim of the team or the duty of the team was to report on trial drilling to establish location of the mass graves and that was done by professor of the forensic medicine Alojz Sercin from the University of Ljubljana.

Then the drilling was done on the Gradina site only. Then we received the verbal report of professor Zora Radujkov from University of Novi Sad Faculty of medicine, who was captured in Zagreb on April 18, 1944 and sent to Jasenovac where as an inmate she worked as medical practitioner. She witnessed criminal activities and atrocities, mass murders of children imprisoned at Jasenovac and suffering of innocent people during the time when Dinko Sakic was commanding officer of the camp, and she managed to survive and she is living now as a pensioner in Novi Sad.

Then we received verbal report of Nedeljko Kukic who managed to escape from Jasenovac three times, I think, and was recaptured but survived. He witnessed mass executions during which victims were either killed by mate or their throats were slashed by knife. The verbal report from Dragan Cukalec who also witnessed the same when he was inmate at Jasenovac and he also managed to survive.

Material evidence: remains of human skeleton excavated from the pits were reburied at the side after anthropological investigation. All object found at the pits were also reburied after the examination and recorded with the following exceptions: a number of skulls with injures that were cause of death for the Jasenovac museum. A number of objects found in the pits

were given to Jasenovac museum to be exhibited: golden coins, jewelry, wedding rings, golden teeth, crowns and all other valuables were evaluated and then given to the relevant veteran associations, so that they will not be stolen at the site. And the remains of the number of brains found in the skulls were sent to the Institute of forensic medicine in Ljubljana for further tests. Excavations at the Gradina site begun on the June 22, 1964 and were completed on June 27, 1964 and excavations at the Jasenovac site began on September 22, 1964 and completed on September 27, 1964.

You can see that we had just five days for each site. Five days to arrive, do the job, complete the job and that was the end of the work. Results of the anthropological investigations were published in *Catena Mundi*, Volume 1, 1992 in Kraljevo, Yugoslavia. After examining pits size 6x2,5 m, 4x3 m and in the mass graves selected at random it was found out that the average number of skeleton was 27 skeletons per 2 square meters, that means 27 people were buried at surface area of a normal grave and approximately 200 such mass graves have been identified by that time. The ways of extermination of victims were slightly different at Gradina than at Jasenovac site.

Victims at Gradina were directly brought from their homes and slaughtered by knives or by breaking their skulls by mallets at the edge of the mass grave and thrown into the mass grave together with all their possessions and jewelery and whatever they had with them: money, baby shoes, milk bottles, pots, pants, crutches of invalids.

This was predominantly village population from Bosnia as could be seen from the remains of clothing and type of possessions, being of Serbian orthodox origin mainly, as could be seen from crosses that they possessed. At Jasenovac victims have been robbed from their possessions and only remains of their shoes, clothing and some spoons could be found.

Some have been killed by bullets but most have been slaughtered as in Gradina. The average number of skeletons per one mass grave was estimated to be approximately 800. It was impossible to estimate how many bodies have been taken out from mass graves and cremated mainly from the second half of 1943 to the end of war when Dinko Sakic was commanding officer at the camp and tried to cover up the atrocities and crimes. Also it was impossible to tell how many victims were killed and thrown into the Sava River. I personally observed for many weeks cadavers from Jasenovac floating in hundreds every day

down Danube River. And these cadavers were brought into the Danube River from the river Sava and you can imagine the length that they had to float down the Sava all the way and down the Danube, and at that time I as a ten-year-old boy was living with my family at the bank of Danube in the city of Smederevo.

The full report of our investigation was never written because the excavation of the camp were supposed to be continued when the weather was better and when we were supposed to have more time in the spring of 1965. The two reports in the form of the diary of excavations were submitted to the Veteran associations of Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia. The state authorities prevented publication of these reports or any other information on the work of the team and all was kept as a secret till the break up of former Yugoslavia but it was difficult to trace the reports and those who managed to trace them spent many months looking for them and eventually these reports have been published.

Political interference and implications: Yugoslav authorities were not happy with the excavation of the Croatian concentration camp and extermination ground for Serbs, Jews and Gypsies as well as all opponents of German established independent state of Croatia including Croats. There was a fear of civil unrest when the results become known. Croats killed more than 730 000 Serbs, 30 000 Jews and nearly all the Gypsies living in Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia. We don't know how many Gypsies were killed but we know that only 405 Gypsies were found in Croatia after the war, slightly more than that 422 Gypsies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and prewar statistics show many tens of thousands of Gypsies living there.

My interview given to the press in 1964 was not allowed to be published and I was told to keep quiet and stop talking about our work at Jasenovac – Gradina. All the time the team of anthropologist was under pressure to keep number of victims as low as possible, but it was impossible under any calculation to reduce number of victims killed by Croats below 700 000 and recommendations – the team of anthropologist suggested that excavations should be done systematically on the whole surface area approximately 12,5 km long and 4,5 km wide to establish the correct and full picture of sufferings of the victims and extermination of Jews, Serbs and Gypsies under so called independent state of Croatia.

Such excavations could be organized even now because

skeletal remains and all the objects are still buried just one meter or less below the surface of the ground, but as you have seen today as we walked around Gradina it is now huge and lovely park with very old trees and lot of green outgrowth. To continue our investigations a lot of these trees will have to be cut down and the area cleared of everything that grows there.

Colleagues who are using up-to-date methods of under-surface investigations of the soil will tell us something about that in the next report here, will have to find such graves, or such pits that maybe could be investigated without destroying much of the present park on these present huge grave yard. So, whoever attempt to start the new investigation he must be prepared to spend the lot of money, a lot of means to clear the area and to bring the team, preferably an international team and the whole work would have to be properly documented by modern means: television, proper photography, proper work of architects and the others so that we get such results that nobody can put in question.

Unfortunately, there are many people, one of them is here today, who are not a real scientist, but people who never looked at original documents for instance at our original report but are quoting in their books that what somebody else said who probably said that he sow something somewhere else and then if you have several books and you quote me and I quote you and somebody else quote both of us and nobody is using the real facts...

Jasmin Babic

Methodology applied during the examination

Methodology applied during the examination of Jasenovac camp: remote sensing, geomorphology, geo-technique and information technology noting that this part referring to examinations by geo-technique methods has already been done.

My colleague, Dr. Mihajlovic will present results of examinations of excavated graves.

This presentation will be divided into following five parts: introduction, review and analysis of the images, digital model of the area and remote sensing and geographic information system and in the end – the conclusion.

At the time when Mr. Maric and Mr. Srboljub Zivanovic

were doing their examinations using anthropological methods, remote sensing was in its early stages of development, the first satellite was launched, but from 1971. and 1972. with the lencen system, the satellite recording started and at the same time information technology was developing. These were the conditions necessary for the completion of this work and the attempt to discover potential spots of yet undiscovered massive graves by using these latest and the most modern methods and finally determine the approximate number of victims and crimes committed by Ustasha criminals.

The sequence of activities should be like this. We could call them the algorithm which means that with the existing topographic foundations, which are not up to the standard because all existing geodetic foundations which were made by geodesists from Kozarska, former Bosanska Dubica, disappeared completely together with all other archive data related to anthropologic researches. In fact we started from the very beginning and in this examination we did not accomplish much, which would be worth mentioning now. We have started one process that will hopefully enable us to determine at least the approximate number of victims in the graves.

It is impossible to determine the number of those who had been thrown into the Sava and those who died in crematories in this way. We will be using other methods – historical, demographic, etc.

Sequence of activities is graphic base for the whole area of the Ustahi camp Jasenovac, discovering potential places where mass graves could be situated, examination by geo-technical methods and anthropological and archeological researches.

This would all be senseless if not unified and synthesized within geographical information system which would enable fast and easy search for all necessary data and getting different reviews and tables, comparative analyses etc.

History as a science would thus get a powerful means and would speed up and simplify the search for data, comparative analyses and making conclusions.

The area of Donja Gradina, Jasenovac, that is, the whole system of the Ustashi camps of death stretches, as we have heard here several times but it is worth mentioning again because we have a map in front of us for the first time, from Stara Gradiska, which is not marked here and is situated further down the Sava, all the way to Krapije, where the first camp was, then camps Brodice, Kozara, Jasenovac Ciglanica, which was

called Central camp, execution place Donja Gradina and Ustica, where mostly Gypsies were killed.

Dubica Krecane is situated further up the Una in Kozarska Dubica. The area of excavation is marked by this black rectangle and its coordinates in the coordinate system, which was accepted for the whole area of former Yugoslavia. The coordinates of upper left corner and lower right corner are cited here.

This area was selected for a number of reasons and some will ask why we included northern slopes of Prosora. We did it for practical purposes in order to have at least some change in relief in order to make a digital model of the area the animation of which you will see in the second part of this presentation.

What have we done so far? I have to emphasize that the authors, the three of us – one information scientist, one geologist and I am a geodesist, so we are not historians but we succeeded by searching the Archives of Military Geographic Institute, when I say this I have in mind the photo archives of Military Geographic Institute, and by reading the latest book by dr. Milan Bulajic.

I found the following data, but with reserve that there might be some recording I do not know of.

In the after war period many anthropological researches had been carried out and probe drillings and excavations of whole grave pits.

Apart from that, what is interesting for us here, the following aero recordings were made.

The first panoramic image was taken in 1945. and its sequence was included in the documentary film by Kosta Halvaty and Gustav Gavrin. In the first part of the film you can see the northern part of camp premises and it ends with the beginning of shooting of Donja Gradina.

I went to the Yugoslav Film Library and Mr. Jovicic made it possible for me to see that image, but it was of no use to us because it stopped at the moment when Donja Gradina was being shot. I asked where I could get that image but they could not give me an answer.

It would be good to find this film from 1945. for future research.

We have something that would be very interesting for this conference because most of you are historians and anthropologists.

That is the photograph of the Sava river taken by Yugoslav

Military Air-forces in 1946. The negatives of this film are kept in photo-archives of Military Geographic Institute. What is significant here is that, as we heard yesterday on several occasions, at the moment they were about to start some work and were getting at some adequate data those data simply disappeared – two cases containing negatives showing the greater part of Donja Gradina and the very camp premises of that third part of Ciglane camp in the triangle are not in the Military Geographical Institute.

I searched everywhere and did some reconstructions, who was in charge there, what was going on there, but I could not find it. I managed to find the case with a shot of Donja Gradina done from the eastern side. That shot is geo-referential and you can see it here, it will be shown on video-beam.

These are the shots which were not up to the standard of photogrammetry shooting, and it is possible to derive some metrical characteristics, but first photogrammetry shooting was done with photogrammetry camera and it was done by the Belgrade Institute for Photogrammetry in 1957.

Then we have the shooting from 1976. done by Slovenia Geodetic Institute. These photographs were not at my disposal, that is, we did not have infra-red photographs and they would be of great importance for this research.

According to the information we have that shot should be in Sarajevo or it might be in Slovenia.

The most complex and the best organized shooting in colour technique was done in 1973. by Military Geographical Institute. The whole project was organized by INA Project from Zagreb and was led by dr. Marinko Olujic.

They shot 206 km, although we heard from Mr. Simo Brdar today that it was 240 km, it makes no difference. So, the shooting included the territory from Krapije to Stara Gradiska and it shows the area of the left and right bank of the Sava and the part of the Una banks all the way to Krapije and the Military Geographical Institute in order to complete their collection of topographic maps from 1960–1990. shot the area of Donja Gradina and Jasenovac.

Now I am going to tell you about the conclusions drawn by Slovenians based on their shooting and Mr. Marinko Olujic, based on the shooting from 1983.

They say that by the analysis and interpretation of infrared images from 1976. and based on comparisons with the already excavated mass graves, they determined the sites of new

yet undiscovered graves with higher or lower probability.

The places with a higher probability of graves existing cover 13,425 m² and the places less likely to be graves cover 27,340 m²; quotation is taken from Mr. Bulajic's book.

In the second part there is the result of research by Mr. Marinko Olujic, who presented his results at the round table held on April 21, 1984, after colour photogrammetric image acquisition in 1983.

He had at his disposal panchromatic photographs from 1957. as well as the colour photographs from 1983. and infrared photographs from 1976. In his research he pointed at seven potential locations. The drilling of that area proved that there was nothing on three locations and the bones were found on four locations and if I am not mistaken, on three of these locations human remains were found and on the fourth there were no human remains.

Now, we shall see the images we used – presentation and analysis of the images.

We used images from 1946, it is that single photograph covering the area of Donja Gradina 702 at the scale of 7500 – that is the scale of shooting; images from 1961, that is one of the first images of Military Geographic Institute which were used for drawing topographic maps 25,000 a scale of shooting 32,500. We then have the shooting of Military Geographic Institute for topographic map 25,000, 1975. and 1977. and at the end colour shooting from 1973. at the scale of 9,000.

This shot 702 is from October 1946, which means not even eighteen months after the break-through of inmates on April 22, 1945.

Now we can make a short digression and go back to the position of Donja Gradina camp i.e. execution place Donja Gradina and Jasenovac camp.

Here we can see the basic position of defense bunkers the Ustashi built which were facing Prosara and the liberated territory of Kozara. We can see that in fact Donja Gradina is a peninsula bordered by the Sava and the Una, and the forth side is fortified by these bunkers. In fact, those who were driven into this area had no other ways of escaping their mullets, knives and everything else they used, except by swimming.

The quality of this photograph is very bad, this is the image from 1946. and we tried and succeeded to some extent in improving its quality by using computer technique, in order to be able to analyze anything at all and then interpret it. So, the

first thing we did was to include it in our state coordinate system.

The quality is now better, as you can see, the contrast is better and the filtration of the photograph was done. It can now be seen much better on the monitor.

These here are 'carlinke' or the so-called 'orlovace' and in this part here you can see mass graves, here you can see that some digging was done at the end of war, then here we also noticed something, but we will talk about it later.

This is the zoom of the south-eastern corner of camp premises. I suppose you can see that is the wall built by the inmates, you will correct me if I am wrong and I guess that this is one of those guard towers.

These here are the graves, we think they are, we cannot be certain of it.

These are the same graves. Now we go from the left bank of the Sava to the right bank and all the time we were making analysis and interpretations of 702 shot from 1946.

In this part here we can see the mass graves, we assume by the configuration of the territory that this whole area is a large graveyard. We also think that in this part of the right bank of the Sava there are mass graves.

In my conversation with one gentleman today I found out that they were killing people on the very bank and the mass graves were covered by sand deposited by the Sava so that it is in fact impossible to examine them.

This is the same area, here you can see the mass graves, there is a house, some building, it can be seen eighteen months after the break-through of the inmates.

This is the whole complex, this is 'calinka' or 'orlovaca'.

Now you can see two graveyards on the south. We can measure the length and width of these graves and determine the surface of the graves.

Now some dilemmas – in this shot we noticed one unusual surface and within it one darker surface. On later shots this surface changed its present shape and as we could conclude by the analysis of these shots from 1983. this graveyard was marked but we are not sure. What I want to say that by using this method we cannot be 100% certain that this is a graveyard.

Now about something we found particularly interesting. Note these bright dots. The distance between these bright dots is 100 meters, approximately 98 or 100 or 102. We drew a conclusion that, since 18 months had passed after the break-

through of the inmates, it was not possible that the peasants made the hay-stacks at the distance of 100m, so we suppose that these were the kettles in which they boiled people or these were the places on which they burnt the material taken out from the grave i. e. corpses when they were trying to hide the traces of their crimes at the end of the war.

Now we can see these bright dots in the southern part at a distance 60m. Now the shot from 1961. i.e. the whole mosaic of shots from 1961. They are geo-referential and linked into a mosaic and we can see the camp room of the so-called camp 3, if I am not mistaken, or camp Ciglana, the ruins of the camp are still visible partly visible. The headquarters of the camp was here and Ciglana and Sablasno lake can also be seen.

We can see the graves which could be very well seen in the shots from 1946.

This is the ferry, here is the railway, those fences can be seen and the dikes built by the inmates and in which many of them died and we can see the railroad by which the new inmates were driven to the camp, the ferry, and the south-eastern gate of the camp.

Now we can see Sablasno lake, here we will have the mushroom or the flower by Bogdan Bogdanovic, it was not built then, and there is a better view of the ruins of the camp.

These are the graves situated on the left bank of the Sava to the east from the camp premises and there are no traces which would show there were graves near the camp. The dimensions are 40X6 m, which means that it was originally a ravine, so that we can conclude that they used natural holes in order to make it easier for themselves, i.e. for the inmates, I do not think they would do anything to make it easier for them, but simply to speed up the work.

Now we have all those dots at 100m, they are not visible which means that they all faded by 1961. The graves – 'calinke' are less visible. I forgot to mention that the graves were visible here as well. You can see the dike which was built. Mr. Mihajlovic will later confirm that the underground waters actually held the remains of victims of Ustashi crimes.

After the dike was built the level of underground waters lowered and thus the process of decay and the process of destruction of material evidences of the crimes was intensified so it is questionable how useful it was to built that dike.

Now we are again looking at those graves we saw in the shots from 1946, so they are still visible, and now what hap-

pened by 1961, this area became overgrown with grass, so with the elapse of time it is more and more difficult to make analysis and identification of potential mass graves.

Now you can see the mushroom, in fact that is the camp in 1985. The mosaic of shots done in 1975. and 1977. Why from these two epochs? Because the Sava and the Una are the borders of former republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia so that in 1975, they shot the area of Donja Gradina because it belongs to Bosnia and Hercegovina and then in 1977. they shot the whole camp. But we managed to make the mosaic and level the contrast and be able to see the room. We can see the mushroom now, and I would like to draw you attention to one interesting detail, which I, being a geodesist, might not mention. The shadow made by the flower by Bogdan Bogdanovic has the shape of U letter, so again letter U hovering around, the criminals are still hovering around the camp. This place today does not look like a place where thousands and thousands and hundreds of thousands of innocent people were killed. We also see, correct me if I am wrong, charnel houses they made. I am not sure how they were called – barrow (mogila) or something like that. These charnel houses are not typical of Serbian, Jewish or Gypsy people. Nobody is buried in such tombs.

We see 'mogile' now, the monument by Bogdan Bogdanovic and the memorial complex. Now, graves 'Calinka' and if you remember that first shot from 1946. all this area was covered by mass graves but now here we have meadows and they are not marked. We will see them marked in the shots from 1983.

It is visible that there were some works here. The paths were built we walked over today, that complex was built. Now shot from 1983. in colour. We had problems with this shot because we did not have positives of the photographs which were kept in Jasenovac Museum so that we had to scan the negatives from the Archives of the Military Geographic Institute which were damaged and we could not get high quality of shots.

This graveyard is marked and these are the graves 'Calinka'. So what were we doing. These are shots from 1975. done in succession, with photogrammetry measure. Every second shot was taken and now they are geo-referential.

This is the principle of making Mosaic images.

I will tell you what one of the surveys is like. When we have completed one mosaic we can make aerial-photo map. The Mosaic of images from 1961. We completed geo-referential mosaics for three epochs and thus traced the edges of the Una

and Sava flow in order to see to what extent the river meanderings occurred i.e. what the extent of the material accumulation and erosion was on the banks of these two rivers.

The Mosaic of colour images from 1983. It is quite obvious that we had a number of problems in leveling the contrast and in getting some good images. So we gave up the further processing of aero-shots in colour technique made in 1983.

Now a small digression, but a very important moment so that we could complete the discussion about the formation of the geographic information system. That is the digital model of the territory. The digital model of the territory and the surface of the territory is presented with a group of dots with x, y and z coordinates and the broken lines at places of characteristic changes of altitude, discontinuity of height, I emphasize this, because the graves are mostly depressed by 20–30 cm so that we can conclude that it is possible to identify the position of mass graves, yet undiscovered, based on analysis of the digital model of the territory. This is the reason why it is necessary for us to have data which would enable a high quality of the digital model of the territory.

We did not have adequate data and we had to use topographic maps at scales of 25,000.

In this specific research the digital model is important for determining coordinates x, y and z a of the given spot, drawing of the contour line for determining coordinates x, y and z of the given point, and the determination of the elevation, calculating the level of the inclination of the territory, determining the changes of the shape of the territory made by endogenous, exogenous and anthropogenous forces and the precise correction of the shots.

This means that we collected data in vector number for example the edges of the Sava and the Una, marshy grounds, communications, railroads etc.

The generated digital model of the territory based on the data I have already described is like this: this is artificially coloured, the height is about 91, 92, 93 to 150 and more meters on the slopes of Prosora. When I say this I have in mind the premises we treated.

Here you can see the flow of the Sava and the Una, so if we are dealing with the digital model of the territory that is the system of canals which were built after the war.

Combining the digital model of the territory and the Mosaic of images from 1975. we got the perspective view from

north to south meaning from the camp premises Sablasno Lake, Donja Gradina, the Una, the Sava, the bridge, this bridge was destroyed here, you have seen it today and there in the distance the village Draksenic, that is were we turned today and in the distance Prosara and even farther Kozara.

Remote sensing and geographic information systems, remote sensing is the method of collecting information by the systems which are not directly connected to the object or the phenomenon which is being examined. Remote sensing is based on electromagnetic radiation of the soil and electromagnetic radiation reflected from the soil contains a message referring to the kind of material i.e. the type of soil which we record by the sensors on the planes and the satellites which should be somewhere here and then by processing these electromagnetic rays which are recorded on the shots no matter whether they are in analogue, i.e. in the form of a photograph, or in digital form, i.e. recorded by the sensors and we process them and get the data in some percentage.

Now we have something that is very important. A man sees only a part of the spectrum of electromagnetic radiation but the most part of everything that is around us we cannot see because we are restricted by that spectrum scope. It is somewhere between 320–760 nanometers depending of the characteristics of every individual. It means that for a detailed analysis of the territory of Donja Gradina and the whole system of Ustashi camps of death from Krapije to Dubicka Krecana and then eastwards towards Gradiska it is necessary to make aerial or satellite shots which would cover part of the infra-red spectrum and radar shots. Thanks to the gentlemen from BBN Company from Belgrade we acquired a part of IKONOS images which show Blinsko field in the Republic of Croatia from which we can see which resolution it is. In order for you to understand what I am talking about I just want to mention that Ikon satellite is situated more than 500 km above the land surface.

Multi-spectral shots above all infrared shots enable the plastification of the territory depending on the sort of vegetation growing on that territory, and indirectly by the sort of vegetation, we have already heard that from Mr. Maric, growing above the mass graves, indirectly by using infrared shots we could identify potential mass graves.

Geographic information system is a computer-backed system for collecting, processing and analysis and the projection of the data on space.

GIS differs from other information systems by its characteristic to have all the data with a defined position in space. So, we are not doing anything else but transmitting realistic relation among things on the computer. So, the graves must have some defined mutual relative position in space.

We will connect all the data we have about these graves with their geographic position and then after we had collected data for a number of other graves and everything else, then we can make different reports, reviews, analysis etc. Input data for the creation of that thematic geographic information system which should unite everything done so far and what will be done in the future are geodetic data, maps, shots, photographs, digital model of the territory, geo-physical measurements, anthropological researches, archeological researches, osteological finds, if I said it correctly, demographic data, historical data, statements of the witnesses. When we unite all of this and form the mutual relations between all data and ensure continuous data entry we will be able to make reports, reviews, analysis, thematic maps and different sorts of visualization very fast.

For example, this is what it looks like when we have selected the graves and if we attached data on surface of graves, number of victims, discovered objects, data on drilling, data on excavation, finds of the anthropologists, finds of the chemists, photographs etc. we would slowly complete that geographic information system.

Now here you can see that we have analyzed the meandering of the Una. So, in this part you can see the Una and in the upper corner the Sava from 1961. to 1975. and 1977. Erosion, provoked by humans or naturally, is marked yellow, so this was dug by people, they did it on purpose to speed up the flow of the Una and thus reduced the level of underground waters. We came to a very interesting conclusion that the total accumulation on the examined area is 54.9 ha – deposits and the total erosion is 42.2 ha.

Accumulation of the material is greater than the total erosion. This is quite logical from the geological standpoint because both the Una and the Sava formed alluvial plateau which brings the material from the upriver area and deposits it in this part in which the flow is slower and which there are a great number of meanders.

We have erosion here, we have deposits of material here, this refers to the period from 1961. to 1975. but I have to mention that due to bad resolution, space resolution of the entry

data, they might not be here. So, we have only methodological presentation of the way it could be resolved by using high-quality entry data.

Now, one of the output data from the geographic information system. Now we are connecting ortophoto map, i.e. Mosaic of images from 1975. and 1977, with data in vector form and we get the edges of the rivers from 1961, edges of the rivers from 1975, total result of erosion and accumulation and other data.

Now we have a video animation for the area from northern slopes of Prosora and then we turned to the left to Draksenic, then right to the left curve of the river Sava and then to Kosutarica and then we turned and covered the area of the camp and finished the animation at Donja Gradina. This is not of some useful value at first sight but it can be used to inform people. For example, that animation can be presented on the Internet site of the system of Ustashi camps of death in order for the truth to be told about what had happened in the third concentration camp by the number of victims in Europe. And here is animation.

We are slowly moving towards Draksenic, turning to the right and going towards the left curve of the Sava. Thus we can perceive the relief so that people who have never been here can see what the territory where the crime was committed is like.

Again we are turning to the right. We chose this because of that documentary about Jasenovac and the plane which recorded this in 1945. makes this same curve, rises and covers the area of the camp.

In the distance there is only a bridge, here are the camp premises Ustica, Donja Gradina and then we move downwards towards Prosora again and that is where the animation finishes. This is one of the suggestions for the future examinations and I would finish with this.

To summarize, in order to get quality output data we have to have adequate input data in the form of multi-spectral and radar images of high space resolution. Everything should be done to find the missing negatives of aero-shooting from October 1946, which show the area of Donja Gradina and Jasenovac camp.

Acquired data should be verified and all future geo-physical examinations carried out by radars should be based on them.

The data acquired by remote sensing would get their meaning and practical value only when we connect them with

other data which must be organized on the principle of geographic information systems.

In order to get the necessary information for the detection of mass graves with the aim of determining the exact number of victims and their identification it is important to develop a project, ensure the means and find adequate data.

And in the end, Mrs. Guskova from Russia inspired me to say something about what I have heard. I have not read that the Russian academics are on their way to get to the so-called spintorsional field of electromagnetic radiation.

In fact, that is the information containing information related to the past. Now this may seem to be a fiction, but on the other hand, it is a sort of encouragement that the systems of Ustashi camps of death will come to light one day.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Spomenko Mihajlovic

Honoured gentlemen,

We have been here together for two days and my address to you is the address to people of good will. These days we have been dealing with the anatomy of evil, anatomy of crime. That is what is bringing us together.

My colleagues and I are engineers and here we are at a historical meeting. The link between me and history is one crucial thing both in historical and scientific researches and that is time. The historians read the time and we, geo-physicists also measure some data and go back in time. We have one method, one subject called historical geology and based on that historical geology we can say what was going on in a certain area a billion years ago. It is our task today to determine what was going on in one area during four years.

We approached that area as engineers. The challenge was great. Geomagnetic Institute from Belgrade was given that honour to meet that challenge and try to record the territory by using one modern method such as geo-radar examination and to determine where the mass graves are and to see the result of the geo-radar test of such a territory.

In April 2000. we found ourselves on the grave fields of Donja Gradina. We examined three of nine grave fields by using

geo-radar test examinations and now I am going to show you the results for two of them.

The principle of the very geo-radar method is that through electromagnetic waves which are transmitted to the soil by the antenna. This means that when the wave goes through the soil, it carries its frequency, the frequency of its energy, so it comes to an obstacle, reflects itself, goes through it and reflected energy returns to the receiver and the terrain is recorded, in this case an anomaly of the terrain.

It is registered on the upper axis, axis z, and we have the distance expressed in meters. Here we have double time in nanoseconds, i.e. time needed for the wave to reach the obstacle, return and is registered by the sensor i.e. antenna receiver.

On this side of this geo-radar section, i.e. one geo-radar test recording we get the depth at which the probable cause of any anomaly i.e. the object which changed the frequency characteristic of the receiving signal, and the frequency characteristic of the signal will depend on the contents of the soil such as dialectal constant, electrical conductivity, magnetic features of the terrain.

The first profile net was on the grave field Jasenovac commonly known as the children's grave field. We set the transversal profiles at the distance of 2 m by linking the terrain, the terraces dividing the graves and the graves. We tried to link four graves on that grave field, in the central part of the grave field Jasen and one smaller grave.

What did we get? Recording the terrain we got the composition of the terrain in that area. So, at the grave field Jasen we have the contents of the pit, of each of the recorded pits, which differ from the substratum and the depth of these objects can be read by these scenery diagrams of geo-radar section.

We treated this as an object considering it to be a certain concentration of the material i.e. organic substance which is modified or unmodified. so, for us it is an object. We approached it as engineers, which is justifiable, knowing that the contents of the pit are remains of the bones of people killed in that criminal act which lasted for four years.

There are four pits here which we covered and we got four profiles which means that in this area here, on this scenery diagram there is space of 8x50m where we have precisely determined difference between the terrain separating those marked pits from that other terrain – the area where the marked pit is. By the contents, the composition of the terrain, the concentra-

tion of organic substance which is mixed with substratum we can see the concentration of that organic substance in the area where the pits are.

Here we can see every single pit.

This could be either the concentration of the objects – the bones put one over the other. For us it is a cause of an anomaly. We treat it as the concentration meaning the depth, the appearance of such material goes somewhere from 80cm to 1–1.5m.

Each of the separate pits is shown in this first profile.

The next grave field we examined was grave field Topole. We were there today.

We put shorter transversal profiles which followed supposedly three largest graves and which were geometrically marked and excavated in the central part of the grave field.

The position of each grave marked by the osteological material i.e. the objects causing the appearance of an anomaly in the geo-radar section. However, we noticed that the material of the same composition and giving the same signals appeared also in the area marked as a terrace on the terrain, at the grave field Topole. This means that we have the great concentration of the osteological material in the area which was not identified as a grave.

Examination of the grave field Topole shows that the position, location, mark of the grave pits should be moved towards the terraces or to link three longer grave pits in central part to be a unique grave. They should not be separated from these terraces.

In Mr. Zivanovic's report we heard that if any future anthropological and archeological researches were to be conducted all the trees should be removed in order to be able to examine the area.

While working on this profile and cooperating with Mr. Brdar and Mr. Jovan Mirkovic we discussed this issue. When we recorded the area of Topole and the area of the grave field Jasen we did by coming close to every tree with the profile and we got the recording exactly where there is a root of a tree.

The results shown here are the ones we got when we have moved away from that object such as a root of a tree in order not to interpret the concentration of organic substance, some anomaly that belongs to such a big part of the root. We avoided that and thus these data are separated from the appearance in its interpretation. Geo-radar test examinations, geo-radar i.e.

radio frequency examination of the terrain gives very good results, accurate and qualitative.

At each of these positions of the pit we can determine the position of each of these profiles and the spot where this concentration of material occurs so that by excavating i.e. by sounding, which could be carried out in a very short period of time and would not be very expensive, accuracy of these results could be checked.

Application of this method was a challenge for the Geomagnetic Institute I have been working in. We had experience with this method when we were working on discovery of archaeological sites – fortification, building i.e. some ruins – we were able to find such objects by using this method. However, there was a challenge here because it was questionable whether we could use this method and read measurable differences in the change of frequency characteristic of the signal related to osteological material, organic substance and substratum and geology of that terrain.

Having come to this terrain, having worked on these test examinations we showed that the measurable differences can be read and that the test examinations and future radar examinations can be applied and that they could be used as entry parameter or one of the basic parameters for future anthropological and archeological researches.

Few countries in our neighbourhood do geo-radar examinations. Similar method is used in Kosovo by SFOR and KFOR in locating the mines. This method was also used by the Americans when they were examining the graves of the Indians.

That would be all. If there are any questions we can discuss them later. Thank you for your attention.

Dr Milan Bulajic

I think this is sensational, not to use the word revolutionary. Today we brought together the old method of examination with the latest technology and these young people who offered some new perspectives so that we no longer talk about myths but determine the whole truth by using scientific methods.

4

International legal protection of the whole Memorial complex Jasenovac

4

International legal protection of the whole Memorial complex Jasenovac

Dr Milan Bulajic

The next theme is International legal protection of the whole Jasenovac Memorial Complex.

This morning you had the opportunity to visit Donja Gradina. I would just like to remind you of the sign of our Conference where you can see that after the former Yugoslavia had been disintegrated, the area of the system of Croatian Ustashi genocide camps has been split into two sovereignties – the Republic of Croatia with Jasenovac and the monument by Bogdan Bogdanovic and Bosnia and Herzegovina, that is, the Republic of Srpska entity, with Donja Gradina – probably the greatest execution place in the Balkans and maybe even wider.

The Museum of Genocide Victims initiated, after my visit to UNESCO in Paris in 1995, to have Jasenovac Memorial Complex put under international protection of the United Nations. There is an institution within UNESCO called World Heritage which protects everything what is of special interest for the culture and history of one nation.

We could not say that Jasenovac is important cultural institution, but it has historical importance for the memory of these nations.

We found a precedent in International legal protection through World Heritage of civilization, Auschwitz Nazi Camp (No. 80) and in 1995, after my talks with the Director of the World Heritage Center the Museum of Genocide Victims formally proposed to have Jasenovac System of Croatia Ustasha Camp put under International legal protection.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Foreign Affairs Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia supported this proposal of the Museum of Genocide Victims in written form.

His Holiness, the Serbian Patriarch Pavle also supported this idea in his letter to the Director General of UNESCO.

This issue had not been dealt with the way we expected. The response was received only after 8–9 months in which The Director General informed us that the nomination of any site for inscription on the World Heritage List is the exclusive prerogative of the state on whose territory a certain institution is located and he considered it to be the prerogative of Croatia. Our objection to it was that it was formal and bureaucratic approach to the whole problem because following that logic all the German Nazi death camps would be the exclusive prerogative of Germany, which is really inappropriate.

Now at this Conference I would ask a question. Today you have been on one side of the camp, Donja Gradina. In order for our former inmates to go across to the other side and put the flowers on the monument of the victims of Jasenovac they would have to get the visa of the Republic of Croatia first.

Given the fact that the greatest execution place Donja Gradina is situated on this side of the state border, the Republic of Srpska as the state on whose territory the execution place is, has the right, in accordance with the principles established by UNESCO Director of World Heritage Center, to nominate this site for inscription on the World Heritage List. This was proposed by the Government of the Republic of Srpska in its formal letter. Moderator of this issue, this part is Mr. Alexis Troude from France.

Alexis Troude

Dear friends, dear Serbs,

I would like to thank the organizers for this visit to the Republic of Srpska.

I have formed one group of historians and lawyers in Paris and they started working six months ago on a project which is about recognizing Ustashi genocide over Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.

You probably know that a year ago in Paris the French Assembly acknowledged that there is a law from 1995, which makes it possible for the genocide over Jermens to be recognized.

Two historians Jean Paul Bled from Sorbonne University, Nasser Nuzi from Strassbourgh and a lawyer William Colnadel are working on that project.

Joseph Erlich

I am Joseph Erlich and I was 14 and a half years old when I was driven to the camp. I went through everything and I achieved everything that could be achieved. I can tell you that what we know you will never find out because it is not possible to know it. As long as the USA and NATO want to torture us like this we will never know the truth. They need Croatia and the Serbs and other Slavs can disappear. There is nothing else I could tell you. Thank you.

Dr Josip Jurcevic

I would like to greet you once again. I am Josip Jurcevic and I come from Zagreb, Republic of Croatia and I am going to talk only about this theme, later I am going to talk about the theme which would probably be related to this problem.

It is quite obvious from what Mr. Bulajic has just said that there are certain problems, if we can say so, with this proposal about the nomination i.e. including Jasenovac in some international system and probably the main reason why International community is taking this with great caution and reserve, which is quite evident from their reports, especially the United Nations reports, lies in the fact that the similar or even worse crimes were committed here in 1991.–1995. and this is explicitly stated in Mr. Bulajic's report which was given to us earlier.

International community considers such limited proposal to be a political and media promotion or presentation of something, in order to cover the current crimes etc.

It might be good to propose to the United Nations to form an International Commission for crimes investigation from 1941. including Gospic and Pakrac field and Eastern Slavonia, so, to propose, which might be particularly interesting for the gentleman from France who is probably not aware of the facts and the latest problems etc, to the International organizations, United Nations to form International Commission for crime investigation in this part of the world from 1941– 1995. including the territories of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia i.e. Serbia and Srpska Krajina. This Commission should determine the location, time and problem priorities etc. You have to respect the International Community and its activities related to Stability Pact, Dayton agreement. You have to come to terms with it. If you do not this proposal will not be

supported. So, this kind of proposal, if it is complete, if it is motivated by humane reasons and not only the interests of one nation, not to say one national elite, then that proposal will be supported and will be understood as one attempt to prevent all future crimes in these parts by investigating crimes committed in last sixty years. That is my suggestion. Thank you.

Jozef Atijas

Honoured ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, dear brothers and sisters, above all let us be worthy of this Conference and of these people who went through hell and suffered terribly, let us be worthy of all those victims who we paid our respects to today.

We are here first of all to tell the truth to the whole world. In old books it was written down "reason seeks for truth". Let us be reasonable. I asked Mr. Klein, I asked the Presidency of the Conference, I also asked Mr. Jurcevic from Zagreb to give everybody a chance to speak, as civilized people. Today I have come to a wonderful idea and I hope that you will support it.

I said to Mr. Klein: "Since you are a representative of the greatest power in the world today and have money, thanks God, for everything, find money and means to form one International Commission which would investigate all what had happened here and to give a neutral judgment no matter for whom it may be negative – we, the victims or our torturers were the ones who were right, excuse me or vice versa. God is the judge to all of us and I am a human being first of all, I am a pacifist and I would like to ask Mr. Klein and Mr. Chairman and the others to give you five minutes to address us in a nice way, concisely as you introduced yourself yesterday as a civilized man, a university professor and to stick to the topic.

My dear friend, the topic of our discussion is not this war surrounding us and which took lives once again but the International Conference about Jasenovac – what the fascists had done in those dark times, that is the topic, absolutely, and if we continue like this we will go too far and then, God forbid, we will have to fight again.

Now I will ask my dear friend Mr. Klein to address you and I would like to thank him because he found time and strength at his age and everything else. If we go on like this we will go too far, we have to be concrete. Please, Mr. Klein, the floor is yours.

Prof. dr Bernard Klein

First, let me tell you that I don't represent the United States Government. I don't think the United States Government is even aware of what is going on here. And even if it is I am not sure they would agree with anything what we are saying or not saying or they would care. I am not sure about that. I am addressing myself primarily to the issue and the proposal you are making. Proposal I got, coming from this organization, I doubt it is going to go very far. If you really want to implement this it has to go through governments. There have to be some friendly governments even in the Republic of Bosnia. I am sure they must have some friends in the United Nations and contacts with NATO powers and so on. I don't know what their relations are with the United Nations, the United States Government. You can get a few governments together, friendly governments to sponsor this kind of resolution to the United Nations I think the chances are much better for getting it through, whether they just want to include Jasenovac or leave Jasenovac out for the time being to neutralize the opposition of Croatia which is a member of the United Nations. Perhaps if you limit your resolution to this area or to other areas outside of Croatia that is eventually going to come to Croatia as well. But for the beginning I think that if you do that the chances are much better to get it through. And I think that's the direction you should go at the moment. I don't know if it is possible or not but that is my opinion.

I don't know if I answered your questions but...

Madam Aulbright is not related to me. Mrs Clinton is looking for my vote but I am not sure I am going to give it no matter what. I cannot tell you what influence I will have.

Marco Aurelio Rivelli

It is important to recognize the sacrifice of the Serbs, it is important to recognize what happened in Jasenovac and it is also important to recognize all the victims that died in Croatia. It is quite right to ask the UNESCO to recognize Jasenovac and all the victims but it is even more important to lead the general opinion throughout the world to know about Jasenovac. We have a report by the United States government that is Eisentstadt report which says that 700,000 Serbs have been killed here, in this place.

Dr Milan Bastasic

(President of Zagreb section of the former children inmates in exile in Banja Luka from August 15, 1991.)

I would like to ask the gentlemen of international significance to do something about the execution places of Serbian children in the Second World War, of which three were in NDH.

Three camps were formed in Gornja Reka, Jastrebarsko and Sisak from July 12, 1942.

There is an International Children Holiday on every first Tuesday in October.

Our sections regularly organized visits to these places and then Memorial house "Fraternity and unity" in Jastrebarsko was sold.

We visited Sisak on that first Tuesday in October in 1990. I also have the photographs of those places and graves and I would like to ask the distinguished ladies and gentlemen to draw the attention of UNESCO and the Government of Croatia to allow us, at least to those who are permitted to go back to Croatia, to visit those graves and to see if that democratic Croatia maintains them the same way they were maintained by that single-minded, socialist, communist Croatia, i. e. that regime, at least in accordance with the antifascist tradition which Croatia uses very often to show its democratic image to the world. Thank you.

Milan Djukic

(Member of Parliament of the Republic of Croatia)

Honoured Presidency, ladies and gentlemen,

I am a Member of Parliament of Croatia, but I am going to speak as a representative of Serbian people in Croatia.

Namely, I am not going to talk about my report and quote it, because it was submitted here, and it is only a part of a much larger work called: "Ten years long work of the state commission of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia" which was derived from the Law determining the war and after-war victims, from February 11, 1992. to September 1999.

This work refers to the victims from 1941–1945. and from

the after war period victims of communist system. I am going to talk about it in a different way. I do not want to doubt or question the truth about the victims.

The truth has been established and written down. We learnt about it as pioneers, pupils and students and it is sacred to us. I want to oppose these attempts of falsifying the truth. Those who are trying to falsify it are trying to escape the burden of genocidal policy.

Every burden is heavy and especially the burden of genocidal policy because it becomes a historical chain and that burden forever stays upon that nation that produced such policy although people cannot be identified with such policy.

However, the truth should also be defended by international arbitration.

I have heard many statements at this Conference. They are all true for me but there is only one truth which lacks many truths. I want to tell you one truth as my contribution to the revelation of only one truth, the truth about Jasenovac.

It is not pure chance that this project appeared in the Parliament in the period in which Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia are the greatest victims again, and here I shall stop. I shall stop because I can see that we are not ready to link the causes of the falsification of the truth.

So, it is not the truth that is questionable but the attempts of falsifying the truth.

However, I hope that some future Conferences will discuss it.

It is not possible to talk about the work of this commission, about the attempts of creating new historical relations in accordance with anti-fascism and fascism, without mentioning that some ghosts of the past are back in Croatia.

It happened during the dictatorship of Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, a nationalist whose policy was supposed to, by reconciling the criminals and the victims, become and stay the inaccessible tribune.

This ideology of his was well understood by those whose nationalistic hatred over-powered every reason and he was fully supported by them.

That was the nucleus from which the law determining war and after-war victims was born.

So, the Law determining war and after-war victims was passed by the Parliament and the state commission was formed.

During these ten years the commission was financed from

the budget and about 20 members of the Parliament and almost all political options worked in it. So, there we have the cause and the consequence because of which it was necessary to falsify the truth about one genocidal policy, the truth about the crime.

The commission had two tasks. One was to examine war victims – those killed by the occupiers and their collaborators during the period 1941–1945. and it also included the concentration camps in Jasenovac.

The second task was to investigate the sufferings of war victims killed as civilians or members of Ustashi and other quisling formations by the Partisans and also the after-war victims killed by the communist regime.

It is quite obvious that the commission, with its methodology and the very approach to determining the truth, did everything to make a confusion regarding the veracity of the documents in a very perfidious way.

Especially when dealing with the victims of fascism and their collaborators. The commission had at its disposal all the institutes and institutions and all documentation examined by that time. You will see the results of their work in the end.

For such an act it was necessary to alter the truth, to find a temporary solution, legalize it and get new historical facts.

The commission determines, please listen to this carefully, the facts in such a way that it states that until the day the report was submitted, and that is almost ten years long period, there were 79,318 Croat victims, 18,410 Serbs, and 53,768 victims of unknown national identity. These data refer to the whole territory of Croatia.

The fact was determined that on the so-called Crossroads (Krizni put) 13,300 people had disappeared, and that of 7,000 people 35 persons died in prisons and camps and only 2,238 persons died in Jasenovac.

To the regret of the whole anti-fascistic and civilized world, in the name of truth and the future generations we have to defend the truth and condemn the policy which calls the concentration camp Jasenovac a working camp and determines the truth in such a way it would have been done by the commanders of then existing camp Jasenovac.

International Community and the home countries of victims have to stand up and protect the truth and they must not allow falsification, lies and hypocrisy and rehabilitation of fascist ideology.

The truth about the horrors of Jasenovac concentration camp must not be replaced with one civilization, historical and even cultural falsification.

The number determined by the Parliament Commission, and which refers to the victims of Jasenovac is absolutely cynical, only a twisted mind could have uttered such a notorious lie – that 2,238 citizens were killed in Jasenovac camp.

The commission further develops the falsification of sufferings in Jasenovac based on the national origin and determines that 2,093 Jews were killed because of their national affiliation and 331 because of their religious affiliation.

The Commission also states that 726 persons of Orthodox religion were killed in Croatia and that during the Second World War on the territory of Republic of Croatia 6 Muslims were also killed.

According to the Commission, during the Second World War on the territory of Croatia, the total number of victims was 153,700.

Political background of the work of this commission should be acknowledged, having in mind those who took part in it, the source of funds and the political background of the reasons why it happened.

I will conclude with the fact that the trial to Dinko Sakic was covered by this Commission.

Namely, Dinko Sakic trial was the balance of international expectations with historical falsification of this report to domestic public.

I have stopped at the most problematic issue, but we will have to clarify the causes because we are a bit younger than the witnesses who are our fathers and even grandfathers and there are younger ones after us and we will have to clarify the causes and the background of the falsifications because we will deal with these falsifications as well as the future generations.

Thank you very much. The institutes and the Presidency will have that material which is authentic. Thank you very much once again.

Dr Josip Jurcevic

Thank you and I would like to stress that you will not be forced to accept everything I say here or believe in it but I would like you to remember it, no matter how much you dislike it, and be aware of all the problems you are going to have, especially the young generations, in your communication with the rest of the world, and you will have to communicate with the world, like it or not.

My intentions are friendly, you may believe it or not, but the later you realize it the worse position you will be in as a national community.

It is not at all questionable, as far as I as a scientist am concerned, that during 1941–1945. on the territory of former Yugoslavia including NDH, which I mostly dealt with, and Nedic's Serbia all sorts of crime had been committed – different forms of mental, material repression which includes robberies etc, killings and imprisonment and all sorts of sufferings in the camps.

I always, both as a scientist and as a human being, sympathize with the victims and it is not questionable at all, that is my attitude and have it in mind all the time during my short speech, and that attitude will stand as long as I work on this.

However, I am going to tell you something that you will not like at all. In short, everything I have heard in these past two days except the introductory speech of Mr. Klein and Mr. President Dodik who approved of the foundation of something that would determine the truth regardless of what the truth is like, so everything else I have heard, I claim this as a human being and as a scientist and not as a Croat, I have heard so many times from 1985. until 1990. during the disputes between Belgrade and Zagreb and it can be defined as Jasenovac myth.

Everything what had been said was Jasenovac myth, which defended a certain national position and interests and many false statements were heard which I could document. However, unfortunately I do not have time for that but if I had an opportunity I would do it.

That is a theory, which is simply impossible and cannot be accepted, as it was stated by one gentleman in Gradina. You may believe in it, you are indoctrinated etc. I can tell you that openly. You do not have to accept it, if you wish you can understand it as something told by an enemy, but that is the truth.

You are probably indoctrinated, especially younger genera-

tions and you believe in something that had not happened. However, what I am telling you, what I claim is that terrible crime was committed, but it was not such as you want to present it.

That is your fictionalized presentation, which has certain social and political consequences and you do not think about the facts.

The facts are horrible and those facts will be respected by the International community if you want to present the crimes no matter whether it is 1941, 1945, 1991, 1995.

So, come out with the facts and not the theories, with the theatre, with political and media campaign.

The very facts from 1941. to 1945. in NDH and other parts of Yugoslavia are terrible enough and deserve international and Croatian moral condemnation and it is not debatable and the facts should be determined.

However, so many figures have been mentioned, so many inaccuracies. I will name some of them.

For example, that presentation was so badly prepared that the gentlemen, who were speaking as experts about the number of victims, did not even know the basic things such as the names or numbers ...

It was constantly repeated here that the first was that student who made that unfounded assessment of 1,706,000 victims in 1946.–1947. He was called Vojislav Vukcevic but he was Vladeta Vuckovic who is a Serb, so you could at least have learnt his name and surname. Today Miodrag Bulatovic was mentioned but his name is Radomir Bulatovic.

I do not need to mention that Krleza was a theoretician and ideologist of Ustasha movement, and it is well known that Krleza was less a Croat, he was somewhere in between a Croat and a Yugoslav, but it is not important, he was a writer, an artist and to declare him the ideologist of Ustasha movement is really pointless.

Then, the fact was mentioned that 350,000 Ustashi and homeguards (domobrani) joined the Partisans and Anti-fascist Movement, which is a non-sense. I think that you can go to the Ustashi, if there are any alive abroad, and they would be glad to welcome you because they had never claimed that there were more than 250,000 of them and you claim that 350,000 joined the other side.

The first figure of 1,700,000 victims in Yugoslavia, this is for your information and not to make mistakes the next time, if

you already wish to stay in that vicious circle of yours without cooperation with the world, was given by Tito himself on May 14, 1945. because of the interests in Koruska, the borders towards Italy and payment of the war reparations.

So, it was first determined randomly by Tito, in accordance with some interests of the whole country – 1,700,000 victims – and then this number was repeated by a student who was paid for it in those circumstances. This is just to show you not to mention other things.

There is one table in my book, not because I wanted to state the number, I do not know the number of victims in Jasenovac, unfortunately, and these are the mistakes made by that commission Dr. Djukic spoke of.

The smallest number of victims in Jasenovac is 55 and it was determined by the state commission of Yugoslavia, a communist, partisan commission.

Another thing, related to Gradina, the gentleman has just been here who was the member of the commission. However, there is a record of the commission and it was used in many works and the results of excavations in Gradina are fatal for the mythology mania. It does not mean that more people were not killed in Jasenovac but it was obviously done in a wrong way, you searched at the wrong spot etc. However, anthropological commission, working on it in 1944, the Yugoslav commission formed by SUBNOR, Veterans' Association evidently with no intention to hide the number of victims excavated only 481 victims and sounding was done at more than 130 locations which were marked as mass graves. In only seven of them the remains of bones were found. Then, the commission moved from Gradina to the other side and they sounded there as well and also about 100 locations which were marked, for example, in a grave marked for 3,000–5,000 victims 23 skeletons were found.

So, these are the problems, these are anthropological finds and there is the record which was sent to at least five or six addresses and was used in literature for example, Radomir Bulatovic used it and then by fantastic calculation reached 1,110,929 victims.

So, the figures are from 55 to 1,400,000. So, we have the statements of the witnesses claiming that there were 55 victims in Jasenovac, and on the other side you have 1,400,000 victims, which presents a scientific problem.

However, there is a mythology mania on both sides but our aim is to find out the truth and we can achieve that if we inves–

tigate using the anthropological technology, as it was presented to us today by our young colleagues, but on the other side if we approach this issue without prejudices there are enough archive sources and we can determine who was killed by name and surname in almost 95% cases and especially who was robbed having in mind that land registers noted every robbery.

Thank you for your time.

Dr Milan Bulajic

I do not want to answer dr. Jurcevic's questions. He disqualified me and all of us who were speaking, although I had an opening speech, the book I published and a number of other books.

I would just like to remind dr. Jurcevic that I have published a detailed review of his book, that he is showing around as if it were the presentation of his book, in one of 'Politika's' feuilletons and in my new book, which is in preparation. I will give you that review and I would like to tell me what is incorrect in it, and I mention only one example.

You have quoted my esteemed professor dr. Albert Weis, a remarkable person, you claimed that nobody knew of his report, that you were the first who discovered it, and that is a well-known report, but what people do not know is that you have completely falsified that report.

Professor Albert Weis was my professor and I am very proud of it. We were colleagues later, when I was the assistant of Professor Bartosch and we worked together and I know when the report you are referring to was published and I have that report in the annals.

But what did you quote dr. Jurcevic? You quoted only what every conscientious scientist especially a member of international committee, what professor Weiss was, would have said. He said that that commission had its shortcomings immediately after the war. You quoted only this part, dr. Jurcevic in order to disqualify hundreds of thousands of excellent documents which the State commission for determining crimes of occupiers and their collaborators presented to the world, to deny everything, to proclaim Jasenovac myth.

What is inexcusable Mr. Doctor is that you titled your book "Creation of Jasenovac myth" and you connected Jasenovac myth with the correction of the greatest injustice after 21 years.

Jasenovac camps were completely destroyed, they were covered with water and bushes and when it was at last decided to clear it up and to build a memorial complex, you called it the creation of Jasenovac myth, but it should have been done in 1945. It is inexcusable.

What I have promised to you and what I offer to all the participants of this Conference is to take my detailed review of dr. Jurcevic's book home and study it because it would take us two days to discuss it.

We end this discussion with this.

Dr Zivotije Djordjevic

I would like to say a few words about how and why it was made impossible to discover the truth about genocide committed over Serbian people during the Second World War.

I would not discuss how and why it was done in Croatia, they did everything to present victims as criminals and vice versa. But Serbia does not know even today how many people it had lost during the bombing in 1941, how many people were killed by Anglo–American aviation in 1944. and during all that time we were most sincere allies.

Serbia does not know how many of its children were sacrificed on Srem front, how many of its citizens were killed in concentration camps: Banjica, Staro sajmisite and Jasenovac.

In the meantime, Croatian authorities did everything in their power to hide or destroy as many documents as possible concerning the number of victims of all the camps in NDH, and even if we had that documentation it is questionable whether we would come to the exact number of victims. We are sure that the only way to determine the number of victims, with minor deviations, is to list the victims by their names.

However, after the war had finished, counting was forbidden to us, the roots of Ustashi movement were deep. At the end of 1944. we had 57 divisions, Serbia was liberated, and more than six months after that the factory of death in Jasenovac was working at its full or even greater capacity.

If it is the truth that we were impeding the traffic on the Zagreb–Belgrade railroads, how is it possible that we had never stopped a single train in order to free the inmates from cattle wagons, and every day, according to the testimonies of Sepaher and Mungosa, at least four to five wagons of inmates from

Sajmiste were added to the train and they were transported to Jasenovac. If we were so good at attacking the moving trains from our so-called corn planes, how did it happen that we had never sent our aviation to machine-gun the watch-towers and thus helped the inmates to escape to the opposite bank of the Sava and reach Bosnian mountains.

We did not do that probably accidentally and we repeated like parrots Broz's theory that this suffering of Serbian people during the Second World War was Croatian revenge for all the killings of Croats in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and ustashi newspapers 'Hrvatski narod' ('Croatian people') in its issue from July 20, 1941, published the list of all Croats and Muslims killed in Kingdom of Yugoslavia and there were 236 of them according to that paper.

I quote: "Of all people allegedly killed by a Serbian hand, it was cited, seven were killed by Chetnics, two by Sokols and three by Punisa Racic", says dr. Dragoslav Stranjakovic in his book. I can give detailed information to those who are interested.

Josip Broz intentionally and groundlessly repeated the phrases of Komintern, which as early as 1924. accepted Austro-Hungarian lie about greater Serbia ideas.

On July 2, 1943, he ordered the legal representatives of the Headquarters in negotiations with Croatian homeguards and 'other Croatian units', and as far as I know, there were no other units but Ustashi to:

1. guarantee to all Croat soldiers the right to life and personal possessions,
2. guarantee to all Croatian soldiers who join National Liberation Movement the ranks they had until then, and many deserved them by killing Serbs,
3. guarantee to all Croatian soldiers further promotion according to their abilities,
4. use all new forces and Partisan units enforced by Croat homeguards and other soldiers in the fight against Chetnics in Eastern Bosnia.

Some more details: that the Partisans in Teslic captured 2,000 Ustasha and allowed them to join their units or let them go home.

That on January 1, 1944. they captured the former Minister of Traffic Himlija Beslagic and his brother Hakija, the president of Ustashi Banja Luka community and let them go home whereas on the same day they captured student Vidovic

and killed him.

The Soviet radio informed on April 6, 1944. that 80,000 of ex Pavelic's officers and soldiers had already joined the partisans.

I quote: " While accepting Croatian cooperation Tito did not make any distinction. He allowed all Croats to join them including those who had actively collaborated with the enemy and those who took part in the massacres of Serbs", said Konstantin Fotic, former ambassador ...

... we were silent, and those who were responsible for the souls of the deceased, on their behalf and on our behalf said to the killers that we had forgiven their crimes, but we cannot forget them and not even the Christianity knows of no forgiveness without confessing the sin and without repenting.

Those who were telling us about brotherhood and unity burnt at the stake everyone who had even tried to count the victims.

On the contrary, they covered the grave pits with concrete, tons of Serbian bones and left them there to decay and they told us that there was no time for registration. However, it was known how many of us remained. Official registration was done four years after the end of the war which caused new problems for demographic calculations. The demographers know it very well.

The crucial problem was that those who had their interest in it destroyed the evidences without obstacles.

Please, archive documentation was used as a raw material for producing paper, you will find that in the book by Antun Miletic.

In such a way it was forbidden and made impossible to search for the truth related to the loss of population in Yugoslavia, and even the number of victims in Jasenovac.

After everything that had been said I support with all my heart the intentions of the Second International Conference "Jasenovac – system of Croatian genocide camps" to examine the nature of the system of concentration camps. Without the word Ustashi because it is not true that only the Ustasha committed those crimes and that they were the only ones who built and kept Jasenovac camp.

We must not allow the malicious people to minimize the scope of crimes and the number of executors.

The Ustashi burnt many Serbian villages and killed people in them with the closest collaboration of homeguards.

A couple of days ago we had a chance to conclude that one of the exhibits showed that the Ministry of Home-guards had ordered the command in Slavonski Brod to organize 200 home-guards who would transport 400 Gypsies to Jasenovac camp.

We know that the enemy took revenge on everyone, they killed and that is why we consider them enemies, but why not believe the report by General Lero in which he wrote in 1943, I quote: "According to Ustashi reports already 400,000 people were killed" or why not believe to Ens Fick who informed Heinrich Hillmer on March 16, 1944, that 600,000–700,000 people were slaughtered in concentration camps in NDH.

Why not trust dr. Herman Neubacher that the Croats slaughtered 750,000 Serbs according to the reports he had received, and he was the authorized person of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and he received all the pedantically analyzed reports. He gave his statement under impartial circumstances after he had spent seven years in the detention center in Sremska Mitrovica.

General Edmund Glez von Horstenau, a former representative general in NDH also wrote about 750,000 killed Serbs at the end of 1944.

Ustashi liaison officer of authorized German general and commander in Serbia, a captain of the war ship Andric sent a message to Zagreb that the commander in chief of the gendarmerie colonel Masenbach, I quote: "Criticized the bloodlust of the Ustashi towards the Orthodox people claiming that 700,000 people have been killed in Croatia so far."

Why should we not trust them?

Why should we not trust the survived inmates who stated in front of the commissions that the number of victims in Jasenovac reaches, Julije Bing, I quote: "But I believe that number may reach even 1,500,000."

Milan Duzemlic claimed that until his imprisonment on December 21, 1943, as the secretary of Jasenovac municipality, he held in his own hands the lists of 900,000 killed.

Jovan Zivkovic, in the last few months of his life, he died in 1999, entrusted his fellow inmate Josip Erlih with a message that only in Jasenovac 707,000 Serbs, 40,000 Orthodox Gypsies, 25,000 Jews, 1,733 Croats and Muslims, 230 Catholics, 112 Montenegrins and 6 Slovenian priests were killed.

Mihajlo Maric says: "1,400,000 inmates were murdered in different ways or died of diseases or hunger."

Risto Stjepanovic, according to approximate data, estimates

that up to 1,000,000 people were killed in the camp.

Lazar Jankov: "I found out that 840,000 killed men, women and children were registered through the books."

In the end, why should we not trust professor Zivanovic who did the research and who came up with the figures today. The old should help with their experience and authority, and the young have to be more active, time is not on our side.

Dr Veselin Djuretic

Ladies and gentlemen, my paper, to some extent, is a continuation of what dr. Djordjevic was saying, but I deal with a different dimension, that is in fact some sort of a paraphrase of what I had said in some of my books, especially in the book which the whole of Yugoslavia and about which more or less all the major newspapers in the world wrote.

I deal with those deceptions, which hid the genocide over Serbian people from the world.

In my paper, which will be published, I deal with three phases of that great deception: pre-war which created psychological, ideological and political conditions for hatred leading to genocide.

The second phase deals with the deceptions during the war, great symmetry which Broz established and introduced through Comintern, and Comintern with Churchill's help presented it to International community where the famous Churchill's policy was created and which led to the policy of compromise that completely mixed the causes with the consequences, the criminals and the victims and that is why the Second World War has never been ended. The Second World War was continued in 1991–1995. and it will be continued until all the Serbs return to their ancient hearths.

I want to say this here, in front of these gentlemen who reestablished the dignity of the International community, so that they could inform the world that what we here is a great deception which lasts for 50–60 years and which is incorporated in the policy of the International community, which was shown in the last couple of years.

The third phase i.e. the second war part deals with the symmetry that connects the causes and the consequences in such a way that at the end of the war Pavelic as a slaughterer equals with three "Serbian quislings" – Ljotic, Nedic and even general

Draza Mihajlovic.

Broz sent the incriminations against Nedic, Ljotic and Mihajlovic to Nurnberg without even mentioning Pavelic.

The slaughterer went to the West using ratlines, as our honest Italian colleague said, and Mihajlovic went to the firing squad.

What happened after the war was Tito–Croatian dictatorship which introduced false borders, false ideas into the political life of one country and prepared the conditions for the dismemberment of Yugoslavia in the 90's.

We are suffering the consequences today. My colleague Jurcevic would like to have the relation of causes and effects back and then everything would be clear to him.

Serbs have become smarter and have understood Jesuits methodology which would like to diffuse things and hide the problem and achieve something else.

Thank you.

Dr Milan Bulajic

I would like to thank dr. Djuretic for his speech. I do not want to interfere with political remarks. Everyone has the right to his own political opinion. I would only like to correct the statement that a charge had been raised against Ante Pavelic, an indictment containing a number of evidence about Ustashi genocidal crimes.

The fact is that the allies granted amnesty to him because they knew that the Vatican protected him.

It was well known which convent he was in and both the British and the American Intelligence knew where he was and nobody undertook anything against him but he went to Argentina by ratlines and that is where Dinko Sakic went and many other criminals.

Josef Atijas

Dear friends, believe me that I am leaving this conference deeply offended.

Now I am addressing only you Mr. Jurcevic. I have a Jewish calendar in my hand which is issued every year, which is printed in our country and please, for every day in our year

the number of victims from every Jewish community is written down:

–March 11, 1941. in Zagreb all Jews captured and deported to camps Stara Gradiska, Jasenovac and Djakovo. Then it says: Jews from Karlovac deported to: Pag, Djakovo, Jadovno etc.

However, I heard single figures from you and I also heard double and triple figures. So, I am speaking in the name of my people, I am leaving deeply offended and hurt.

I am speaking in the name of my people, us the Jews, nobody can ever lecture us, we had lived in diaspora for two thousand years, without a state, without anything and still we kept faith and culture.

Believe me that this nation and this world would be far more indigent without us, the Jews.

Listen to me Mr. Jurcevic, it is very malicious and disgusting and name it, to play with such things because, first of all, we are dealing with people who lost their lives in the most horrible way ever known in history and now we are playing as if they were potatoes, pears, apples etc. That is below any human dignity and honesty.

I do not know what your intention was when you came to this eminent conference and to present your thesis or that somebody else denies your thesis or imposes his own.

Everyone has the right to his own opinion but we registered all the people. Mr. Klein said today, and he had the opportunity to speak with Rudolf Hess, do you know who he is, he said: "Gentlemen, to my knowledge 1,500,000 Jews were killed, are you going to deny that, are you going to deny Dahau, are you going to deny Klagenfurt?"

We registered all the victims by their names and surnames. This gentleman showed me the document of your Parliament with the coat of arms, in which it is written that there were 311 Jews and I am never going to pay my respects to anyone.

Thank you.

Dusan Vrzina

(director of the Archive of the Republic of Srpska)

On behalf of the Archive of the Republic of Srpska I would like to greet all the distinguished guests and participants to this International conference.

We as an institution dealing, among other things, with collecting everything you were talking about and what is to be examined and which, as we could see at this conference, is missing, are very interested in all this.

Republic of Srpska as a state is interested in the issue discussed here, above all that this conference initiates Jasenovac – Gradina to be included in the UNESCO program, i.e. UNESCO protection program. I think that we should support this, and find all the possible ways, as Mr. Klein said, all the lobbies that can help in the realization of this idea.

This should be realized because of Jasenovac victims, because of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies who were killed there and because of the Croats in order to inform the world about the horrors of Jasenovac so that we would not have new Jasenovac in the 21st century or in the next thousand years.

We need it also because Serbs in the Republic of Srpska and all the Serbs had forgiven in a Christian way. Forty five years of life in former Yugoslavia proved it. They had forgiven but they have not forgotten, although they suppressed it into their subconsciousness.

I will only mention one example. I was a major in the Army of RS and I will tell you what that sub-conscious memory of Jasenovac meant for the Serbs in 1992.

We are accused of being aggressors in that war. The war had not yet started in Bosnia and Herzegovina when, at the end of march and beginning of April 1992, unfortunately, it happened that here not far from Jasenovac, in the vicinity of Slavonski Brod, in village Zijakovac and other 4–5 villages, 28 Serbs were killed and in the surrounding villages so that the total number of killed Serbs was 50.

And then the Serbs from former Bosanska krajina remembered Jasenovac and decided – not to go to Jasenovac again, like a flock of sheep but to take their guns and defend themselves.

You know what happened, it turned out that we were the aggressors just the way the international leaders wanted it to be. This is related to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

That is why I want to suggest the conclusion of this conference to be:

–that all former Republics support and finance further project of determining the exact number of victims.

It was determined that there were 30, 300,000 or 3,000,000 victims, but people were killed. That is genocide, that is crime but in these circumstances we know what our states are like and that there are no financial means.

Could the international community through lobbies help this project and research financially so that we would at least know in the next ten or twenty years the exact number of victims.

I think that this should be the decision of the conference and some sort of initiative for future conferences and talks.

I would ask the historians, I can see that unfortunately there are not many researchers and historians from RS and that is also an objection, but I would ask the historians to start thinking about the documentation still to be found in the archives, apart from all these new methods, and to be aware that there is a lot that can be done in the research.

That documentation was available even before the war especially in regional and local archives, but the historians were not interested enough.

The historians should pay particular attention to archive holdings after 1945, to documents of regional courts, where certain criminals were tried, where many facts can be discovered. These collections of documents have not been examined so far and they offer a great number of information.

Thank you.

Dr Milan Bulajic

I would like to thank the director of the archive of RS, Mr. Vrzina for his suggestions and I would just like to remind you that the Archive of RS and the archives of some municipalities should not wait for the historians, they should offer what they have.

I can say that the Museum of genocide victims persistently demands that the Federal Statistic Institute put at our disposal their computerized material about the victims.

So, we should not wait for one another, we do not have the teams that would go from one place to the other and ask if they

had anything. Many of these archives are in private possession, they even ask for large sums of money for them. In my opinion, it is a crime towards the innocent victims.

I would like to say that this conference imposed a number of questions. The Prime Minister of RS in his introductory speech promised a huge support of his Government. The promise was given in Donja Gradina that the Government would do anything in its power. We as the international conference are going to ask international and foreign organizations, especially Jewish organizations for help in collecting the data in order to discover the truth.

We should not wait for the others to do it for us and everybody should point at whatever they have.

Dr Zdravko Maric

I was directly offended by dr. Jurcevic together with all of us who presented our papers here.

I am also interested in what dr. Jurcevic knows about me as an archeologist from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, former Yugoslavia. I was very ill in the last couple of months and I interrupted my medical treatment and came here and I made a mistake and I admit it. Here, I am showing it to you, I have a photocopy of the front page of this book by Radomir Bulatovic, not Miodrag. That is a mistake made by an ill man and that is all.

Dr. Jurcevic treated us like some bad students in some class. I was a teacher for four years. I worked in the classes of 70 pupils for four years.

I do not remember showing them my great intelligence in that way.

By the way, I am a Croat, born in Croatia, brought up in Croatia, studied in Ljubljana, graduated in Ljubljana, received my doctor's degree in Ljubljana. I was a director of the Museum of Slavonia and was disabled after thirty years of employment. I was also the director of the Conservatory Association of Croatia, I was also young once, of the same age as Jurcevic, now I am old, tired, at the moment even ill, but it does not give me the right to lecture anyone.

I attended a specialization course, two semesters in Vienna, but it did not give me the right to correct any professor who uttered a word incorrectly and I have never corrected any—

body in such a way.

What is the most important is that I have very distinguished titles: scientific consultant, a full professor – many years have passed. Now, on my return from exile in Dalmatia, I am a scientific consultant of the Academy of science and culture, this is the fourth year.

Probably, when I was 32, when I was doing the research, I was more concentrated, more intelligent. I knew at least that much about my profession. I am an archeologist and what does Jurcevic know to lecture us.

I was a chairman of the Congress of archeologists of former Yugoslavia in Zadar – 160 participants and never have I heard anything like this.

We met here only because of Jasenovac, so whatever we say or conclude it is about Jasenovac and only about Jasenovac and not about the earlier wars.

Josip Erlich

(former inmate of Jasenovac camps)

I was present at the First Conference in New York in 1997. Mr. Zerjavic was there. What happened there was a general auction with the victims, and we could not stand it. I told him to go somewhere else and play with the dead souls.

There are not four truths, there is only one, and that are the inmates who survived and they will tell you exactly how many people were killed and how many inmates there were.

I had lost everything. I do not refer to myself and my family. I am a Jew but my heart aches when I think of 700,000 Serbs, 40,000 Gypsies and others killed in Jasenovac. I can not stop tears. Stop with that once and for all because they were all victims of the crime.

Thank you.

Dusan Bukva

(former inmate of Jasenovac camps)

Honoured gentlemen, dear friends,

I was born not far from here, Knezopolje, a retired major, one of the youngest warriors, a partisan at the age of 12.

Kozara had 51,855 victims. Bosanska Dubica now Kozarska Dubica, where I was born and where my family had lived for 250 years, had 33,124 inhabitants before the war and 18,545 were killed and 14,579 survived i.e. 54.2%.

3,404 partisans from Kozarska Dubica were killed, so it means that 15,141 victims were from Kozarska Dubica. I was in those camps in Cerovljani, and in Jasenovac, then in Grubisino polje, then in Veliki Grdjevac, then in Gudovac, in Bjelovar. After that I joined Moslovac partisans and stayed there until the end of the war.

There were no Chetnics here, so nobody was killed by Chetnics, only by Ustascha and Germans.

Thank you.

5

**Economic aspects of Croatian Ustasha
genocide against Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies;
slave labour, plunder of property, loot of
personal possessions, valuables, gold from the
inmates of Jasenovac**

5 | Economical aspects of Croatian Ustasha genocide over the Serbs, Jews, Gypsies; slavery work, robbery of property, taking away of personal possessions, valuables, gold from the inmates of Jasenovac

Dr Milan Bulajic

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends,

I open a discussion on the agenda: Economical aspects of Croatian Ustasha genocide over the Serbs, Jews, Gypsies; slave labour, robbery of property, loot of personal possessions, valuables, gold from the inmates of Jasenovac.

As you well know, it has been talked and written about Ustasha criminals, although insufficiently. The data about the victims have been collected although incompletely. The question of the economical aspects of Ustasha crimes of genocide has almost been neglected. Here, at this Conference, we practically for the first time officially open a discussion on, as I called it, "The fourth dimension of crimes of genocide".

For example, it has been determined that only from the area or nearby Kozara, from ten collection points 25,365 head of cattle at the value of 102,811,000 kuna were collected, as well as 116,750 metric cents of wheat and other fruits of the earth.

The discovery of the great amounts of gold and golden objects at Catholic Captol in Zagreb has been documented. There was a special Committee for colonization, for settling the Croats into devastated houses and settlements of the Serbs. In Ustasha NDH a special institution of State committee for reconstruction, later Ministry for reconstruction, Commission for colonization of destroyed Serbian villages and confiscated Serbian houses and estates.

At Zagreb trial to the former commander of Jasenovac camps, Dinko Sakic it was established that the State archive of Croatia had all documentation, about 20,000 files of the State committee for reconstruction.

At the Conference in London 1997, and in Washington in

1998. there was a discussion about Nazi gold and robbery of mainly Jewish property. Significant results in restitution for the holocaust victims had been achieved.

In the State Department's report about the Nazi gold from June 2, 1998. the chapter "Ustashi gold" was included. Ratlines were based on that as well, i.e. rescuing of Ustashi criminals after the Second World War, along which the former commander of Ustashi camp Dinko Sakic and Ustashi criminal Nada Sakic and many others, including Pavelic, escaped after the defeat of Ustashi NDH. The Commission for the investigation of the activities of the Nazis in Argentina, coordinator Ignacio Kliz, stated that the leader of NDH Ante Pavelic after the Second World War took to Argentina 200 kg of gold: gold ingots, coins, jewelry, probably looted from the Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and other victims of Ustashi genocide.

Neither the survived inmates of the System of Ustashi genocide camps nor Yugoslavia as a state have filed the suit against Ustashi NDH i.e. Republic of Croatia and sought restitution for victims of genocide, loot and destruction of property and slave labour.

Jewish community in Macedonia, as we have been informed, filed the suit against the present government of Bulgaria for deportation to Nazi camps of death of 13,100 Jews, more than 7,000 from Macedonia, who were looted before deportation. It is interesting to mention that two Ukraine organizations – Ukrainian Union of Nazi Victims & Prisoners and Organization of Antifascist Resistance Fighters representing over 300,000 Ukrainian victims of Nazi and Fascist aggression, filed a suit against the Vatican Bank and Franciscan Order on November 15, 1999.

This lawsuit is based on the report of the State Department on the disappearance of gold of the Nazi, Fascistic Croatia over the Vatican and the representatives of the Catholic Church in order to create ethnically cleansed Catholic state. Ukrainian organizations stated that Croatian forces joined German Nazi Army in the occupation and loot of Ukraine in the Second World War, which is estimated to be about 100,000,000 \$ in 1945.

A group of American lawyers Jon Levy, Sinsinaty, Ohio and Thomas Easton, Crescent City, Ca, on their own initiative filed a law suit against the Vatican Bank, Franciscan Order and other unidentified Swiss, Austrian, Argentine, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, German and American banking institutions in con-

nection with Ustashi crimes of genocide, I quote: "Over 700,000 Orthodox Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, war crimes against anti-fascists, looting of gold and money seeking for restitution." Hundreds of millions of dollars are at stake.

I would also like to mention that the other group of American lawyers, a well-known American firm "Zimmerman & Reed" from Minneapolis in the USA is working intensively, collecting enormous documentation which is put at our disposal. Miss Kelyn Freezin brought and handed that documentation to us. I am very pleased that Miss Freezin is here with us today and she herself will inform you about the activities of American lawyers i.e. law firm "Zimmerman & Reed" which work on this issue. It is really unusual that such a respected firm has started this litigation on behalf of Serbian victims, whereas in our country neither the Law Chamber nor the state have done anything regarding this problem. I believe that with one conclusion in our Declaration this "third aspect of genocide" will finally be opened.

It seems that the thesis have been replaced – Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Republic of Srpska are indicted for crimes of genocide by International Court of Justice and International Tribunal for former Yugoslavia, enormous sums for reparations of alleged damages and crimes committed but still not proved. But we have not yet even started anything in regard with the monstrous crimes committed during the Second World War.

I am glad that your moderator Slobodan Mileusnic, MA, is here today and he will remind you of all the destruction and loot of Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries, especially on the territory of NDH. Not only were those churches and monasteries looted and destroyed but they were also used as crematoriums for burning of innocent victims.

The law suit for restitution for the victims of Croatian Nazi crimes of genocide in the System of genocide camps Jasenovac, cannot be left to the initiative of any individual or lawyers and, I mention it again, the Law Chamber of Yugoslavia or our lawyers have not even taken part in it yet. This issue should be discussed i.e. it is being discussed today at this Second International Conference on Jasenovac and is based on the finds of London and Washington Conferences. You have seen in your files the photocopy of the so-called Eisenstadt report from June 2, 1998, which is a very solid base on the topic "Ustashi gold".

Thank you very much.

Slobodan Mileusnic

Honoured Presidency, ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to thank Mr. Bulajic for his speech, which is, in fact, an introduction to the next to last theme of this Conference.

My brief statement, a concise survey of the destruction of the valuables of the Serbian Orthodox Church during the Second World War. The loot of Serbian churches and monasteries in NDH during the Second World War was based on the law regulation number 77/507 from September 24, 1941 and the regulation by the Ministry of education No 24/325 from August 29/September 16, 1941.

State Committee for Reconstruction was formed based on these regulations. This newly formed Croatian Institution took over all the property and all valuables of Serbian Orthodox Church in NDH. Loot and destruction of Serbian assets during the Second World War were done in the following way:

1. Organized taking away of church valuables i.e. treasuries
2. Selling i.e. giving away of objects used in religious service and other objects
3. Loot of the asset of churches, monasteries and Episcopal buildings
4. Converting of Orthodox churches into Catholic churches and
5. Usurpation of things used in liturgies and destruction of monastery, parochial, eparchial libraries and archives.

Organized taking away was done under the supervision of professor Vladimir Tkalcic, a well-known custos from Zagreb. The objects used in liturgies and other artistic valuables were packed into wooden boxes and together with registers transported to Zagreb.

During 1942. another team of custodes in Zagreb museums made a more detailed description i.e. catalogue description of each object. For example, according to the register from Krusedol monastery 1,243 artifacts were taken, 581 from Sisatovac monastery, 58 from Hopovo etc.

NDH formed an institution called State treasury, which

had the Department for nationalization of property. This Institution sent a circular letter to all districts on June 15, 1942, "for final sale of all assets of Jews and persons displaced from NDH."

The instructions were given in twelve articles. All valuable objects, carpets – article 1, crystal and china – article 2, fur coats, cloaks and other fur clothes – article 3 have to be given to the Department for nationalization of property. Musical instruments – article 7 have to be registered with an exception that certain instruments can be given to Ustashi Youth organizations without material compensation.

The loot of assets, furniture, carpets and dishes from monastery dormitories, parochial houses, Episcopal treasuries and other objects, during the war, was merciless.

Professor Stjepan Gotvald, envoy of the State Committee for Reconstruction who himself took part in the loot and made a report in which, among other things, he wrote, I quote: "After Beocin, we were at Rakovac monastery from which all the objects and books were taken and sent to the Arts and Crafts Museum. While passing through Kamenica we also took all the valuables and objects from the parochial church. A beautiful chandelier remained in that church which could have been used as a decoration in some hall. Most of these artifacts were of great value for the Serbs as the evidences of their culture in these Croatian areas where those monasteries were cultural centers and fortresses from which Serbian ideas and Orthodox religion were systematically spread." This is very significant because it emphasized the importance of the loot.

Bishop ordinat in Djakovo reported on June 8, 1942. that in this region 20 Serbian Orthodox parishes were converted into Roman Catholic ones. This report, which was signed by bishop Aksamovic, also states that the objects used in religious services from those churches, unless the churches were destroyed or looted previously, were to be overtaken by district offices.

Unfortunately, the great part of the treasuries was destroyed before the arrival of custodes from Zagreb. Ustahi state of Croatia had both the program and the service, the so-called Office for destruction of Serbian churches and monasteries.

Croatian State Museum of Arts and Crafts sent the following circular telegram on August 23, 1943. to all large districts – Zagreb, Varazdin, Karlovac, Ogulin, Senj, Gospic, Knin, Omis, Dubrovnik, Mostar, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Brod na Savi,

Vukovar, Osjek, Nova Gradiska, Bjelovar, Bihac, Jajce, Travnik and Banja Luka, I quote: " According to law regulation of the commander No 78/35 and the regulation of Ministry of education 24/323 order all the artifacts, iconostases, icons, and other church tools from all Orthodox churches and church buildings of your district before their destruction to be safe-kept. Envoys of the Ministry will take them over in the next few days."

Said and done. According to these decisions one commission led by professor Zdenko Vojinovic started visiting some churches in the vicinity of Djakovo and Slavonski Brod on May 29, 1942.

In the village of Bracavci on June 6, 1942. they entered the following data into their minutes: "In that village the Orthodox have been converted into the Catholics and their church has become the catholic parochial church. The same has been done with Orthodox parochial churches in Majar and Nabrdje."

When the members of that commission came to Slavonski Brod on June 12, 1942, the Serbian Orthodox church had already been completely destroyed, the following days they were in Novo Topolje and also stated that the Serbian Orthodox church was destroyed and as they wrote in the report: "asset was overtaken, in accordance with the Ustashi regulation, by commissioner Palir Grizinovic and it disappeared." We had the same situation in other places as well, Trnjani, Kokocevic, Kobas and Slatina, Serbian church in Slavonska Pozega was also completely destroyed and the assets disappeared, Nova Gradiska and Osijek.

Old monastery and eparchial archives and libraries suffered greatest damage.

According to the Ustashi Government's plan this written treasure of Serbian people should have been looted in the second stage. However, because of the lack of time and funds, as it was stated in the official reports of Croatian government, the greatest number of the archives of that time was given to Ustashi officers, who took that treasure away or more often burned it.

The library of Sisatovac Monastery containing more than 6,000 books was almost completely destroyed. In Sisatovac library there were 92 manuscripts from 13th–18th century. There were Russian, Bulgarian, Latin and Greek books there. Only three of ninety-two manuscripts survived the Second World War.

It was estimated that 80% of all Serbian literature in NDH during the Second World War was destroyed which is considered to be both cultural catastrophe and spiritual genocide.

Professor Vladimir Tkalcic, who supervised the loot of Serbian churches and monasteries in NDH, at the hearing in front of the State commission for determining crimes of occupiers and their collaborators on October 15, 1945, being asked the question: "Whom do you, in the first place, accuse of the crimes of destruction of historical and cultural monuments?" he answered: "Orders for destruction of Orthodox monuments were given exclusively by Ustashi authorities and their representatives, who were ideological initiators of those crimes."

Already on June 6, 1945. Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC) decided that dr. Radoslav Grujic, professor of Belgrade University and the director of the Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church, travel to Zagreb, as a representative of the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and identify the looted church valuables. He did it and the transfer of the church treasure was organized from May 13 to June 8, 1946.

We should also mention that on May 2, 1946, during the work of Commission, they received a telegram from Belgrade from the Committee for national culture to the Government of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) in which it was stated that only the treasure belonging to the Serbian Orthodox Church from the territory of Serbia and its regions, they meant Vojvodina, should be returned to the Church and the treasure belonging to the Serbian Orthodox Church from the territory of Croatia should remain in Zagreb.

Church-artistic and historical treasure was transported to Belgrade in that 1946. in 11 wagons, it was placed in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church and Patriarchat Library and a part of liturgy objects was given to eparchies for religious service. Commission for determining war damage of the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church determined, based on experts' estimation, that cultural-historical treasure valued at 2,315,656,950 dinars i.e. 52,628,567 \$ was destroyed or looted in NDH during the Second World War.

Destruction or loot of Serbian churches and monasteries in NDH during the Second World War can be classified into several groups. The major part, about 70% was taken by the custodes from Zagreb led by professor Vladimir Tkalcic. Their work was mostly correct and considering the wartime conditions, professional. A part of this treasure disappeared from Zagreb muse-

ums and institutions.

The second group – liturgy objects, which were looted and sold by the Croats i.e. Ustashi officers before the arrival of the custodes from Zagreb museums, first of all the Museum of Arts and Craft.

The third group, a great number of objects used in religious services was destroyed during the burning or mining of the churches, monasteries and other buildings. Library and archive holdings should be exempted from these groups. So, about 80% of the library and archive holdings were destroyed, mainly burned, before the arrival of the custodes from Zagreb. The same was done with the furniture, chandeliers, carpets, dishes, which were taken away by Croatian officials or they were given to different institutions or individuals from Ustashi government.

Instead of a conclusion – a statement: destruction of churches, monasteries and other church buildings of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and loot of church and monastery treasuries was carried out in accordance with the law regulation and orders of the highest state authorities, the commander and certain ministries and local officials.

Professor Stjepan Gotvald, who as the envoy of the State Committee for reconstruction took part in the loot, gave reasons for such cultural catastrophe and spiritual genocide. I will repeat his words: "Most of these artifacts were of great value for the Serbs as the evidences of their culture in these Croatian areas where those monasteries were cultural centers and fortresses from which Serbian ideas and Orthodox religion were systematically spread."

In the Protocol which was signed during the transfer of the church–artistic valuables in 1946. and 1983, among other things, the following was written: "All the valuables found later are to be handed over to the Serbian Orthodox Church". These words oblige us to initiate that all remaining objects looted from the Serbian churches, monasteries and other institutions be returned to their legal owner.

This clause obliges the Croatian state, first – to allow identification of the remaining looted valuables from the period of the Second World War and later their transfer. It is also obliged to compensate for the destroyed spiritual and cultural values of Serbian people, Serbian Orthodox Church as well as of the whole civilized world.

Thank you for your attention.

Kellyn Friesen

Good morning. My name is Kellyn Friesen. I am from Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA. It is an honor to be here. I am incredibly impressed with the work you have all done and I commend you for that. There has been a significant amount of research that we have discussed in the last few days and exchanged.

What I would like to do is to talk a little bit about what I am doing as American lawyer in the United States to assist in this process to bring awareness to this process and somehow create redress for what has happened.

What I have on the board here is just an example from the law firm I am with and what we do. We are active in prosecuting in civil allegation against large corporations, banks, and for example, we are active in tobacco allegation in the United States.

We are also active in pursuing other civil allegation against other banks such as city banks and things of that nature. So, what I want to express to you is that we have the resources and we have the power to go up against entities such as the Vatican bank and that is what we are going to do.

Let me tell you what the American lawyers have done in the United States about holocaust crimes. As some of you may be aware, there has been a lawsuit against the Swiss banks.

There have also been some lawsuits of slave labour and force labour. Those lawsuits have resulted in some settlements that have been positive for the survivors and their heirs.

We think that we should go a step further and see what the research may uncover for the crimes that were committed at Jasenovac. With that allegation that has happened in America there has been some success but there has also been some difficulties. You must understand that the United States Courts have to determine if they have jurisdiction over foreign entity. So that is a hurdle we will have to overcome.

Let me tell you a little bit about what I have done. As dr. Bulajic introduced there have been two lawsuits filed in the United States, both of which you should support. Our lawsuit is on behalf of Djordje Zivkovich.

Some of you may know him. He was at the first Conference and he was orphaned at six years old and he was born in Kostanjica. I think some of you may have been familiar with his

story. He expresses to you his regrets for not being able to attend this Conference but he wanted to wish all of you well and tell you he is committed to the cause and to helping on this project so if you want to pass along a message to him through me I would be happy to do that for you. The lawsuit is, we call it the class of action lawsuit meaning it will protect or represent all individuals in the same situation as Dorde Zivkovic.

So if you have claims as Dorde Zivkovic that is your survivor or an heir this is the lawsuit that will help you give back what was taken from you. The lawsuit is against the Vatican bank and the Franciscan order and all other banks that may have received any of the property or gold from victims of the Ustasha.

Our goals are threefold. Our goals are first to reveal the truth, because we have the ability to be in American court we will have that chance to go before a judge who is to be impartial and tell him what happened at which point, that is our hope, the American public and the media will get informed and will have a form to discuss these things in the United States.

Our second goal is to share information. I have a desire to acquire as much research and documents as I can and I've provided them to dr. Bulajic and I want to do the same for all of you who may have interest in this issue.

Our third goal will be to, of course, gain some success, some possible settlements, some form of monetary relief and with that we will recommend that it be a contribution to the Jasenovac memorial.

Right now, let me just give you the status of the allegation. It was found in January of this year and what we must do is formally serve our complaint on the Vatican bank meaning we must give it to them. That may sound simpler than it is but we must translate it into Italian, we have an American judge has asked permission from an Italian judge to take a police and hand the complaint to the Vatican bank. So, I want you all to understand that it is not an easy process but is one we are endeavoring to do correctly so that we will have no problems.

I've just learned, before I departed the United States that we have successfully served the Franciscan order at the college of San Jerlamo. That means they will have to respond shortly with an answer. They will have to respond to my complaint, in other words, we will shortly get a formal pleading or a document that is filed with the court as to what is the Franciscan order response to our charges. When I receive it I will share it with

all of you.

Let me just tell you a little bit about the evidence that I have explained we are in allegation. The evidence is focused on three pivotal sources, one, of course, that we have talked about is the Eisenstadt report under-secretary of the USA Eisenstadt at the State department wrote that report in 1998 and it was the first of its kind and in it he discussed many things.

I met with the historian that wrote this report for under-secretary of state Eisenstadt. With the help of Katharina Platze from the Serbian Unity Congress we went to Washington D. C. and we met with the individuals that were instrumental and bringing some of these information to life.

Let me tell you the key piece of evidence. What we have is 1946 memorandum from an intelligence agent for the United States. He wrote in 1946 that it was estimated 350,000,000 Swiss francs were taken out of Croatia across the Austrian border at which time, it is alleged that the British seized it, as the British had occupied the territory in that region.

When they had done that, the British allegedly took 150,000,000 of the Swiss francs but the remaining 200,000,000, according to this memorandum, and I quote "was originally held in the Vatican for safekeeping.

According to rumors, a considerable portion of this 200,000,000 has been sent to Spain and Argentina through the Vatican's pipeline. But it is quite possible that this is just a smokescreen to cover the fact that the treasure remains in its original depository. This treasure, again, is the gold taken from the victims of the Ustachi.

As you can tell by the map, it went up through Austria and is now, allegedly, at the Vatican. I submitted in my materials to the Conference four documents that I'll just briefly describe to you one entitled "The Transfer of Croatian gold to Argentina", which describes that after it remained in Vatican, there are some evidence to suggest that it went with Pavelic down to Buenos Aries.

That is one piece of evidence. There is also a leaflet that was circulated among the Ustasha community in Buenos Aries by dr. Stjepan Peric in which he accuses Pavelic for living in luxury and demands the return of this gold.

And finally, there is a document that I want to short quote to you from Pavelic himself in which he is interrogated and he said that he is – quotes "I admit my guilt in regard to the massacre of the Serbs and I would be a very happy man if it had

not occurred but that is past and done with." That was written in 1947; again I take this from CIA files at the US government.

So, with those documents, when we put them together, we find some conflicting evidence but we do see a pattern that demonstrates that the victim gold was taken, that some of it was berried at Capitol, Zagreb, in a monastery, that at least 200,000,000 reached Vatican and sources believe that it remains there today. There is other evidence to suggest that it may have gone down to Buenos Aries and at this time I am arguing with Simon Wiesenthal Center, who has obtained the transaction document from the Central Bank of Argentina and he is being instrumental in determining the role of the actual Central Bank of Argentina.

You should also be aware that there is a subsequent report to the Eisenstadt report issued in April 1999 and that was written by Roan Nicky in cooperation with the Croatian gentleman, American–Croatian gentleman who wrote a book entitled "Zlato i novac" that is "Gold and money of the independent state of Croatia moved abroad in 1944 and 1945".

I want to tell you about this book merely because it demonstrates that the Croatian Government has already endeavored to undertake a significant amount of research to find out what was taken from the treasury, what was taken from the victims, what was taken from the treasury. This book, however, disagrees with Eisenstadt.

It disagrees actually that any of it reached Vatican and makes some charges against the theories that it does. I express this to you because, I think it caused the need to do our own research, that we must endeavor to take up the gold, to find out what is in our archives as expressed by some of you gentlemen yesterday and today so that we can come to an understanding of what had happened to the victim gold.

Finally, the third source of evidence that I have obtained through my communication with the researchers is from a professor Denis Reinhart, the University of Texas, who is working with the Argentine commission. He is also working with Mrs. Svetlana Adzic, who is the assistant to the director of the Yugoslav state archives, some of you may know her, and she is working incredibly hard to obtain all the documents in the archives in Belgrade so that we can look at them, get them translated and get an understanding of what had happened to all of this. As you can see the research is still ongoing.

There is still much that we need to do and I again I want

to encourage you to initiate research, provide me with the research that you have obtained on your own. But, again, as dr. Bulajic mentioned in the beginning, this is the beginning, this is the first time that we have spoken about this issue and we shall continue to speak about this issue.

Just one final mention, and that is just to let you know that American courts are not going to be the answer to this issue, to this problem. There are certain constraints that you should be aware of. Jurisdiction over the Vatican bank.

We will endeavor to overcome these with our research and with the documents we obtained through the Federal Reserve Bank to demonstrate that the Vatican bank does business in the United States which means you can attach and you can sue the Vatican Bank in the United States.

I just want to let you know that there are some constraints to this. There is also the fact that we are just beginning to talk about it in the United States, there has been some press but with each development we would like to get more press so that we can build the awareness. Awareness is so important to let people know what is hidden – holocaust is. I think Bulajic described it correctly as hidden holocaust and we would like to keep that in the public eye in the United States because once they understand what happened, it is my hope that they will support it.

With that information I just wanted to conclude by, again, just offering these maps to show you that there is a complicated procedure here of how the gold was transferred, how it moved out of the Independent State of Croatia, how there seems to be a pattern that was consistent with its deposit at the Vatican Bank, especially in light of the evidence that has been talked about this week with the ratlines, the war criminals flight out of Europe to Buenos Aires. They didn't arrive there poor, they didn't arrive there without any help, they had assistance, and they had help.

We would like to uncover this so that the truth may be told about it. I would be happy to discuss any other issues with any of you, I would also like to encourage Yugoslav lawyers to do what they may be able to do locally, and I would be happy to discuss those issues with them.

I want to give my special thank to dr. Bulajic, Camelina Pacer, the Serbian Union congress and to many researchers in the United States and here that have helped us get to this point. But again we are still early and I urge you to communicate with

me, I urge you to write to me, I urge you to E-mail me and if you give me your name and address I'd be happy to write to you and keep you informed of the progress.

Thank you very much.

Prof. dr Srboljub Zivanovic

Honoured ladies and gentlemen, sisters and brothers,

I would like to draw your attention to another aspect of a terrible pain that our nations feel not because of the loss of material objects of certain value. I know that a chalice made of silver or gold acquired from Venice in 16th or 17th century or decorated with Murano glass has certain material value.

These values can be calculated and the damage compensated for but who will pay for the pain we felt because of the desecration of our sanctities.

For example, I graduated in Zemun, what happened with the Synagogue in Zemun – it has been turned into a storehouse, into a stable, how many holy objects have disappeared from it.

What happened with the Synagogue in Novi Sad, where are all the objects that used to be there? How many thousands of the Jews lived in Novi Sad, later there were only a couple of them, but the pain that we felt in the beginning only because of the loss of our dearest, so that we could not think of anything else, has been smouldering inside us for years.

Take our Serbian sanctities for example, our saints such as Saint Stefan Stiljanovic, whose body was decorated with a number of precious objects and was taken out of the reliquary. These objects were taken to the Captol in Zagreb and the body was thrown into a pigsty. Fortunately, late professor Grujic took the remains of the relics and brought them to Belgrade. But what happened to duke (knez) Lazar, what happened to czar Uros and many other saints.

I can say that in Srem, which was under the rule of clerofascist, Croatian authorities during the war, there were many reliquaries, saints and only Saint Teodor Tiron Martyr from 1st century of Christianity in Jasak monastery, which was accidentally omitted.

Accordingly, in any eventual trial to the criminals and their successors this spiritual aspect must be taken into consideration.

The pain suffered by one, two, three or more nations living on the territory of our country, if we talk about Vojvodina there were 27 nations, not only Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, there were also other churches – old catholic etc., Anglican church, Slovak church etc.

They all suffered a great pain and are still suffering and they will suffer for as long as the culprits are found, tried. Their sentences are not that important, but it important to know about it.

Thank you.

Dr Nikola Zutic

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I personally studied the problem of the loot of gold of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the restitution of that gold, I used the then inaccessible funds from the archive of Yugoslavia, those were the funds of the Department for protection of Yugoslav property and Reparation Commission of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

According to those exact data about 10 tons of gold was looted from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

The Italians then took about 8 tons and 800 kg of gold and after Italian capitulation the gold was taken over by the Germans.

The Germans took about 800 kg of gold from Ostrog monastery that was hidden.

During their retreat the Ustashi took about 217 kg of gold. That was the gold of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. We are not talking about individuals.

We should emphasize the fact that the gold was Serbian, mostly from Bor and Majdanpek mines.

Thanks to Broz's turn in 1948. from the states of the so-called People's democracy towards the states of Western democracy, Tripartite commission of the USA, France and the UK succeeded in satisfying the restitution demands of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia so that almost all gold was returned except 217 kg of gold so called "Ustashi gold" which was not returned because it was not included in the restitution.

It is interesting to emphasize the fact that a famous Ante Topic Mimara was a member of Restitution commission. In my

opinion the origins of his collection should be investigated.

I am offering my help to International organizations regarding this problem.

Thank you.

Dragan Cvetkovic

Short view of the social structure of Jasenovac victims

Economical aspects of the Ustashi genocide i.e. the loot, taking away of personal belongings, gold and other valuables, movables and real estates of the inmates is a topic to be scientifically studied.

Therefore this paper has only one aim – to open just one segment of the future research– the segment of social structure of the population which is important to examine in order to see whom the Ustashi plundered.

Since this conference deals with the System of Jasenovac concentration camps, I will only deal with the social structure of the inmates.

By revising the registers of the war victims 1941.–1945. carried out by the Museum of the victims of genocide from Belgrade in association with the Federal Institute for Statistics it has been determined, by their names, that 78,136 inmates were killed in Jasenovac, among them 47,123 Serbs or 60%, 10,521 Jews, 6,281 Croat, 5,836 Gypsies and 919 Muslims whereas 7,483 victims were of other nations, or on 52 killed Serbs there were 12 Jews, 7 Croats, 6 Gypsies and 1 Muslim.

For 64,844 killed Serb, Jew, Croat and Muslim inmates the occupation was known for 50,129 or 77%.

Only these four nations were considered because it was difficult to determine their occupation since it was not specified during the registering. It is also very difficult to determine it for the Gypsies because they were not included in the registration in 1964.

Regarding their occupation, the greatest number of victims are dependants – women, children and the old, 23,840 of them or 47.6%, almost a half of the total number of people killed in the camp.

The greatest number of killed from this group are of Serbian nationality 19,180 or 80.5%, the Jews follow who make

12.8%, then 6.1% Croats and only 0.7% Muslims.

In the group of active working population, farm workers form the largest group and 16,529 of them or 33% were killed in the camp, among them again the Serbs are the most numerous 15,229 or 92.1% of all victims, then the Croats 1,096 or 6.6%, Muslims 1.3%. There are no data about the Jews engaged in agriculture.

The group of industrialists, craftsmen, tradesmen, building contractors, entrepreneurs, so the wealthiest people of that time make 7.4% of the total number of victims. The Jews were the most numerous in this group – 45%, then the Serbs 29.8%, then the Croats 22.1% and the Muslims 3.1%.

In the group of workers in industry, workshops, shops 6.8% or 3,398 people were killed. The Serbs are most numerous 54.5%, then the Croats 28.1% and the Jews 11.9%. This shows that the Jews mostly had their own shops so that there are not many Jews in this group of workers.

The next group is the group of so-called experts and clerks of different occupations and they make only 4.9% of the total number of victims. Among them the Croats are the most numerous 33.7%, then the Jews 30.6% and the Serbs 28.1%. These figures I am trying to present to you help us in dealing with this problem. I think that we should start a complex research which would have to deal with the social and economical structure of the whole population in NDH who were under repression. This will enable us to determine individually from whom and how property was taken and at which extent. If we take into consideration that almost 43% of the Jews killed in Jasenovac camp belonged to the wealthy class and that 50% of the dependants also came from rich families then, by analyzing this structure of Jewish population and even Serbian, we can examine that loot carried out in NDH by the Ustashi during the Second World War.

Thank you.

Dr Josip Jurcevic

Thank you. I think that we have finally reached the topic on which we will have no misunderstandings I support this initiative to do a research on economical aspects of sufferings during the war and I think that this hidden holocaust, as it was well identified by the American lawyer, is the most delicate

question.

However, as a researcher researching the archives in Croatia, I think that for that aspect of suffering there are many documents and that it is easiest to examine, scientifically speaking. There are many documents related to real estate the loot of which, the state had tried to legalize and these legalized forms of plunder will be easy to locate. It will be far more difficult to discover those illegal, I would call them savage forms of plunder and this gold can be included in it.

However, there are many documents about that gold, at least about the gold that was kept in the state treasury of NDH, in the archives of the institutions of NDH. So, it will not be hard to find the data about the amount of gold which was in legal possession of that state.

On this occasion I would like to emphasize the wider aspect of the problem. It is well known that in this hidden holocaust the Jews suffered most all over Europe. However, this process of hidden holocaust, at least regarding the territory of former Yugoslavia did not end in 1945. It is necessary to emphasize that that holocaust also happened in Nedic's Serbia where the Jews had the same destiny as in Croatia. Probably, there are detailed records of it in Belgrade archives. It must have been noted because of the land registers. However, it is equally important to emphasize that, in a way, the second Yugoslavia legalized this plunder carried out by both NDH and Nedic's Serbia. All that property which was taken away from, first of all, the Jews and other enemies of the regimes, was nationalized i.e. confiscated. In the second Yugoslavia there were commissions whose archives are completely saved. Unlike the documentation on the war criminals, war victims etc. these documents on property were extremely well kept and saved, at least in Croatia. I myself examined that documentation. I think that that will be a valuable information for the law firm and the lady who represents them and as regards the territory of Croatia I will be glad to help so that, if we can not get the victims back, at least we give some satisfaction to their heirs and beneficiaries.

I think that it will be very difficult to trace the gold. Many books were published in Croatia on that and they are very controversial. It will be especially difficult to trace that part of the gold which came into possession of NDH by contribution, i.e. by capturing wealthier and more distinguished Jews and then blackmailing Jewish community to collect a certain quantity of gold or money etc. It was a savage way of plundering.

I think that we should concentrate on real estate having in mind that the value of real estate is far greater.

The second problem is how to find international legal model to force all the counties, today's states on whose territory such crimes were committed in the war or after, to find a legal model that we can make restitution to the victims or their heirs.

So, once again I offer my help. The archives in Zagreb are well kept and I hope that we have the same situation in Belgrade.

Thank you.

Dragan Cvetkovic

Excuse me, but I have a short retort to Mr. Jurcevic.

Namely, he has once again told one more half-truth which is very significant here.

NDH and the occupied territory in Serbia can not be equalized. Please, no, you have a very strange approach, I have to tell you that.

It was Germany that destroyed the Jews in Serbia and looted them. You may think that it did not sound like that but it did, that is what you have said.

6 | Final documents and closing of the Conference

6

Final documents and closing of the Conference

Dr Milan Bulajic

The next topic on our agenda is the organization of the International commission of experts for establishing the truth about Jasenovac.

In my opening speech I said that at first we wanted to form a Serbian–Croatian commission of experts which would work on establishing that truth because we strongly believe that what we have been doing about establishing the truth about Jasenovac is in the interest of both Serbian and Croatian peoples, especially in the interest of the future generations and nothing that has been said so far, has been said to the detriment of Croatian people. Nobody should even think that one nation could be considered genocidal, but in order to live as good neighbours in the Balkans we have to establish the truth.

I assume that such an important issue as Jasenovac should be exempted from different nationalisms and that is the reason we should, at this Conference, form one International commission of experts to which the Serbs and the Croats and the Muslims and the Jews would give all the material, evidences, so that we determine once and for all what Jasenovac was.

Was it a slave labour camp or was it a death camp i.e. system of camps of genocide? Who is responsible for what had happened, not excluding any culprits regardless of their religious, national or any other affiliation?

I would now ask the member of the Presidency dr. Elena Guskova to present the commission.

Dr Elena Guskova

There have been many consultations during this conference regarding this commission which will be working on collection of documents, and as it seems, everything else.

We propose dr. Milan Bulajic to be the coordinator of the commission; I am going to read this list to you:

1. prof dr Bernard Klein, New York, SAD;
2. dr Michael Berenbaum, Los Angeles;
3. prof Walter Roberts, Washington;
4. dr Elena Guskova, Russia;
5. prof dr Srboľjub Zivanovic, London;
6. prof Ian Hincock, International organization of the Gypsies;
7. Efraim Zuroff, Jerusalem;
8. Marco Aurelio Rivelli, Italy;
9. Vanita Singh, India;
10. Alexis Troude, France;
11. dr Rajko Dolocek, Check Republic

If you have any comments, objections, please, you are welcome.

So there are no suggestions, it has been adopted.

Dr Milan Bulajic

General opinion of the participants of the conference has been to close the conference, discussions, papers, and mutual exchange of ideas during the trips, with one conclusion.

You all have the text of the Declaration, the draft of the Declaration in Serbian and English.

Does anyone have some opinion regarding this proposal?

Dr Josip Jurcevic

This time I will be very brief and concise. In two sentences I will present my opinion on the Declaration which, having in mind your earlier reaction, you will not like. Please, have some patience. Listen to just two sentences.

I do not support the adoption of this Declaration and the commission. There are two reasons. The first one – the Declaration is not in concordance with the Dayton Agreement, Pact of Stability and the whole range of acts and conventions of the United Nations.

The second one – the whole International conference was imbued with Jasenovac myth which justified the Serbian aggression, aggression of the State of Serbia against the Republic of Croatia in 1991. and now it is used to hide the consequences of that aggression.

Thank you.

Marko Rucnov

Ladies and Gentlemen, Honoured Presidency, Honoured Inmates of Jasenovac,

I have an objection to article 6 in which it is stated that the indictment for the crimes committed in Jasenovac camp Stara Gradiska against Nada Sakic be resumed. I suggest that we should put Jasenovac camps because there are witnesses of her participation in the crimes committed in camp 3, Ciglana, in the last day of this greatest hell on the face of the earth at that time. Please, if you agree to respect Ustashi subordination. Since it has been asked here that further investigation be carried out for captain Mirko Eterovic, (ranks are not given). I suggest that we mention two commanders of camp complex called Jasenovac and they are Ustashi krilnik Hinko Picili and Ustashi lieutenant Jakov Dzal, one of the sons-in-law of Maks Vjekoslav Luburic, alias general Drinjanin.

Dr Milan Bulajic

Please, now we can vote.

I state that the Declaration of the Second International Conference Jasenovac, system of Croatian Ustashi camps of death has been adopted with one vote against.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Loncar, I give you the floor.

Savo Loncar

Honoured Presidency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to express my pleasure, gratitude on behalf of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska and the President of the organization committee of the Second International Conference Jasenovac – system of Croatian Ustashi camps of genocide 1941–1945. to all the participants and especially to those who contributed in an active and analytic way in the establishing the truth about the crimes committed over innocent and weak people in Jasenovac camp.

Your Declaration which was adopted a couple of minutes ago and in which you stated some conclusions and suggestions and which, first of all, aims at establishing the truth about the committed crimes, will certainly be one of the future activities that will help us come closer to the truth. The Third International Conference should be held in Jerusalem.

I think that the international commission for determining the truth about Jasenovac camp has a very complex and difficult task which is at the same time a very honourable one because it is indispensable in order to pay respect to the innocent victims by at least determining the place and the number of killed Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, anti-fascist soldiers Croats and other Yugoslav peoples. As Mr. Bulajic has just said we will thus create the conditions for the normalization of living together not only on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, not only Serbs and Croats, but in wider region of the Balkans.

I believe that the Third International Conference in Jerusalem will give its important contribution in revealing the truth about the crimes committed in Jasenovac.

On behalf of the Government and the organization committee I thank you once again for participation in this Conference. I think that this Conference has contributed a lot in understanding the truth and that the experts by using modern methods and technology will enable the truth to come to light and that the Third Conference in Jerusalem will answer many questions.

On behalf of the President of the organization committee I proclaim this Second International Conference closed.

Thank you.

Jozef Atijas

Honoured Mr. President Radisic, Ladies and Gentlemen, dear brothers and sisters, honoured inmates,

It is an honour to me to address you on behalf of the Organization committee as its member. We have prepared this Conference with only one aim – to bring the truth to light once and for all not only in these parts but also everywhere in the world.

I think we owe that to all the people who survived the hell of monstrous terror of the Ustashi, fascism, and all other horrible ideologies which took tens of millions of lives.

First of all I appeal to all of you to look for the ways of reason, respect and love between us and to leave this Conference hoping that we will live for better and happier lives not only us but all the generations who will live here and everywhere on this planet.

Thank you once again. First of all I want to express my deepest respect and gratitude to our dear and distinguished guest dr. Bernard Klein who found strength in his age to come here and give us some hope and encouragement.

I would also like to thank our well-known professor doctor Zivanovic who came here in spite of his family situation.

Today we were the guests of Dean Mr. Mirjanic who offered huge help regarding medical equipment for hospitals and education of our young people.

Dr. Klein expressed his wish that this country become a member of the International Community and not to live in ghettos any longer.

Keelyn Friesen

On behalf of the international community let me just state that it is an honor to be here. There are many members here from all over the world: from France, from the United States, from Britain, from Italy, from many other countries and I can only say that we have reached a higher level of understanding in these past few days. We have come together to discuss issues, to go to significant places, places that were all been grained in history. This will not be forgotten nor will your stories be forgotten.

On behalf of the international community let me just say that we will do our best to continue in this effort, to continue to bring forth the truth and redress the wrongs but let me just add that it is because of the evil committed by the Ustachi that we are discussing this today and so let's just walk from here with love for one another and compassion for all people. Thank you.

Ljiljana Ivanisevic

I would like to greet the representatives of the foreign countries, the representatives of our Republic of Srpska, my inmates and all the people of good will who came here to fight for the truth which we were long deprived of.

I am not going to take too much of your time. I love you all, and I greet you all on behalf of my inmates who came here despite their old age.

I thank the Republic of Srpska. We came here every year, during their war and during the bombing. They really helped us a lot. That can not be forgotten.

Mr. Bulajic helped us most because everything that is going on here and the very fact that we are present here today and all these dear people who came here to help us – it is all his merit. Me. Klein is a great man who helped us in New York and I hope that he will help us in the future as well.

Thank you all very much and good luck.

Dr Milan Bulajic

Allow me to thank you once again and wish you a good journey and happy landing and I wish all the best to you and your families.

Thank you.

SUPPLEMENTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

THEME 1

**JASENOVAC SYSTEM OF CROATIAN USTASHA CAMPS OF
GENOCIDE**
**Untold Story Dark Secret of the Holocaust in Former Yugoslavia
(1941-1945)**

the truth shall make you free
(The Gospel according to St John, VIII.32)

Although the Jasenovac camp was unique in the cruelty of the extermination of the innocent population and the inmates there, it is incomprehensible that no single document in entirety or book has been found to date describing all the atrocities perpetrated in the Jasenovac camp and recounting events in a chronological order as they occurred from 1941 to 1945 according to a commission that investigated the Jasenovac execution sites (the Gradina site) in September 1961.

Jasenovac represented a programmed crime of genocide, the gravest premeditated crime against humanity and international law. The objective of the establishment of concentration camps was defined in the camp in Lipari (Italy) back in 1934. The Ustasha and Pavelic were given that camp by Mussolini, after Prescia, for the training of Ustasha terrorists, as testified at a hearing by Ljubo Milos, one of the commanders of the Jasenovac Ustasha death camp. On that occasion he had stated the following: While I was in exile in 1946, Bozo Kavran told me that, upon the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia in Zagreb, the Ustasha returnee Oreskovic, known as Gandi (head of the Stara Gradiska camp in the Independent State of Croatia) and some others had spoken to Pavelic while they had been in exile in Lipari about how they would exterminate the Serbs in Croatia. They had then said that they would provoke rebellion amongst the Serbs in Croatia if the Serbs did not rebel of their own accord, and would thus find a reason for the liquidation of the Serbs in Croatia.¹

With the aim of perfecting the system of the crime of genocide against Orthodox Serbs, Jews and Romas and of war crimes against anti-fascists, the organizer of the Nazi Ustasha genocide camps, Vjekoslav Maks Luburic, spent ten days in Nazi Germany touring a dozen Nazi death camps upon Gestapo invitation.

The Ustasha Jasenovac death camp could hold three thousand prisoners at the most, but was constantly able to receive new prisoners due to the systematic liquidation of the inmates. On 27 April 1942, the

¹ Excerpt from a statement made by Ljuba Milos, official of the *Ustaska Nadzorna Sluzba* (Ustasha Supervisory Service) and a commander of the Jasenovac Ustasha camp, at a hearing in the State Security Administration on 9 June 1948 (A. Miletic, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac* (The Jasenovac Concentration Camp), Vol. II, appendix No. 2, p.1012).

Headquarters of the Ustasha *poglavnik* (leader) Ante Pavelic dispatched an order to all regional institutions through the Ministry of the Interior of the Independent State of Croatia stipulating that the Jasenovac camp is able to receive an unlimited number of prisoners.²

Jasenovac was a system of Ustasha death camps established on territory occupied by Nazi Germany's military forces, but not one single Nazi German executioner took part in the crimes of genocide and holocaust.³ During the German-Ustasha offensive on Mount Kozara in June and July 1942, the Fuehrungsstab Westbosnien I-a ordered Colonel Rubcic, commander of the Third Mountain Regiment that: all persons from the encircled region of Kozara and Prosara trying to pass over their own line are to be caught and, after interrogation, sent first to prisoner assembly points and then to the Stara Gradiska, that is the Jasenovac concentration camp.⁴

The Headquarters of the Ministry of the Croatian Home Guard (underlined by M.B.) ordered that all communists captured while clearing areas of armed activity should be dispatched to the Jasenovac assembly camp as it can receive an unlimited number of prisoners, adding that this refers only to those persons taken prisoner without weapons, while those captured bearing weapons are to be liquidated on the spot.⁵ Crimes of genocide in the Independent State of Croatia were, therefore, perpetrated not only by Croatian Ustasha but also by *domobrani* (home guards).

Despite the fact that even the Nazi Germans were horrified by the brutality of the Ustasha crimes of genocide, the Third Reich, in the capacity of the occupying force, bears responsibility for the crimes perpetrated on its territory. The Ustasha terrorist organization, the genocidal Nazi Independent State of Croatia and its leader Dr Ante Pavelic were not proclaimed criminal organizations, as was the case with the Nazi Third Reich and the Nazi Party.

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Croatian Ustasha perpetrated the triple crime of genocide in Jasenovac: against Orthodox Serbs, against Jews and against Gypsies (Romas). One may even speak of a six-fold crime of genocide if we add the Old-Catholic Church,⁶ masons and communists Yugoslavs, for their members were killed

² *Arhiv SR Hrvatske* (Archives of the Socialist Republic of Croatia), Zagreb, KOZ-box 19-PRS 469 (12).

³ There is an original of a document in German stating: The presence of 10 (ten) German soldiers stationed in Jasenovac was needed merely to ensure the interests of the Third Reich (Radovan Trivuncic, *Jasenovac i jasenovacki logori / Jasenovac and the Jasenovac Camps*), 1974, p. 32).

⁴ Commander of the Third Mountain Regiment, Colonel Rubcic, No. 646, dated 26 June 1942 (Dusan Misiraca, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945 / Jasenovac Concentration Camp 1941-1945*, *Nase starine*, Sarajevo, 1969, p. 121).

⁵ *Glavni stožer ministarstva domobranstva* (Headquarters of the Ministry of the Home Guard, No. 638 dated 2 May 1942).

⁶ According to the Schematism of the Catholic Church dating from 1939 there were 5,508 Old Catholics who were murdered in the Jasenovac death camps as members of a religious group, the responsibility for which lies directly with the Catholic Church in Croatia, and Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac personally.

simply because of their conviction or the fact that they were members of the mentioned organizations.

Therein also lies the international significance of Jasenovac, which is of particular importance for the study of crimes of genocide, the Jewish holocaust and anti-Semitism.

The gravest mass war crimes were committed in Jasenovac against anti-fascists, members of the Peoples Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, Chetniks and Croatian members of the anti-fascist movement, those of Yugoslav commitment.

Jasenovac is inscribed in the holiest place in the Remembrance Hall of Yad va-Shem in Jerusalem, between Auschwitz and Mauthausen on the left and Khooga and Suthala on the right. Since 1996, it has also held the holiest of places in the U.S. Holocaust Museum in Washington, in Detroit and in other memorials of genocide and holocaust.

Jasenovac is not only a symbol of the most brutal crime of genocide, but also a symbol of heroism the breakout of unarmed, exhausted and tortured people. The date of the breakout of the prisoners of Jasenovac, 22 April 1945, has rightly been proclaimed Remembrance Day for the Victims of Genocide against Serbs, Jews and Romas.

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Jasenovac, the cruelest and most brutal system of death camps set up by Croatian Ustasha, functioned as such from 21 August 1941 until 22 April 1945. It encompassed an area of between 210 and 240 square kilometers of mass graves.⁷ The survivors of those monstrous death camps testify as victims and eyewitnesses that the Ustasha rarely used bullets; they had special knives to cut the throats of their victims and special hammers to smash in their heads.

⁷ Vladimir Zerjavic, Dipl. Eng., disputes that the memorial area extends over between 210 and 240 square kilometers as put forward by Dr Bulajic in a paper prepared for a conference held at Kingsborough College in New York on 30 and 31 October 1997 entitled *ŽCroatia Jasenovac, System of Ustasha Death Camps* In fact, the area of Gradina, now located in Republika Srpska, was measured back in July 1966 by the Federal Association of Veterans of the Peoples Liberation War in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The area of the entire burial ground amounts to 66,500 square meters, and the area of the graves themselves to only 11,300 square meters. Furthermore, the area of the wired enclosure of the Jasenovac camp amounts to some 240,000 square meters (600mx400m) and approximately another 200,000 square meters around the camp, i.e. a total of some 500,000 square meters or only 0.5 square kilometers. I have established that Stara Gradiska *cannot be included in the memorial area* (Italics by M.B.) as it had served as a prison for over one hundred years where Croats were killed over a period of 69 years, that is during the rule of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the communist regime, while fewer Serbs were killed than Croats and other nations in the period from 1941 to 1945 (Conference in New York, *Ha-kol*, the mouthpiece of the Jewish community In Croatia, December 1997, p. 2). Although it is unnecessary to prove that the area between Jasenovac, for example, and Stara Gradiska is a region of mass graves, or that the path of death went along the river Sava, let us mention that Sime Klaić, who was a prisoner of both Stara Gradiska and Jasenovac stated that: *Assembly work camp No. 5 Stara Gradiska formed an entity with the camp in Jasenovac.* (Italics by M.B.)

The first circle of Ustasha death camps was set up in Gospic, with execution sites in the Jadovno karst pits on Mount Velebit and camps on the island of Pag. After the renewed Italian fascist occupation of that area, the main execution site shifted to the region of Jasenovac.

Jasenovac was only one of the death camps on that vast area of mass graves. There were many other death camps: Brodice, Krapje, Ustice, Mlaka, Dubicke krecane, Bajica jame, Slabinja, Sevarlija up to Stara Gradiska. The path of death stretched along the River Sava.

Gradina was the largest execution site; it extended over an area of 116 hectares, with 64,880 square meters of mass graves (162 enormous common graves have been discovered to date, but only one third of that huge area has been excavated; the length of mass graves ranges from 15 to 50 meters, the width from between 3.5 to 4.5 meters and the depth from 2.5 to 3.5 meters). There is a stone plaque in Gradina inscribed with 360,000 victims of Ustasha genocide. New graves were discovered when Croatian paramilitary formations shelled Gradina in September 1991.

Camps in Sisak and Lepoglava were within the system of the Ustasha Jasenovac genocide camps.

The third circle encompassed the entire territory of the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia, including Bosnia and Herzegovina and Srem (some 102,000 square kilometers inhabited by between 1,900,000 and 2,000,000 Serbs, that is 30 percent of the Orthodox population, and they had been destined for liquidation).

That circle of death also included the Nazi Sajmiste death camp on the banks of the River Sava near Belgrade, which was located on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, an entity created by Nazi-Ustasha-German occupation.

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Not even the approximate number of victims has been established, which is amazing considering that over half a century has passed since the end of the Second World War. Furthermore, there is no explanation for the total number of victims over the area of Yugoslavia as a whole the number of 1,706,000 was accepted at the Paris Peace Conference and has been entered into many encyclopedias and school textbooks. Franjo Tudjman himself accepted this estimate in the *Stvaranje socijalisticke Jugoslavije* Creation of Socialist Yugoslavia (1960). Later, in a revision of the history of the Second World War, particularly of the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia, he used the census of The Victims of the 1941-1945 War (1964), which puts the number of victims on the territory of Yugoslavia as a whole at 597,000, and elaborates the Jasenovac Myth. For, if there were 597,000 on the territory of Yugoslavia as a whole, to speak of 700,000 in the Jasenovac camps indicates a myth with the aim of indicting the entire Croatian nation. He did not take into account that the State Commission stated in its report that the census encompassed only 56-59%. The Museum of Genocide Victims, together with the Federal Institute for Statistics, has provided a

great deal of evidence to prove that the 1964 census was incomplete and incorrect.

In a report to the International War Crimes Commission submitted in 1947, the Croatian National Commission estimated the number of victims at the Jasenovac camp at between 500,000 and 600,000. At The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia on 6 November 1991, however, Tudjman claimed that the total number of victims at the Jasenovac camp was 20,000, quoting new German documents, which he never identified. He claimed that the total number of victims in all Ustasha camps on the territory of the Nazi Independent State of Croatia amounted to some 60,000, and that these comprised not only Serbs, but, indeed, mostly Croats.⁸ Demanding that there should be scientific research to reach ultimate results on that historical issue,⁹ Tudjman found scientific evidence in the census of the State Commission on the Victims of War from 1941 to 1945, dating back to 1964, which the Museum of Genocide Victims has proven, with many examples, to be incomplete (597,000 victims in the whole of Yugoslavia) and incorrect. According to the 1964 census, such as it was, the number of victims of the Jasenovac death camp alone was 59,188 (Jasenovac 49,602, Stara Gradiska 9,586). Tudjman, on the other hand, claims that (according to what I have learnt to date) between 30,000 and 40,000 people died in Jasenovac, amongst whom Jews, Romas, Serbs and Croats. I did not correct that figure either!¹⁰ His sole scientific source evidently has problems with its mathematics! He also refers to the scientifically unproven demographic estimates of Bogoljub Kocovic and Vladimir Zerjavic, Dipl. Eng. At the first international conference on the Jasenovac camps (1997), the Croatian representative, Vladimir Zerjavic, Dipl. Eng.¹¹ accepted the number of 85,000 victims of genocide in the Jasenovac camps. He arrived at that figure on the basis of the number of victims of the Jasenovac camp as established in the 1964 census, that is 49,876, to which he added 25 to 35 percent more victims, estimating that such a number had not been encompassed in the 1964 census. Zerjavic did not count the 9,586 victims of the Stara Gradiska

⁸ In 1965, Tudjman stated that according to official statistics, from the whole of Croatia, up to 60,000 Croats, Serbs, Jews and Gypsies were killed in all camps, which is a terribly huge number that in no way diminishes the historical responsibility of Ustasha criminals. (Franjo Tudjman, *Usudbene povjestice*, Zagreb 1995, p. 278). This is the number of victims in Croatian camps as estimated in the 1964 census (59,635) rounded off to 60,000 (Ibid, pp. 349, 406-407, 471). A breakdown shows 51,539 in camps, 5,654 in prisons, 1,785 deported, 671 in forced labor, a total of only 59,639! (Ibid, p. 451). Elsewhere he claims that in all camps (in the Independent State of Croatia, *in Germany!*) and in deportations, forced labor and in prisons in the Socialist Republic of Croatia 59,639 people had died!! Adhering to the census of the victims of war from 1941 to 1945 as the sole scientific source, Tudjman claims that out of the total of 185,327 victims, Croats accounted for the great majority, according to my estimate, some two thirds of those victims, while the others were Serbs and members of other national entities (Ibid, p. 350).

⁹ Franjo Tudjman, Pismo devetorici iz državno-politiskog vodstva SFRY i SRH, 12 June 1981, in *Usudbene povjestice*, p. 504.

¹⁰ Franjo Tudjman, *Kamo vodi vampirsko ozloglasavanje svega hrvatskog*, 12 March 1989, in: *Usudbene povjestice*, p. 709; *Pravo svakog naroda na samoodredjenje*, a lecture given in Malmo in the first half of September 1989, Ibid, p. 734.

¹¹ Vladimir Zerjavic, Dipl. Eng., Author of *Gubici stanovništva Jugoslavije u Drugom svjetskom ratu* (Yugoslavias Population Losses in the Second World War).

camp, which belonged to the Jasenovac camp system, nor did he take account of the statement made by the State Commission that carried out the census that between 56 and 59 percent of the victims had not been included, which would mean an increase of between 41 and 44 percent, that is 100,318 or 105,693 victims respectively! On the other hand, many estimates put the number of victims in the Jasenovac camps at some 700,000,¹² the number that would seem to have been killed in general in the whole of Yugoslavia, according to Tudjman.

At the first international conference, Dr Eli Rosenbaum, Director in the U.S. Department of Justice, also quoted a German document dated 8 December 1943 stating that 120,000 people had been killed in Jasenovac and 80,000 in the Stara Gradiska camp, which adds up to a total of 200,000 victims in this Ustasha camp system. This is ten times more than the figure put forward by Tudjman. Let us add that the figures quoted did not include the victims of 1944 and the first half of 1945, when brutality was rife. (These figures were also published by the U.S. State Department). According to a letter sent from Yad va-Shem to President Tudjman of Croatia personally, on the occasion of the morbid idea of proclaiming Jasenovac a memorial ground for both victims and murderers, some 25,000 Jews were slaughtered in the most brutal manner in Jasenovac alone.¹³

The research conducted by the Museum of Genocide Victims and by the Federal Institute for Statistics, research which is still underway, had by the first conference in 1997 identified by name and surname 78,163 victims, including 47,123 Serbs, 10,521 Jews, 6,281 Croatian combatants, 5,863 Romas, 919 Muslims and 7,483 others, and **19,432 children between the ages of one day and fourteen years (11,888 Serbs, 5,469 Romas and 1,911 Jews)**. This research was conducted according to the methodology used by the Jewish Yad va-Shem.

In 1999, Dinko Sakic was tried in Zagreb for being responsible for the death of only 2,000 victims of genocide in the Jasenovac camps. In the sentence passed on 4 October 1999, the court estimated that, during the period that he had been commander, the number of victims had not been less than a few hundred, while in another place it was stated that at least several hundred inmates of the Jasenovac camp were killed.¹⁴

The significance of this issue is highlighted by the fact that the report of the Croatian Assembly Commission for War and Post-War Victims states that a total of 18,410 Serbs were killed in the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia, that only 2,238 inmates of the Jasenovac camps were killed and that 293 Jews were killed throughout the whole of Croatia.¹⁵

¹² A visitor to the execution site in Donja Gradina may read the following: 700,000: 500,000 Serbs, 40,000 Romas, 33,000 Jews, 27,000 anti-fascists, 20,000 children.

¹³ A letter sent by Anver Shalev and Dr Joseph Burg to Dr Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia, on 26 May 1996 stated that: In 1941, about 40,000 Jews lived in Croatia. Approximately 25,000 Jews were murdered at the concentration and extermination camp Jasenovac by the Croatian USTASHA, under Ante Pavelic, within the framework of Nazi Germany's masterplan for the destruction of the Jewish people.

¹⁴ *Zupanijski sud* (District Court), Sentencing of Dinko Sakic, No. V K-242/98-257, p. 35.

¹⁵ Republic of Croatia Commission for the Establishment of War and Post-War Victims, Report on the Work of the Commission for the Establishment of War and Post-War Victims from

The establishment of the number of victims in the Jasenovac camps is a moral issue, an issue of broader responsibility. If the same legal regulations existed in Croatia as they do in the Federal Republic of Germany, all the members of the Croatian Assembly Commission that adopted such falsified conclusions on the number of victims of Ustasha genocide would be held criminally responsible.

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People have spoken about Ustasha criminals, written about them, and they have been brought to court although all this has been insufficient. Furthermore, data have been collected about the victims, while the issue of the economic aspect of the Ustasha crimes of genocide has virtually been neglected.

It has been established, for example, that 25,365 head of cattle were confiscated from ten assembly points in the region of nearby Kozara alone. At that time they were worth 102,811,000 kuna. Furthermore 11,675 tonnes of various cereals and other crops were also confiscated from the same area.

The discovery of large quantities of gold and gold objects at the Catholic *Kaptol* in Zagreb has been proven and documented.

There was also a separate Office for the Settlement of Croats in the Serbian homes and settlements deserted as a result of genocide. A special body, the State Commissariat for Reconstruction, later called the Ministry for Reconstruction, was formed to that end in the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia.

It was established at the Zagreb trial of the former commander of the Jasenovac death camp, Dinko Sakic, that the Croatian State Archives contain some 20,000 dossiers from the State Commissariat for Reconstruction.

A U.S. State Department Report on Nazi gold (the Eisenstat Report) of 2 June 1998, on the basis of which the London and Washington conferences were held, contains a chapter entitled Ustasha Gold. It was that gold that made the Rat Lines possible, that is the escape routes for Ustasha and Nazi criminals at the end of the Second World War.¹⁶

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The truth about the most brutal death camp for the extermination of Orthodox Serbs, Jews, Romas and anti-fascists has been kept a secret for the entire post-war period of over 50 years. That truth is still being hidden and prevented from seeing the light of day in Croatia even today. Documents on the crimes committed by the Croatian Ustasha and the victims of their genocide are inaccessible. That truth is being kept hidden on the international scene by the Vatican and by Germany on account of the

its Foundation (11 February 1992) to September 1999 (proposal), Reg. No. 591-99-107, Doc. 140-06/99-01/107.

¹⁶ Eisenstat Report D. The Ustasha Underground in Rome and Ustasha Gold, p. 19.

responsibility they too bear for the crimes perpetrated in the Jasenovac death camps.

Those advocating *Tudjmanisms* and the *Jasenovac Myth* explain away the Ustasha crimes of genocide as revenge for the crimes committed by Serbs against Croats not only in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia but also after the breakup of the first Yugoslav state.

But the facts speak for themselves:

Ustasha terrorists started to kill prominent Serbs as part of the program of genocide previously adopted in Italy and even before the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia on 10 April 1941 and the capitulation of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on 17 April 1941.

A mass slaughter of Jews (crimes of genocide holocaust) was perpetrated in Bosanski Brod on 11 April 1941, the day after the proclamation of the Nazi Independent State of Croatia, that is while the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was still in existence, before the arrival of the Nazi occupation forces. That day, a conflict erupted in Bosanski Brod between organized Ustasha and part of the 10th Regiment of the Yugoslav Army that was withdrawing from the fortress in Slavonski Brod towards Derventa. The head of the municipality of Bosanski Brod, Ivan Mrgan, refused the request by the commander of the 10th Regiment for the units free passage through Bosanski Brod. This led to shooting in front of the town hall 30 Ustasha from Slavonski Brod, under the leadership of Slavko Mesic, came to the help of the Bosanski Brod Ustasha. That same day an Ustasha camp started to function in Bosanski Brod, and Ilija Jurisic was made camp commander. Out of the 37 Jews, 18 were sent to the Ustasha Jasenovac camps, 6 to Djakovo and 10 to the Nazi camp of Auschwitz.¹⁷

The Ustasha did not wait long to commit the first mass acts of genocide against Serbs; 25 peasants were arrested and massacred in Staro Selo on 17 April 1941; some 600 people were dispatched to the *Danica* camp from Grubisko Polje on 26 April 1941; 195 innocent Serbs were murdered in the village of Gudovac near Bjelovar on 28 April 1941.¹⁸

The Ustasha set up a concentration camp on 29 April 1941 in Koprivnica on the premises of the *Danica* chemical products factory.¹⁹

Therefore, Franjo Tudjman's attempts to explain Ustasha crimes by saying they were committed in revenge for crimes perpetrated by Orthodox Serbs against Catholic Croats are unfounded.

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¹⁷ The following were sent to the Jasenovac camp: Grinhud Maks (1891), Goldberger A. Silva (1919), Goldberger A. Melra (1915), Goldberger Albert (1901), Goldberger Milva (1905), Dajc S. Bruno (1912), Dajc Roza (1890), Krasnaj Lj. Ljudevit (1883), Kraus J. Olga (1911), Peash M. Leon (1912), Peash D. Leon (1906), Pesah D. Salamon (1908), Pesah D. Jozef (1908), Polak Koloman Dipl. Eng. (1900), Redlih Fanika (1889), Redlih Elvin (1914), Finci Regina (1905), Finci Dr Josip □uco (1908). The commemoration and unveiling of a memorial plaque in Srpski Brod on 11 April 2000.

¹⁸ Milan Bulajic, *Ustaski zlocini genocida* (Ustasha Crimes of Genocide), Vol. 1, pp. 252-264.

¹⁹ Antun Miletic, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac* (Jasenovac Concentration Camp), Vol. 1, p. 52, footnote 52.

The following had been known about the Ustasha crimes of genocide:

In 1941, the Serbian Orthodox Church informed the world through German generals in occupied Serbia of the mass horrendous crimes of genocide committed by Ustasha against Orthodox Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia.

The governments of the U.S.A. and Britain were to a certain extent acquainted with the crimes of genocide perpetrated by the Ustasha regime against Serbs, Jews and Sinti-Romas. In August 1941, Yugoslav ambassador to the U.S.A. Constantin Fotich received a report from the head of the Balkans Office in the State Department on the Ustasha comprehensive policy of extermination of the Serb race in the Independent State of Croatia, and the brutal massacres that had been perpetrated.²⁰

Yugoslav Ambassador Fotich was received by President Roosevelt on 20 December and examined together with him a memorandum on crimes perpetrated against Serbs. The President was shocked at the report and expressed amazement that Serbs, after such crimes, could ever again be prepared to live in the same state as the Croats.²¹

When British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden visited the White House in March 1943 in order to examine Allied war objectives, President Roosevelt several times repeated the opinion that the antagonism between Croats and Serbs made it impossible for them to live in the same state and that Croats should be placed under a protectorate. The President expressed the same opinion to Secretary of State Hull at the beginning of October 1943 prior to Hulls participation at the Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference.²²

A representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Julius Schmidlin Jr, accompanied by high-ranking Ustasha officials, visited the Jasenovac camp in August 1944 and sent a 12-page report to Geneva on his findings. Schmidlin, himself a Jew, sought protection for the Jewish inmates, whom the Ustasha, with the occasional rare exception, were already brutally exterminating. This author (Dr M. Bulajic) came across a document in the Swiss Federal Archives in Bern dated 2 March 1945. In that document, the Swiss General Consul reported that the Ustasha had threatened the ICRC representative with torture and death, as he had discovered the true state of affairs, that is that genocide was actually being perpetrated.²³ The ICRC and the government of Switzerland have never made mention of this matter!

Searching through the ICRC archives in Geneva, I found some twenty photographs depicting the Ustasha death and extermination camp of Jasenovac as some kind of Potemkin village, with the women working in the fields, the men at machinery, with a modern medical laboratory containing

²⁰ Constantin Fotich, *The War We Lost: Yugoslavias Tragedy and the Failure of the West* (New York, 1948), pp. 117-118.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129; in the Eisenstat Report *Nazi Gold*, June 1998.

²² Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York, 1948) p. 711, and *Foreign Relations*, 1943, Vol. 1, p. 543 (in the Eisenstat Report, p. 24).

²³ AF, E2001/D/1968/74/16, Notice pour le ministre Stucki du 2.3.1945.

microscopes, white-coated doctors and even cooks dressed in white preparing meals for the inmates.²⁴

An exhibition on the Jasenovac death camp was arranged in Geneva just after the Second World War. It was organized by a survivor of Jasenovac, Dr Nikola Nikolic. The sculptor Ivan Mestrovic protested at the opening of the exhibition, saying that our dirty linen (!) should not be washed before the eyes of the world.²⁵ The opening was attended by the Yugoslav envoy in Bern. Despite the authors many efforts, no trace can be found of this exhibition, either in newspaper articles or in the well-organized Swiss documentation centers.

In the period between 1942 and 1944, the Supreme Headquarters of the Peoples Liberation Army and the Partizan Detachments of Yugoslavia exchanged prisoners from Jasenovac and other Ustasha camps for captured German and Ustasha officers on several occasions. The inmates released through such exchanges, numbering between 800 and 900, represented a source of information on the state of affairs in the Ustasha Jasenovac death camps, upon which has a separate report has been published.²⁶

A Partizan unit under the command of Vicko Krstulovic broke into the Jasenovac camp on 17 November 1943 at the cost of many casualties and confiscated documents on the crimes perpetrated, according to an eyewitness to and participant of that break-in.

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A U.S. State Department report writes that the Vatican, which had a representative in Zagreb from June 1941, was fully aware of the extermination campaign.²⁷ Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac totally approved the objectives of the new Croatian state and used his influence to

²⁴ According to Vladimir Dedijer, the explanation is to be found in the policy of the people in power and the Party in the Socialist Republic of Croatia (his close associates Hebrang, Krajacic, Bakaric and Croatian academics and institutions), who insisted that Jasenovac had not been a concentration camp and that there had been no genocide, or, if there had been, it had been insignificant, that the number of victims had been increased ten-fold and that the victims comprised mainly Croats and communists (anti-fascists) and not innocent Serbs, Jews and Romas, adding that neither the names nor the surnames of those killed were known (and there has been no effort to establish such details to date). They even went as far as to suggest that Chetniks and Chetnik units were the ones to have died there. It is thus a case of a continuing policy of the party in power in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Tito either believed those people or he was himself convinced of such (it is up to historians to establish the truth). In any case, history will not forgive him that. (an excerpt from the epilogue to the book *Protiv zaborava i tabua* (Against Oblivion and Taboos), p. 383.

²⁵ In the report of the Friar Dr Dominik Mandic to the Yugoslav government in exile, that is to the Croatian Jurij Sutej, of 10 June 1942, it was mentioned that Krleža and the artist Mestrovic are cooperating with Ustasa newspapers, whether voluntarily or under coercion, I dont know and I think that (Mestrovic) is now at liberty. Mestrovic was imprisoned with the so-called free masons, but he was released three months ago. (*Ljubo Boban Izvjestaj dr fra Dominika Mandica jugoslovenskoj izbjeglickoj vladi /1942-1943/* (Report from Friar Dr Dominik Mandic to the Yugoslav Government in Exile /1942-1943/), *Radovi*, Vol 16, p. 185, University of Zagreb Institute Of Croatian History, Zagreb, 1983; A. Miletic, op. cit. Vol 1, doc. 112, p. 305.

²⁶ Documents exist stating that 47 prisoners were exchanged in November 1943; 32 on 12 December 1943, 15 on 18 January 1944, 21 on 27 March 1944; 10 on 14 August 1944.

²⁷ Eisenstat Report, *Nazi Gold*, 2 June 1998, p. 17.

have it recognized by the Holy See. On the day of the massacre of Orthodox Serbs near Bjelovar, that is on 28 April 1941, Archbishop Stepinac's pastoral missive was read in all Catholic churches in Croatia. In it, he called on the clergy to cooperate fully with the Ustasha leadership. Bishops in Croatia visited the Vatican to attend regular meetings *ad limine*. Catholic priests, the Pope and members of the Curia had the opportunity to be acquainted with what was happening in Croatia. They, and particularly Franciscans, had a leading role in the massacre of Orthodox Serbs.²⁸ They supported the forced conversion into Catholicism of Orthodox Serbs,²⁹ about which the Vatican was informed through the Congregation for the Eastern Church.

Pope Pius XII (Pacelli) was better informed, according to John Cornwell, about what was happening in Croatia than in any other country, except Italy. His envoy, Ramiro Marcone, traveled between Zagreb and Rome in military aircraft that were at his disposal as and when needed.

Having conducted talks with Archbishop of Zagreb Stepinac, the envoy of fascist Italy Casaertano, Ustasha leader Pavelic, Ustasha deputy leader Budak, Minister of the Armed Forces Slavko Kvaternik, Minister of Justice and Theological Matters Puk and Minister of Internal Affairs Artukovic, Marconi sent a report to Pope Pius XII on 24 August 1941 pertaining to circumstances in Catholic Croatia through his personal secretary Giuseppe Masucci.

Branko Bokan traveled to the Vatican from Belgrade on 3 September 1941 with a dossier on Ustasha crimes in Croatia (order of the Ustasha leader No. 46463 of 30 June 1941 on the forced conversion into Catholicism of Orthodox Serbs, a copy of an address given by Ustasha deputy leader Mile Budak and other documents on Ustasha atrocities). Monsignor Montini would not even receive him and, from a low-ranking official, he received the reply that the crimes described were the work of communists that had been ascribed to Catholics.³⁰

It has been established that Vatican representative in the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia, Giuseppe Masucci, and the secretary of the Archbishop of Zagreb, Stjepan Lackovic, visited Jasenovac on 6 February 1942 in the company of the most notorious perpetrator of genocide Eugen-Dido Kvaternik. Nothing was done after their visit to bring the horrendous genocidal crimes being committed by Ustasha in Jasenovac to light. Neither the Vatican nor the Zagreb *Kaptol* provided any explanation.

The BBC broadcast in London on 16 February 1942 that the worst crimes were being perpetrated in the vicinity of the Zagreb Archbishop. The blood of brothers was gushing in streams. Those of Orthodox faith were forcefully being converted into Catholicism, without a word of revolt being heard from the Archbishop. Instead of that, the BBC went on to say, he was reported as participating in Nazi and fascist parades.³¹

Through the Apostolic nuncio in Bern, Monsignor Filippo Bernadini, the World Jewish Congress and the Israeli Community of Switzerland sent, on

²⁸ Carlo Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII*, English translation, London, 1970, p. 298.

²⁹ John Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII*, Viking 1999, pp. 253-254.

³⁰ Branko Bokan, *Spy in the Vatican 1941*, p. 451.

³¹ John Cornwell, *Ibid*, p. 256; Falconi, *Ibid*, p. 304.

17 March 1942, a memorandum containing documentation to prove the persecution of Jews in Germany, France, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary and Croatia.³² On 14 August 1942, the President of the Union of Israeli Communities, Alatri, sent a letter to State Secretary Maglione on behalf of several thousand Croatian Jews inhabitants of Zagreb and other centers in Croatia who have been arrested without reason, their property confiscated, and deported. The letter stated that six thousand Jews had been banished to deserted mountainous islands, without food or water, where all attempts at assistance had been forbidden by the Croatian authorities.³³

A group of Catholic priests from Slovenia, who had been banished into the Independent Republic of Croatia for the simple reason that they were anti-Nazis, were arrested by the Ustasha and sent to the Jasenovac death camp because they refused to serve a mass of thanksgiving (*Te Deum*) to the Ustasha leader Pavelic. Archbishop Stepinac was informed of the arrest of the Roman Catholic priests from Slovenia and their dispatch to the Jasenovac death camp. The Zagreb *Kaptol* refused to discuss the matter, as all those against Hitler and Pavelic, who are fighting for the cross, were criminals.³⁴ One of the imprisoned priests from Slovenia, Anton Rantasa, was released from the hell of Jasenovac and, on 10 November 1942, informed the *Kaptol* in Zagreb and the Apostolic legate Marconi on the fate of his fellow priests and the genocidal crimes being perpetrated in Jasenovac. He was told to keep quiet. This testimony, written in 1950, has been preserved.³⁵

According to data from the U.S. Intelligence Service, St Jeromes College in Rome, the center for Catholic priests studying in the Vatican, was, during and after the Second World War, the focus of clandestine Ustasha activity and the Croatian underground that helped Ustasha refugees and war criminals escape from Europe after the war. In March 1946, the British Intelligence Service identified St Jeromes as an Ustasha church headed by a Croatian brotherhood of priests (confraternita di San Girolama), that this brotherhood, headed by Monsignor Juraj Madjarec and Monsignor Krunoslav Draganovic, had provided Ustasha refugees with false identify papers to prevent them from being arrested by the Allied authorities.³⁶

After liberation, Guiseppe Masucci returned to Zagreb with the consent of the Yugoslavia government and demanded a ban on the book written by a survivor of Jasenovac, Djordje Milisa, entitled *U mucilistvu paklu Jasenovac* (The Torture and Hell of Jasenovac). Instead of posing the question of Masuccis own responsibility, the President of the Government of the new Croatia, Dr Vladimir Bakaric, agreed to the Vaticans demand and that book was banned and removed from all bookshops.

³² S. Friedlander, *Pius XII and the Third Reich: A Documentation*, Engl. Translation, London, 1966, p.109, *Gerhard Reigner, Ne jamais desespere*, Paris, 1998, pp.164-165, Cornwell, *Ibid*, p. 258.

³³ Acts and Documents du Saint Siege relatif a la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, Vatican, 1965-1981, VIII, 250ff.

³⁴ Jernej Borovnik-Bartol, *Spomini Slovencev na Jasenovac*, Staro Gradisko in Lepoglavo, Sentjur, 1998.

³⁵ *Nova pot*, Ljubljana, 1950.

³⁶ British Public Records Office, War Office Files, WO 204/11574, Eisenstat Report, p. 26.

It is a fact that the Pope never visited Jasenovac, although he visited Auschwitz accompanied by cardinals on 7 June 1979. The sentenced war criminal, Zagreb Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac, was rewarded with the red biretta of a cardinal. Not even during his visit to the second independent state of Croatia on 10 September 1994 did Pope John Paul II accept the invitation to visit Jasenovac. His Holiness Pope John Paul II, accompanied by Cardinal Sodan, the state secretary of the Holy See, Zagreb Archbishop Cardinal Kuharic and other cardinals and bishops, knelt before the grave of Archbishop (Cardinal) Stepinac in Zagreb Cathedral. Pope John Paul II visited the second independent state of Croatia a second time on 3 October 1998 for the beatification, that is the first step towards canonization, of Stepinac, which represents the permanent legalization of the crime of genocide against Orthodox (schismatic) Serbs.

To mark the new millennium and the Holy Year 2000, Pope John II addressed seven prayers in the Basilica on St Peters Square in which he also called for repentance for the sins committed by the sons of the Church. The fourth repentance was for the persecution of Jews and the sins perpetrated against the people of Israel. He did not, however, mention the holocaust. It was stated that the Church had committed injustice against the most socially impoverished groups such as immigrants and Gypsies.³⁷ Neither the genocide against Orthodox Serbs nor the crimes perpetrated in the Jasenovac camps and other execution sites in the Catholic Ustasha Independent State of Croatia were even mentioned.

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Jasenovac was never liberated.³⁸ The capital of the new Yugoslavia, Belgrade, was liberated on 20 October 1944. The Jasenovac camp, however, continued to operate as a death factory up until 22 April 1945, that is a further six long months of bloodshed. Throughout the withdrawal of the German Nazi forces in the face of the victorious Allied and Yugoslav liberation forces, Croatian Nazis Ustasha destroyed human and material proof of the horrendous genocidal crimes against Orthodox Serbs, Jews, Romas and the terrible war crimes against anti-fascists. All the women prisoners were led in a long column of death, containing between 450 and 600 women, to be brutally massacred or battered to death. The remaining prisoners, despite being unarmed, undertook a heroic breakout on 22 April 1945. Those prisoners that could not participate in the breakout due to their

³⁷ Prior to the Week of Forgiveness, there was the presentation in the Vatican on 7 March 2000 of the document *Remembrance and Reconciliation: the Church and the Sins of the Past*, which had been under preparation for three years by an international theological commission headed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, deputy head of the Congregation for the Study of Faith, *Glas koncila*, Nos. 13 and 14, Zagreb, 26 March and 4 April 2000; Stevo Ostojic, Rome *Istorijsko priznanje Katolicke crkve grehova u proslosti i sadasnosti Sedam Papinih pokajanja* (Historic Recognition of the Sins of the Catholic Church in the Past and the Present the Popes Seven Penitences), *Novosti*, 13 March 2000, p. 8.

³⁸ It is not true that Yugoslav partisans liberated the camp area on April 30th, 1945 as claimed in the Historical Atlas of the Holocaust, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996, p. 177.

physical weakness committed suicide. From amongst the one thousand prisoners, only 87 survived.

Units of the 21st Serbian Division entered abandoned Jasenovac on 2 May 1945. Where are the reports, findings and photographs of the camp as they found it about which members of those units have spoken to the author? Jasenovac survivor Dr Nikola Nikolic visited the camp immediately after liberation. His son Sergije photographed all the material remnants of the Jasenovac camp. Those photographs are now invaluable, for no material evidence remains; not a single stone is standing; everything has been swept from the face of the earth, even the foundations have been leveled by bulldozers. There remains, therefore, only documentation, mainly contained in those photographs and in the plan enclosed in the book, *Jasenovacki logor smrti* (Jasenovac death camp), which our descendants will be able to reconstruct and, to a certain extent, correct the mistake made.³⁹

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Instead of determining the truth and restoring the Ustasha death camp, the camp remnants were dismantled and removed in the first post-war years; all inquiries into the matter were banned, and the pits containing the bodies of the victims of genocide were cemented over. A former director of the Jasenovac Memorial Complex posed a question that provoked Franjo Tudjman's anger in his book on the creation of the Jasenovac Myth. The question was: Who decided to eliminate all traces of the former Jasenovac concentration camp in 1946 and 1947, why and where?⁴⁰

The land where the Jasenovac camp had stood was thoroughly leveled after the war, divided into plots and allocated to farmers. Maize was sown there, while, at a depth of about one meter, bones lay upon bones over an immense area. The River Sava makes a sharp bend there and the water is gradually deepening. From time to time, the banks along the river become eroded, and whitened human bones appear.⁴¹ This process of natural destruction continues. In 1985, when the River Sava was at a very low level, many human bones appeared; new mass graves were revealed.⁴²

A Jasenovac survivor, Jovan Zivkovic, showed the author a stretch of the Jasenovac Novska highway (traffic sign for Kosutarica) over a length of some 1,600 meters that passes over the embankment by the Sava and covers the graves where Ustasha killed huge numbers of prisoners that were

³⁹ Foreword, Dr Nikola Nikolic, published by NISP *Oslobodjene*, Sarajevo, 1975, p. 8. Negotiations were conducted with Dr Nikola Nikolic on the purchase of the overall material (the manuscript contains over 1100 slips of text. He was dissatisfied with both editions, particularly the Sarajevo edition. Unfortunately, agreement was not reached.

⁴⁰ Radovan Trivuncic in a paper read at a Round Table on Jasenovac in Jasenovac on 14 and 15 November 1986 (Vladimir Dedijer, *Vatikan i Jasenovac* (The Vatican and Jasenovac), Belgrade, 1987, p. 675).

⁴¹ Milan Nožica, Conversation with Prof. Dr Srboljub Zivanovic, Informativni glasnik, Novi Sad Faculty of Medicine, No. 231, 28 November 1989, pp. 8-9.

⁴² *Politika*, Belgrade, 22 September 1985.

unable to work.⁴³ Jasenovac survivor Adolf Fridrih claims that between two hundred and three hundred prisoners were killed daily on the way to the Embankment and back, as well as at the working site itself, the waterlogged banks of the Sava. We had to bury the bodies immediately either close to the Embankment or in the Embankment itself. I don't think there's one single meter of that Embankment where at least one prisoner didn't lose his life.⁴⁴ Jasenovac survivor Jakov Atijas claims between two hundred and three hundred prisoners were killed every day on the embankments.⁴⁵ Salom-Sandor Musafija considers that the Ustasha built from the very people they killed at work on the Embankment, and the Embankment grew up not only from earth but also from people.⁴⁶

The Jasenovac Memorial Complex was built (1964-1966) as a result of pressure from the public, and especially from surviving inmates and their families. This memorial is symbolized by a huge stone flower, the work of Bogdan Bogdanovic. When the author (Dr. M. Bulajic) announced at a scientific gathering in Jasenovac that the Memorial Complex reminded him of a golf course (all the execution sites are covered with lawns without any indications of what they actually cover), the Croatian edition of *Komunist* published a commentary by Goran Babic entitled *Lovci na ljudske glave* (Headhunters), saying that Bulajic would be the amongst the first golfers on that course, calling for the plucking out of liars.⁴⁷

The waters of the River Sava washed hundreds and even thousands of bodies, the victims of genocide from the area of the Jasenovac death camp, onto the riverbanks by Belgrade. Eyewitnesses claim they bore the message *meso za Jovanovu pijacu* (meat for Jovanova market). The bodies that were washed up on the riverbanks in Belgrade were collected and buried in mass graves (by *Kula Nebojsa*, *Stara Centrala* and in other places). While many pits and Ustasha execution sites on the territory of the former Independent State of Croatia have been opened, the mass graves in Belgrade have remained unopened, uncommemorated, and no funeral service has been held over them.⁴⁸

⁴³ Zivkovic claims that some 40,000 prisoners were killed and their remains lie under the highway (from the authors conversation with Jovan Zivkovic in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade, 15 December 1988). The estimated number of victims is open to discussion. It is a fact, however, that the construction of a highway on this part of the Ustasha Jasenovac death camp should not have been allowed.

⁴⁴ Adolf Fridrih, born on 29 December 1919 in Velika Gorica near Zagreb, a watchmakers assistant, arrested on 28 August 1941, *Secanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac* (Memories of Jews of the Jasenovac Camp), p. 33.

⁴⁵ Jakov Atijas, born 14 March 1914 in Sarajevo, *Secanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac*, p. 75.

⁴⁶ *Secanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac*, p. 260.

⁴⁷ Goran Babic, *Lovci na ljudske glave* (Headhunters), *Komunist*, No. 1704, Zagreb, 3 November 1989.

⁴⁸ At a session held on 14 January 1991, the Executive Council of the Belgrade Municipal Assembly decided to set up an initiative committee for the erection of monuments to the victims of the Ustasha Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska camps buried (interred) in Belgrade. The president of the committee, the author (Dr Milan Bulajic), wrote a report entitled *Neobilježene i nesahranjene žrtve ustaskog logora Jasenovac u Beogradu* (The Victims of the Jasenovac Camp Interred Without Funeral in Unmarked Graves in Belgrade). On the memorial plaque to the victims at the Staro sajmište there stands the following inscription: *Povodom Dana secanja*

The truth about the Ustasha genocidal crimes against Orthodox Serbs, Jews and Romas was not depicted truthfully after liberation either to the Yugoslav or the world public!

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The 1948 general census, the first post-war general census, did not include a census of war victims! That very same year, that year of the conflict between Tito and Stalin and the Cominform attack on Yugoslavia, there was the abolition of the State Commission for the establishment of crimes committed by occupiers and their henchmen. National and provincial commissions (some 300 municipal commissions and some 1,400 local commissions) were broken up without any explanation. The pits and execution sites containing the victims of genocide were filled with concrete!

It is a fact that the lifelong President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, never visited Jasenovac, although he did visit many smaller execution sites. The author knows for a fact that Tito passed by Jasenovac on several occasions, and that he received invitations to visit Jasenovac, to which he did not respond.⁴⁹

The author has established that neither the Ustasha death camp nor the Ustasha genocidal crimes have been entered into the registers of the archives of the U.N. Commission for War Crimes, located in New York. In confirmation of this incredible fact, the author received a written reply signed by the Chief of the Archives Unit, United Nations War Crimes Archives, Mrs Marille Gulpit, dated 17 September 1991.

The author asked what had happened to the Memorandum on Crimes of Genocide Committed against the Serbian People by the Government of the Independent State of Croatia during World War II, which was submitted in 1950 to the President of the fifth U.N. General Assembly in Flushing Meadows in New York.⁵⁰ No reply was received!

What happened to the documents on the victims of war and perpetrated crimes that were collected on the basis of decisions of the Anti-Fascist Council of the Peoples Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) from 1943 to 1945? What happened to the census of war victims carried out in 1946 and those organized by the Association of Combatants of the Peoples Liberation

na žrtve Jasenovca (To Mark Remembrance Day of the Victims of Jasenovac), 22 April 1995, thus making mention of the Jasenovac victims too.

⁴⁹ Risto Stjepanovic asked Djuro Pucar-Stari to suggest to Tito that he should visit Jasenovac at the earliest possible opportunity. Djuro Pucar replied that it was intended that Tito should visit Jasenovac on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument there. The author has a copy of Risto Stjepanovics letter to the SFRY President, Josip Broz Tito, dated 2 September 1974, inviting him to visit the Jasenovac camp, where lie 800,000 killed, amongst whom tens of thousands of direct participants in the Peoples Liberation War and several national heroes, and, on that occasion, to pay due homage to your co-combatants from the Peoples Liberation War. The author also has a letter confirming the receipt of that letter by the SFRY Presidency dated 15 October 1974 and saying that Comrade President has been acquainted with the contents of your letter.

⁵⁰ Letter from the FPRY Embassy in Paris to the Foreign Ministry in Belgrade, conf. No. 213 dated 30 January 1951, Diplomatic Archives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of SRY, sign. 41381/51.

War of Yugoslavia in 1950 and 1960? What happened to the census carried out by the Socialist Alliance of Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 1989?

Jasenovac survivor Izidor Levi returned to the deserted Jasenovac camp and dug up hidden documents on Jasenovac victims, which he submitted on 5 June 1945 to the National Commission of Croatia and thereupon obtained a certificate of receipt.⁵¹

Where are the documents on the anthropological research conducted in 1961 and 1964 in the Jasenovac execution sites, especially in the largest site Gradina? Professor Srboljub Zivanovic, who took part in that research, stated that he was interviewed in 1964 by the then young *Politika* journalist Momcilo Stefanovic. The interview was to be published in the NIN weekly. But that article never appeared. When I asked what had happened to it, I was told not to ask about that text again. When new graves were discovered on the territory of Jasenovac, I offered to help - free of charge, of course - to conduct research into the graves. The Museum in Jasenovac never replied to my offer. Why, I don't know.⁵² Professor Srboljub Zivanovic, it is said, left Yugoslavia on account of the silence imposed on the truth about Jasenovac; he obtained British nationality and lectures on Jasenovac in Oxford. In an affidavit to the *Zupanijski sud* (District Court) in Zagreb dated December 1998, he continues to claim that the truth about the victims of Jasenovac lies one and a half meters under the ground, and that this can be internationally verified. New technology - satellite pictures and radar that reach some 30 meters underground - open up new possibilities for the determination of the truth for the sake of future generations.⁵³

At the International Scientific Gathering on Jasenovac - 1945-1988 organized at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on 21 and 22 November 1988, the author proposed the formation of a data bank to collect all data in one place in order to determine the truth about the system of the Ustasha Jasenovac death camps. The Museum of Genocide Victims was created on the basis of that proposal on 16 July 1992.⁵⁴

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Immediately after the public creation of the Jasenovac Myth with the publication of Tudjman's *Bespuca povijesne zbiljnosti - rasprave o povijesti i filozofiji zlosilja* -(Wastelands of Historical Reality Discussions on History and the Philosophy of Aggressive Violence) by the *Nakladni zavod Matice*

⁵¹ Sjecanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac, pp. 67-68.

⁵² Milan Nožica, *Informativni glasnik*, Novi Sad Faculty of Medicine, No. 231, 28. November 1989, pp. 8-9.

⁵³ Professor Zivanovic states that during his stay in London, Professor Dili, a lecturer in anatomy at the School of Medicine at the St Georges Hospital in London, became interested in this issue. Having heard about those monstrous crimes perpetrated on our land, he came as an amateur speleologist and young doctor with an informal group to holiday in Yugoslavia and quite informally to descend into some potholes in Medjugorje. I have not seen his report, but I know that he submitted a formal report to the British government. What has happened to that report?

⁵⁴ Budimir Potocan, *Skup Jasenovac 1945-1988* in the Serbian Academy of Sciences And Arts: *Naucno o genocidu* (On Genocide Scientifically), *Ekspres Politika*, 22 November 1988.

Hrvatske in 1989, that same year the author (Dr M. Bulajic) published a commentary entitled *Stvarni smisao Tujdmanove teorije neoustatstvo i razbijanje Jugoslavije* (The True Sense of Tujdman's Theory the Neo-Ustasha Movement and the Disintegration of Yugoslavia).⁵⁵

As there was no response to that commentary, on 8 June 1990 the author called on Tujdman to bear witness before the court of the public with facts and to enter into a discussion as to whether Jasenovac was a myth or a system of Ustasha death camps to prove, before Croatian and Serbian, Yugoslav and world public, the claim he put forward in his book *Wastelands of Historical Reality* that the Jasenovac Gradiska area served as a camp for the new authorities, first of all for Yugoslav Army units and then for the civil authorities of the Peoples Republic of Croatia.⁵⁶

Franjo Tujdman, former general of the Yugoslav Peoples Army, born on 4 May 1922 in Veliko Trgovisce⁵⁷ of father Stjepan, did not respond to the call to bear witness before the court of the public. A second call to do so was addressed to Tujdman on 6 July 1990 with the demand that he should explain to the Yugoslav and world public his morbid project to transform the Jasenovac Memorial Complex into a common memorial for the victims and the criminals.⁵⁸

Dragan D`oic obtained his masters degree at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in 1980 with the thesis *Ustaski zlocini u logoru Jasenovac kao primjer represivnog sistema NDH* (Ustasha Crimes in the Jasenovac Camp as an Example of the Repressive System in the Independent State of Croatia).

A change, however, occurred in Croatian historiography concerning the scientific examination of the Jasenovac issue, and crimes of genocide in the Jasenovac camps were negated. Taking the same line as Tujdman's thesis on the Jasenovac Myth, in 1998, *Hrvatski studiji Studia Croatica* published a book by Josip Jurcevic M.A. entitled *Nastanak jasenovackog mita problemi proucavanja zrtava Drugog svjetskog rata na podrucju Hrvatske* (The Emergence of the Jasenovac Myth Problems in the Study of the Victims of the Second World War in the Territory of Croatia). In that book, he stated that the designation of the Jasenovac Memorial Complex, albeit twenty years too late, was the beginning of the *Jasenovac Myth!*⁵⁹

Instead of endeavoring to establish the truth as confirmed by facts, a book entitled *Srpski mit o Jasenovcu skrivanje istine o beogradskim konclogorima* (The Serbian Myth of Jasenovac the Concealment of the Truth about Belgrade Concentration Camps) by Josip Pecaric, a university mathematics professor, was published in 1988 by the Croatian Information

⁵⁵ Milan Bulajic, *Ustaski zlocini genocida* (Ustasha Crimes of Genocide), Vol. IV, IRO Rad, Belgrade, 1989, pp. 1069-1106.

⁵⁶ Milan Bulajic, *Pozivam Tujdmana pred sud javnosti* (I call on Tujdman to Bear Witness before the Court of the Public), *Intervju*, No. 235, Belgrade, 8 June 1990, pp. 19-22.

⁵⁷ I have not succeeded in finding proof that Ferenc Tujdman, born in Hungary in 1922, had his name changed to Franjo when he moved to Veliko Trgovisce in Zagorje in 1929.

⁵⁸ Milan Bulajic, *Drugi poziv Tujdmanu pred sud javnosti; Blajburg nisti Jasenovac*, (A Second Call on Tujdman to Bear Witness before the Court of the Public; Bleiburg Cancels Out Jasenovac), *Intervju*, No. 237, Belgrade, 8 July 1990, pp. 53-56.

⁵⁹ See separate chapter.

Center and the Croatian Institute of History. This book, together with Philip Cohens *Serbias Secret War*, presents an ideology of genocide, an apologia for the crimes of genocide committed in Jasenovac. The author (Dr M. Bulajic) is proclaimed a war criminal for having brought to light the truth about the system of Ustasha death camps. That university professor was never brought to account in Croatia for revising the history of genocide and holocaust and for openly advocating the ideology of genocide.

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After the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, the area of the Jasenovac Memorial Complex became split into two sovereign states, Jasenovac in the Republic of Croatia (located on the territory of Srpska Krajina), and the largest execution site Gradina in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (located on the territory of Republika Srpska). On 31 January 1992, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia submitted to the UN Secretary General and the President of the UN Security Council a *Memorandum on Crimes of Genocide in Croatia and the Desecration of the Jasenovac Memorial Complex*. The world community did not react.

After the publication of *Wastelands of Historical Reality*, which elaborates the thesis of the Jasenovac Myth and Judeo-Nazism, President of the second independent state of Croatia Franjo Tudjman was invited to attend the inauguration of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. No invitations were addressed to the President of Yugoslavia or the President of Serbia. There was no Jasenovac in the Hall of Remembrance, where the largest Nazi death camps in the area of occupied Europe between 1941 and 1945 were inscribed, a matter that was later corrected.

Prior to the tenth anniversary of the successful work of the committee designated by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) to collect material on the genocide committed against the Serbian nation and other nations of Yugoslavia in the 20th century, the SANU Presidency decided on 16 June 1994 that this committee should cease its activity. The decision was made without explanation, at a time of renewed genocide and the formation of the International Tribunal for war crimes and crimes of genocide on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

During the visit of the Director of the Museum of Genocide Victims to the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, on 23 June 1994, Director Dr J. Weinberg promised not only sponsorship for an exhibition on Jasenovac in Washington but also urged the organization of a round table conference to discuss the exhibition and the crushing of Tudjmans thesis on a Jasenovac Myth. He sent Director Nowakovski to Belgrade to look at what the exhibition would contain. The exhibition items had already been packed for dispatch to Washington when the Museum received a letter from Dr Weinberg on 10 November stating that the Museum has decided that it is unable to sponsor the exhibition. It was later explained informally that we should understand the situation and the pressure

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Bearing in mind, after the disintegration of the second Yugoslav state, the above-mentioned split in the system of Ustasha camps into two sovereign states, the Republic of Croatia (Jasenovac) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republika Srpska (Gradina), on 4 April 1995, the Museum of Genocide Victims proposed to UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor that the Jasenovac Memorial Complex be placed on the World Heritage List, under international control, in line with the precedent created by the Nazi death camp Auschwitz (No. 80). The proposal was formally supported by the FR Yugoslavia Foreign Ministry and His Holiness Patriarch Pavle of the Serbian Orthodox Church. On 23 January 1996, that is after a period of nine months, the Director of the UNESCO World Heritage Center, Bernd von Droste, replied that with all due respect for the site in question, he could not but reiterate that the nomination of any site for inscription on the World Heritage List is the exclusive prerogative of the State Party on whose territory the property in question is located, i.e. the Republic of Croatia! This would mean that Germany should have exclusive rights over the Nazi camps in the territory of the Third Reich!

The second sovereign nation, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Republika Srpska also has the right to pose the question of the inscription on that List of the Jasenovac system of Ustasha genocide camps, for the largest execution site and mass graves in the Balkans, Donja Gradina, is located on its territory.

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In the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism on 9 May 1995 and the remembrance of Nazi death camps throughout occupied Europe (Auschwitz, Dachau and others), the victims of the Ustasha crimes of genocide in Jasenovac were the only ones not to be mentioned. That same year, at the beginning of May, the armed forces of the second independent state of Croatia attacked the Jasenovac Memorial Complex and desecrated the execution grounds where the Ustasha victims of genocide had perished.

The Director of the Museum of Genocide Victims was received very cordially when he visited the Yad va-Shem Museum in Jerusalem on 12 June 1995, but without success as to the sponsorship of an exhibition on Jasenovac, although that Ustasha camp is inscribed in the holiest place of that holocaust museum.

And so it happened that the exhibition *Jasenovac System of Ustasha Death Camps* was held on 26 June 1995 in Vienna, in the Hofburg Palace, the former residence of Queen Maria Theresa!⁶⁰

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⁶⁰ *O Jasenovcu u dvorcu Marije Terezije* (About Jasenovac in the Court of Maria Theresa), Tanjug, *Borba*, Belgrade, 26 June 1995,

Anti-Serb politicization also prevented the presentation of the exhibition on Jasenovac in Israel and the United States in 1996. During talks in the Holocaust Museum in Washington and the Tolerance Museum of the Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, the Director of the Museum of Genocide Victims was openly told: Jasenovac is politics, (!) Upon being asked whether the 25,000 Jewish victims that the Ustasha murdered alongside Orthodox Serbs were also politics, there was no response, only bent heads!

Dr Bernard Klein invited the author to speak at the fifth International Conference on the Holocaust on 30 December 1996 on the subject Jasenovac System of Ustasha Death Camps: What happened? Together with Professor Barry Lituchy he made possible the presentation of the exhibition in New York and the First International Conference on the Jasenovac Concentration Camp from 29 to 31 October 1997 at Kingsborough College of the University of New York. Dr Franjo Tudjman, creator of the theory of the Jasenovac Myth in *Wastelands of Historical Reality*, did not respond to the invitation addressed to him. He was represented by Vladimir Zerjavic, Dipl. Eng. Other participants included the prominent experts Dr Michael Berenbaum and Dr Ely Rosenbaum, Director of the Special Investigations Office of the U.S. Department of Justice. While the twelve survivors of the monstrous camp were speaking, tears welled in the eyes of the public, tears that did not allow politicization. Despite that, the political pressure was so strong that the final session, at which there was to be the examination and adoption of an Action Program and the formation of a special international commission of experts to determine what had really happened, that is to establish the truth about the most brutal extermination camp was not convened.

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The first International Conference on the Ustasha Jasenovac death camp set into motion the issue of the persecution and arrest of former commander Dinko Sakic. The exhibition showed a photograph of Ustasha criminal Dinko Sakic with the English translation of his statements: that he was doing his duty in Jasenovac, that he did not regret what he had done and that he would do the same again. On the basis of that initiative, the official request of the government of FR Yugoslavia and the government of the Republic of Croatia, the government of Argentina extradited Dinko and Nada Sakic to Croatia. The possibility was thus created for a belated Yugoslav Nuremberg through the trial of the Ustasha genocidal criminal Sakic and for the determination of the truth about Jasenovac, that is whether it was a work camp, as claimed by Tudjman and Sakic, or a death camp; whether it was only the Jasenovac Myth of some 20,000 victims or whether it was the most brutal death camp where the triple crime of genocide was perpetrated against Orthodox Serbs, Jews and Romas, and war crimes against Yugoslav (Croatian) anti-fascists.

Sakic was not convicted for crimes of genocide but for crimes against the civilian population.⁶¹ War crimes against the civilian population and the crime of genocide fall under the category of crimes against humanity and international law. The essential difference between these two crimes is that war crime against a civilian population can only be committed in time of war, armed conflict or operation, while the crime of genocide can also be committed in time of peace. The essential assumption is that war crimes against a civilian population are committed against foreign citizens, while the crime of genocide can also be committed against citizens of the same state. The crimes in the Jasenovac camps were not committed by either German or Italian occupiers but by Croatian Ustasha.

Trial for crimes of genocide in the Nazi-Ustasha Jasenovac camp system presupposes the condemnation of the Ustasha terrorist organization and the genocidal Independent State of Croatia (a belated Croatian Nuremberg), which would make it impossible for Ustasha to return to the Republic of Croatia or to claim that the Independent State of Croatia was the expression of the historical aspirations of the Croatian nation, of which the Republic of Croatia represents the continuation. The killing of tens of thousands of children between the ages of one day and 14 years, who were murdered simply because they were born Serbs, Romas or Jews, cannot come under the category of war crimes against a civilian population or political opponents.

The verdict of the *Zupanijski sud* (District Court) speaks of the racial character of the Independent State of Croatia, the institutionalized collective responsibility of Jews, while the other victims were political opponents, immoral and dangerous persons, of the collective punishment of categories of the population according to national, religious or political criteria.⁶² There was no mention of crimes against Orthodox Serbs.!

Sakic was not tried for the crimes of the Jasenovac system of Ustasha genocide camps. He was accused and sentenced only for crimes he committed personally, that is as commander of the Jasenovac camp from May 1944 to 28 October 1944, although he had personally stated that he had been in the Jasenovac camps from 18 February 1942. He was neither tried nor sentenced for crimes perpetrated in the Stara Gradiska camp, where he performed the duty of deputy camp commander. The District state prosecutor did not even mention that Dinko Sakic had been transferred from Stara Gradiska camp to take up the post in Jasenovac of commander of the

⁶¹ War crime against a civilian population is defined as *the violation of international law in time of war, armed conflict or occupation*; the ordering of attack on civilian population, settlements, individual civilian persons or persons unable to take part in hostilities, that leads to death, severe physical harm or is gravely detrimental to health; attack without selected target that affects the civilian population resettlement or total deprivation of national identity collective punishment pillage of the populations property, illegal or arbitrary destruction or large-scale usurpation unjustified by military requirements (Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Victims of War /1949/, Supplementary Protocol 1 /1977/, Criminal Law of the Republic of Croatia, Article 120, paragraph 1, Criminal Law of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Article 142).

⁶² *Zupanijski sud* (District Court) in Zagreb, *Presuda* (Verdict), No. V K-242/98-257, pp.28-29.

notorious camp III. Witnesses at the trial claimed under oath that Sakic was in Jasenovac as late as April 1945 together with Luburic and Friar Soton (Filipovic-Majstorovic) when the human witnesses and material proof of the crimes committed in these camps were being destroyed.⁶³

In the case of Dinko Sakic's wife, Nada Sakic, the District state prosecutors office in Zagreb stated on 1 February 1999 that it was abandoning further criminal investigation as no grounds had been found to confirm the claim that she had committed the criminal act of which she had been accused. The decision was passed three months before the expiry of the investigations deadline, although not one single witness from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or Bosnia and Herzegovina Republika Srpska had been heard. That was despite the fact that the minutes of the hearings of witnesses that had testified before the investigative judge of the *Okružni sud* (District Court) in Belgrade and the *Opštinski sud* (Municipal Court) in Jagodina had been submitted.⁶⁴ The prosecutors decision was not confirmed by the District Court in Zagreb, which, on 4 August, dismissed the objections of Nada Sakic's defense lawyer as unfounded. The decision is contrary to the principles of international criminal law with respect to the act of the extradition of Nada Sakic by the Government of the Republic of Argentina, which accepted the District Prosecutors claim that there existed reasonable grounds for believing that a criminal act against humanity and international law had been committed. In the meantime, the decision of the Nazi-Ustasha leader of the Independent State of Croatia dated 27 March 1944 had been submitted establishing that Nada Sakic had been an Ustasha official of the Stara Gradiska camp from 19 October 1942 and had been decorated with the *iron medal of the crown of King Zvonimir on ribbon of war*. Minister of Justice of the Republic of Croatia, Dr Milan Ramljak stated that new proof could lead to the renewal of the procedure; his successor, Minister of Justice, Prof. Dr Zvonimir Separovic stated before CNN cameras (No Harm Done) that Nada Sakic's accountability should have been decided by the District Court; after talks with President of the International Jewish organization Bnai Brith, Tommy Baer, the President of the Republic of Croatia stated that the release of the extradited Nada Sakic had been a mistake.⁶⁵ The sentence passed upon Dinko Sakic by the District Court in Zagreb, bearing in mind his obligation to provide care for his wife (Nada

⁶³ The verdict of the District Court established that Dinko Sakic formally joined the Ustasha movement on 20 April 1938 in Berlin when he took an oath that he would struggle with all means to achieve a free Croatian state; that Luburic had sent him to Jasenovac, where he went on 18 February 1942 and reported to Captain Ivica Matkovic up to 20 March 1942, when he was transferred to the administrative department of the Stara Gradiska work camp on 2 November 1942, he was transferred to the Jasenovac work camp, the administrator of which was Captain Ivica Brkljacic (Verdict, No. V K-242/98-257, p. 36).

⁶⁴ From the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: Maric Mihailo, *Okružni sud* (District Court) in Belgrade, Ki 597/98; Petrovic Savo, *Ibid*, Ki 507/98; Jovanka Aleksic, *Ibid*, Ki 792/98; Ado Kabiljo, *Ibid* 507/98, Ivanisevic Ljiljana, *Ibid*, Ki 507; Mihajlovic Ljubomir, *Pom.* 1, No. 26/98, *Opštinski sud* (Municipal Court) in Jagodina; Edo Sajer, from Nis, and others; from Republika Srpska: Despot Milos, District Court in Belgrade, Ki 507/98, Ilisic Veselinka from Banja Luka, and others.

⁶⁵ Published on the front page of the Zagreb *Jutarnji list* daily.

Sakic) exempted him from paying any costs arising from the criminal procedure.⁶⁶

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The establishment of the truth about Jasenovac and the system of Ustasha camps could contribute to a perception of the roots of the contemporary tragedy of the Yugoslav nations, especially the Serbian nation. On 27 April 1998, the author testified before the International Tribunal for crimes committed in former Yugoslavia in The Hague in the case of Slavko Dokmanovic. On that occasion, the court accepted the documentation submitted on the Jasenovac camp as evidence.⁶⁷

The determination of the truth about the Jasenovac system of Ustasha death camps is a precondition for future Serb-Croatian relations, for the prevention of political manipulations on the part of Croats and Serbs, and for neighborly relations, if such were not possible in a common state. On 5 September 1997, the author proposed to the first Embassy of Croatia in Belgrade that common work should be undertaken on the project of the establishment of the truth concerning the number of victims, especially those of Jasenovac.⁶⁸ No official response was received. That proposal was submitted publicly at the First Conference on the Jasenovac Concentration Camp held in Kingsborough College, Brooklyn, New York, on 30 October 1997.⁶⁹ It was repeated in the authors public statements during his participation, in the capacity of official observer, at the trial of Dinko Sakic in Zagreb 1999.

These proposals were, however, received in a highly hostile manner on the Croatian side: the Jasenovac noose around Croatian sovereignty, Necrophilia of Serbian historians, Jasenovac protectorate, Serbs would like to dig up Jasenovac again⁷⁰ When a hand was offered in order to achieve the common establishment of the truth about Jasenovac, Vladimir Zerjavic

⁶⁶ *Zupanijski sud* (District Court), No. V K-242/98-257, Zagreb, 4 October 1999, p. 133.

⁶⁷ A bishops liturgy was held on 8 May 1998 to commemorate the victims of Jasenovac. It took place in the Orthodox Church of the Birth of St John the Baptist in Jasenovac, the memorial church for the victims of the Jasenovac death camp. The liturgy was led by Metropolitan Jovan of Zagreb, Ljubljana and the whole of Italy. The religious service in the Jasenovac Orthodox church was attended by some one hundred persons, mainly from Zagreb, Daruvar and Kutina, while only one elderly woman was from Jasenovac itself, where half the population had been of Serbian nationality until this war. This is because there are only a few elderly Serbs in Jasenovac now. Jasenovac today provides a dismal picture many houses have been destroyed or are overgrown with weeds and brushwood, and it is not difficult to guess that their owners are Serbs, while the reconstructed houses all belong to Croats.

⁶⁸ Conversation conducted on 5 September 1997 at 14.00 h. in the Museum of Genocide Victims with Aleksandar Skenderovic, Counselor of the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade.

⁶⁹ The Conference was chaired by Dr Bernard Klein, Dr Milan Bulajic (Yugoslavia) and Vladimir Zerjavic, Dipl. Eng. (Croatia).

⁷⁰ Zeljko Kruselj, *Vecernji list* daily, Zagreb, 3 November 1997, p. 4; *Obzor*, 15 November 1997, p. 37; Kruselj, who had once wrote differently and criticized the leader of the Croatian Democratic Community Party (HDZ) Tudjman, wrote: Knowing Bulajic and his associates, it is certain, however, that they will not be content with an agreement (?) but will also impose such and similar proposals (!) at other international gatherings devoted to victims!

replied over the Internet that there was nothing more to investigate concerning Jasenovac and published 27 pages under the title *The Inventions and Lies of Dr Milan Bulajic on Internet*.⁷¹

Behind these stands lies the further concealment of the truth about the crimes of genocide perpetrated by Croatian Ustasha and the transformation of the area of Jasenovac, a system of Ustasha death camps, into a common memorial both to the victims and to the genocidal criminals. Instead of the objective establishment of the truth about all crimes, regardless of the nationality or religion of the victims and the perpetrators, Tudjman and his followers endeavor to negate the horrendous crimes of Jasenovac with the fate of the Bleiburg victims, to prevent the determination of the truth about Jasenovac and to place the crimes of Jasenovac in the realms of myth.

Simon Wiesenthal considers that the neo-Ustasha movement is gaining influence in Croatia: For me, it is sufficient that he (Tudjman) tried to change the symbol of Jasenovac and change it into I dont know what, although we know what kind of execution site Jasenovac was, who perished there and who the exterminators were. It is sufficient for me that in his *Wasteland* he revised the number of Jews who were killed in the Second World War and tried to lessen it. That speaks for itself.⁷²

Tudjman apologized to the Jews through the Bnai Brith (World Jewish Congress). No apology was addressed to Orthodox Serbs, with a far higher number of victims. Nor was an apology addressed to Gypsies (Romans), who were exterminated in the most brutal of manners.

Tudjman changed the title of the U.S. edition of *Wastelands of Historical Reality* into *Horrors of War*, omitting all anti-Semitic views. He retained all the anti-Semitic views in the German edition, including Judeo-Nazism (Judeo-Nationalsozialismus). That explains why *Irrwege Geschichtswirklichkeit* was not printed by a German publisher but in Zagreb (by *Skolska knjiga!*) and why it was not put on public sale but printed in deluxe form (!) The book was sent to selected addresses accompanied by personal letters from the HDZ leader, the President of the Republic of Croatia (perhaps as a gesture of gratitude to Germany Danke Deutschland).

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In the Memorandum on crimes of genocide committed against the Serbian people by the Independent State of Croatia during World War II to the President of the V General Assembly of the United Nations, Flushing Meadows, October 1950, it was proposed that the General Assembly of the United Nations in a special resolution set up a Commission for investigating the Ustashi of genocide and call upon its member nations to facilitate the work of this Commission on the spot. Such a measure on the part of the United Nations Organization would demonstrate that the Convention on

⁷¹ Written by Vladimir Zerjavic, retired of UN, Zagreb, July 1997, revised in December 1997, <http://www.tel.fer.hr./darko/etf/bul.html>.

⁷² Gordan Malic, *Vizental: Neoustaski pokret ostvaruje utjecaj u Hrvatskoj* (Wiesenthal, the Neo-Ustasha movement is gaining influence in Croatia), *Novi list*, Rijeka, 12 December 1996, Tanjug press, Belgrade, 16 December 1996, pp. 8-10.

Genocide is not just a gesture for misleading the world opinion but an expression of a serious demonstration to put an end to such crimes. This cannot be achieved if the crimes already committed are not brought to trial and punished. The United Nations Organization could, by such action, fortify and reassure the moral conscience of humanity which was enormously shaken by the horrible events which accompanied the last World War. It is not known if this proposal was examined at all in the United Nations!

In order to overcome the lack of confidence, the creation was proposed of an international commission to establish the truth about Jasenovac, that is a United Nations Fact Finding Mission. But this proposal was not accepted by the Croatian side either. Dr Franjo Tudjman, creator of the *Jasenovac Myth*, called from 1965 for the *scientific* establishment of the truth about the Jasenovac camps. Over ten years ago, in 1989, the author proposed the formation of an international commission of experts in a public dialogue with participants from Zagreb, including Vladimir Zerjavic. This was during a television program bearing the symbolic title of *Porota* (Jury). With the aim of removing the crimes committed in the Nazi-Ustasha Jasenovac camps from the realms of politics and myths, the creation of an international commission of experts to look into the truth about Jasenovac is doubtlessly the best way to establish objectively not only the truths about the Second World War, but also the roots of the contemporary tragedy of all Yugoslav nations. The categorical rejection of this proposal by the journalist Zeljko Kruselj is irrational. Zeljko Kruselj, one of the *participants of the *Porota* program, claims the proposals framework of activity is totally unacceptable to Croatia, especially after the formal normalization of inter-state relations. He added that the proposal was directed against fundamental Croatian interests.⁷³ That means the establishment of the truth about Jasenovac, particularly about the number of victims is against fundamental Croatian interests as conceived by Tudjman, Zerjavic, Kruselj, Pecaric, Jurcevic and others. This demonstrates the vital need for the creation of an international commission of experts to investigate the truth about the Croatian Ustasha genocide camps of Jasenovac.

Supplement 3
Milan Koljanin

Why Jasenovac in Jasenovac?

It is not possible to answer the question why the most important and the largest camp of death in Croatian fascistic state was situated in Jasenovac without considering some basic historical facts and processes, some of them lasting for a long period of time. Research of the crimes and camps in NDH, including Jasenovac camp, cannot be considered without

⁷³ Zeljko Kruselj, *Vecernji list* daily, Zagreb, 3 November 1997, *Obzor*, 15 November 1997, p. 37; Vladimir Zerjavic, *Konferencija u Njujorku* (Conference in New York), *Ha-kol*, mouthpiece of the Jewish community in Croatia, December 1997, p. 2.

having an insight into the major historical processes, geo-political and demographic factors, without detailed analysis of Croatian nationalism and fascism and understanding of its genocidal essence. Without it, the period 1941-1945 would look more like an incident in Croatian history.

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The fact that NDH was a result of the aggression of the Axis countries, suggesting that it did not even exist in formal legal terms, overshadowed the second, much more important fact: that it was also the result of the development of Croatian policy and its tendency to form a large national state using favorable international political situation. The analysis of this sort of events was usually disqualified with strange, mostly political, judgments that it meant identifying Croatian people with the Ustasha or declaring Croatian people genocidal. The well-known statement by Franjo Tuđman that NDH was the result of the aggression, but also the result of Croatian peoples wish to have their own independent state, was inspired by political motives (national reconciliation) and historical revisionism, but the essence was correct. Detailed revision of historiography and writing of new history followed in the Republic of Croatia. It was supposed to turn NDH into legal state imperiled by Serbian rebels (chetnics and communists), the state that would have legal right to exist and the right to defend itself. Even if there was too much violence, that was more the result of the pathology of individuals and revenge for evils committed in Serbian state (Yugoslavia), then the real feature of that state. The Roman Catholic Church and its priests, first of all Zagreb Arch-bishop Stepinac, worked on the salvation of the outcasts by taking under their wing hundreds of thousands of schismatics, i.e. Orthodox Serbs, who soon realized that they should return to the religion of their ancestors.

In Croatian political elite before 1941 there had not been significant differences regarding the size of the country that was about to be established, or the way of its establishment. For some of them, political and ideological support could be only in Rome or Berlin, whereas the others were vacillating between a temporary solution of the given Corpus Separatum (Banovina Hrvatska) and checking foreign support for independence. However, when great, independent Croatia was within their reach, they were all united, which was shown on April 10, 1941. The role of Vlatko Macek, Arch bishop Alojzije Stepinac, and even the Ustasha in the country was more important than the role of future Croatian leader (Poglavnik) Ante Pavelic. In other words, within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia all prerequisites for implementing the idea of Greater Croatia in its historical and ethnical borders were provided. The plans of a homogenous state of all Croats, far beyond its legal, ethnical and historical borders were becoming real. It meant that one third of the population, the Serbs, were to be exterminated, and racial legislation predicted extermination of the Jews and partly the Romas. Such grandiose extermination aims, imposed by Croatian

fascistic state greatly surpassed extermination plans of its model, national-socialist Germany.

Until the Second World War Jasenovac was just a large village, municipality center, which did not differ in any way from other similar Slavonian settlements except its geographical position. It was situated at the mouth of the Una and the Sava near the railroad and the road leading from Central Europe to Middle East on the territory of former Austrian military border. The memory of the strategic position of Jasenovac was also vivid and preserved in the saying from the period of Napoleons Illyrian provinces: ... When a cock crows in Jasenovac it is heard in three empires: Austrian, French and Ottoman. However, at the same time, another fact is even more important in a completely changed situation, after the fall of the great empires and after forming some new national states among which was Yugoslavia, after the Great War in 1918. We are talking about the ethnic structure of the population on the territory where Jasenovac was.

Former Austrian military border with the Ottoman Empire stretched over a relatively wide region along the Una, Sava and Danube rivers and was mainly inhabited by Serbian borderers. After the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, within the dual monarchy there was another vast region inhabited by mainly Serbian population, which was also bordered by two free Serbian states. Serbia and Montenegro made the core of the Serbian integration into one state, but at the same time, were a hope for the Yugoslav movement, which saw the future of the South Slavs in one big country from the Alps to the Black sea. Further Austro-Hungarian and German imperialistic break-through to the Balkans and to the Middle East was impossible without first solving Serbian problem. Several methods were applied here. They were all directed towards diminishing the Serbian people in the monarchy and conquering of the free Serbian states economically, politically, in war and militarily. In that effort, the crucial instrument of Vienna and after that of Berlin was great-Croatian political idea and policy which was soon in symbiosis with the aggressive political and social action of the Catholic Church, and was created at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Identification of all the Catholics who spoke Serbian language with the Croats was not only the means of Croatian national propaganda and integration but also political break-through of dual monarchy to which Croatian politics offered itself as a bridge to the Balkans. The same policy was renewed in 1941.

Ideological foundation of expansive Croatian policy was expressed through the myth of Croatia as the bulwark of Christianity (*Antemurale Christianitatis*). This myth, almost unknown even there where it supposedly originated from, in the Vatican, after Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, was developing, but with completely new contents. Overnight, the border between two worlds, was no longer a century long border towards the Ottoman Empire on the Una and Sava. Croatian ideologists moved that border to the Drina, the new Monarchy border, and the enemy became (just like before Turkish invasion) Ortodox

Byzantinism personified in Serbia and Montenegro. Political action found its strong foothold in Croatian historiography which provided arguments for proclaiming Bosnia and Herzegovina Croatian countries. The fact that majority of the population of these provinces, despite centuries long Ottoman rule, was Serbian, and that less than one fifth of the inhabitants had just started adopting Croatinism was interpreted in different ways (through the activities of the Roman Catholic Church). The most important was the interpretation that they were not Serbs, that Serbian national idea was brought from the other side of the Drina, and that Orthodox religion was also imposed on them. Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina were declared Croats, what is more the purest Croats. Association of the extreme Croatinism and ex-feudal political and religious Muslim elite, especially after 1918, could have only one enemy in 1941: Orthodox Serbs. The major message of Greater Croatian ideologists supported by the strong stream of Monarchys policy was that Serbianism and Orthodox religion west of the Drina could not exist, that it was now a border to the West defended by the Croats. Croatian denial of the Serbs in the main stream of Croatian political thought, and partly in their deeds, ranged between the theory about Croatian political people and open call for physical extermination of the Serbs and all traces of their existence. Definitely the leading ideologist of this stream of Croatian policy was Ante Starcevic, who was not accidentally glorified as predecessor of Ante Pavelic. Therefore, the genesis of the basis of genocidal program of Ustasha state may be considered together with the expansion of Party of Rights ideology since 1860s.

II

Establishment of Yugoslav state in 1918, on the basis of liberal European nationalism, as devised by its founders should have been a solution of ethnical issue of its peoples. United state would bring these kindred peoples even closer together, in order to create the united nation in the future. Unification on December 1, 1918 was a great victory for the aspirations of Croatian political elite, but its long term effects had still not been visible. The Croats found themselves on the side of the winners, united in great Yugoslav state. That state could successfully protect its national territories above all from Italys aspirations, which was the greatest opponent of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (Kingdom of Yugoslavia) in the inter war period. At first impression, it seemed paradoxical that Yugoslavia protected Croatian territories from Italy and that Croatian separatist movement relied on Italy in spite of its clear aspirations to these territories.

Yugoslav state was established in 1918 on liberal European basis, which were discordant with the undeveloped and diverse social structure of the new state. For the Croats united in one state the new political system meant activation of the most numerous social group peasantry and finishing

the process of national integration, which was recorded in Croatian historiography (Mirjana Gros studied it). However, it was just the end of one phase of the development of Croatian nationalism, the basis for what is the ideal of every nationalism an independent state.

Croatian nationalism, especially since the second half of 1930s entered its aggressive phase destruction of the existing country, and started preparation for establishing their independent state. It is wrong to attribute Croatian separatism to Ante Pavelic and the Ustasha organization only. Croatian policy in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, with all modifications, was based on the demand for the greater autonomy on a large territory, and acquiring the support of the major forces for the Croatian independent state. Open separatist option under the protection of Rome was on the margin of events. Establishment of Croatian region (Banovina Hrvatska) in 1939, shortly before the beginning of the Second World War, was only a temporary solution for the Croatian political elite and just a step towards the great independent state. International political circumstances destruction of the system of common security created after the Great war 1918-1919, lack of unity and flexibility of the Serbian political elite, supposedly governing, helped the plans of the Croatian political elite. Hesitation of Vladimir Macek, the vice-president of the Yugoslav government, after the coup detat on March 27, 1941 in Belgrade ended in the traitorous act of support to NDH on April 10, 1941.

For the Roman Catholic Church, initially an opponent of Yugoslav unification, the new liberal state proved to be a favorable territory for great expansion of its organization and influence. In Croatian regions, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church increased after the King Alexanders dictatorship had been set up in 1929.

Clerical and secular organizations guided by Catholic Action and its Great Crusaders brotherhood became the media not only for spreading Catholic social ideas, but also its activities aiming at establishing an independent state. New Croatia would be the embodiment of new socialist mission of the Roman Catholic Church.

Important turning point for the Vatican was the failure to conclude a concordat with Yugoslavia, according to which the Roman Catholic Church would get even broader possibilities for its actions. Almost simultaneously, a Jesuit student Alojzije Stepinac was appointed the Archbishop of Zagreb, and the first man of the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia. His clericalism and extreme Croatian nationalism interwove with hardly concealed hatred towards Yugoslavia. The first public appearance of the future Archbishop, at the Popes Day in February 1935, was extremely symbolic. His quotation of Christs words from the Gospel: I did not come to this world to bring peace but to bring war, met with powerful response. From todays perspective, even the place where these words were uttered was symbolic: the great hall of Zagrebs Fair. In the vicinity of the center of Croatian capital, soon after NDH had been established, the buildings of Zagrebs Fair were turned into camps for the Jews and the Serbs, who were

then interned in the first camps of extermination near Gospic and island of Pag.

III

What were the plans of the Croatian political elite with the Serbs in great Croatia within the so-called ethnic and historical borders on the Drina and the Danube? By asking this question we come to the very title of this discussion Why Jasenovac in Jasenovac. This question is in fact only a part of a much more important question why Jasenovac? From all that has been said here it is quite clear that before 1941 the new Croatian state was to be a Croatian national state with Muslims included, whereas the position of the Serbs was not clear. Ideological basis for the denial of the Serbian national awareness were formed even in, never forgotten, Austro-Hungarian monarchy with the only difference that they were now widely accepted. For Croatia and Slavonija, of a much greater importance was the thesis that the Serbs inhabiting the territory of the former Austrian military border were intruders on the Croatian land who were constantly threatening survival of Croatian people. The new element related to Greater Serbia was the thesis of Serbian exploitation of the Croats, naturally supported by the Jews, and threatening their Catholic religion. The hopes for bringing schismatic Serbs to the Union and the Catholic Church, were replaced with the animosity against Yugoslav state and the Orthodox religion in the Vatican and on the Capitol in Zagreb, just before the beginning of the Second World War.

Judging by the very scarce historical sources as well as the actions undertaken by Ustashi Croatia to solve the so-called žSerbian question, we can conclude that such plans were made before April 1941, when the time came for their realization. We can find data on that in the paper Ustashi struggle from the beginning of Ustashi activities till the leaders emigration written by the distinguished propagator Mijo Bzik based on the archive of the Ustashi movement. In this book he also treated activities of Ante Pavelic during the time of good relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, after the conclusion of the Agreement on amiability from 1937. In the same year Pavelic wrote his book Dangerous illusions and worked hard on, I quote, foundations for the future constitution of the Croatian state. During that period the leader studied statistic data in Croatia, created the basis for the future settlement and displacement of the people and made many maps. In accordance with the activities of Pavelic and NDH we can presume that since then the directions of the attack on the Serbian ethnic territories were planned not only by settling, naturally, the Croats and displacing, of course, the Serbs but also by actual physical extermination of the Serbs. The beginning and the first months of the genocide committed by the Ustashi state show that the major attack was directed towards the central Serbian ethnic territory, the region which divided the territory of NDH into half, then towards Eastern Herzegovina, Eastern Bosnia, that is east state border.

Serbian ethnic zone spread over Western Slavonia almost to Hungarian border, to the Sava in the south. In the region of Okučani and Novska this territory bordered with the large Serbian ethnical territory of Bosanska Krajina, which over the Una was connected with Serbian ethnical territories of former military border: Banija, Kordun and Lika. This spacious territory narrowed towards the south and over North Dalmatia reached Adriatic Sea. The main genocidal attack of Croatia was directed towards this territory. The system of the camps and execution sites stretching along the Sava to Stara Gradiska, had ideal position regarding the aim of NDH execution of Serbian people. It was situated near the center of the largest Serbian ethnical territory, in the plain, surrounded by moors, along a railroad and a motor road of great importance for Germany, in the vicinity of big garrisons and the very center of Ustasha state. Nazi Germany, which had built its central execution camps (Auschwitz, Birkenau etc.) in geographic and transportation centers of the Jews, provided a model to Ustasha state to situate its camps of execution at similar spots.

Large Serbian ethnical territory was the center of the rising movement in Yugoslavia since summer 1941, which until the very end of the war mainly or exclusively, consisted of the Serbs from this territory. Military operations of German, Italian and Croatian forces against Peoples Liberation Army of Yugoslavia enabled the continuation of systematic extermination of Serbian people in the form of a struggle against bandit endangering the vital strategic interests of the Axis forces.

In our historiography (Safet Bandzovic, Milos Hamovic) the connection between this Serbian ethnical territory and Jasenovac camp (and Sisak) had been recognized, together with the intentions of the leadership of NDH to move its center from Zagreb to Banja Luka, into its very heartland. Thus, the intention to completely destroy Serbian people in this central part, vitally important for Croatian state, was openly stated. Historiographic and demographic analysis of population trends in Bosanska Krajina, above all great increase of Serbian population shows that Croatian Ustasha state saw it as a great danger so that it was certainly one of the causes of genocidal attacks in this region. Apart from that, major Croatian roads were supposed to pass through that region.

Poglavnik declared two major state roads on May 16, 1941, by the Law on building modern roads: Rogatec-Krapina-Podsused-Ivanic Grad-Novska-Okučani-Brod-Zemun and Okučani-Banja Luka-Split. There is another precious testimony on the pre-war plans of the Croatian policy in Bosnian Krajina. The diaries of Alojz Stepinac are very valuable historical sources, unfortunately published only in excerpts. After NDH had been established, the diaries were handed to Zagreb Archbishopric so that we cannot expect they would ever be published or made available to researchers.

The short excerpts from the diary are kept in the Archive of Yugoslavia, and they include one very important testimony related to our subject. In the third book on page 365 the talks are described between the

leader of the governing Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) Vladimir Macek and archbishop Stepinac.

I will mention the next quotation from the diary: Stepinac also talked about the foundation of the department for clerical business with the civil authorities, about the difficult financial position of the clergy, about the help for the religious education of peasants children and about, I stress, planned colonization of north-western Bosnia. Then he added that Bosnia would soon become a part of Croatia and that bishop of Banja Luka Garic should, by all means, be supported in his endeavors. As it can be seen, Stepinac favoured planned colonization of North-western Bosnia, presumably with the Croats, convinced that Bosnia would soon be part of Croatia. He could be convinced in that only if he believed that Belgrade would be forced to give Bosnia to Banovina Croatia or that independent and great Croatia would encompass Bosnia as well. It is not clear whether the displacement of the Serbs was predicted, but the intention to Croatinize Serbian ethnical territory was quite obvious.

The plans of colonization had not been carried out in Banovina Croatia but they were in NDH. We do not know whether it was in accordance with these plans or some other ones (including Pavelics from emigration), but in parallel with mass murders, plunder and persecution of the Serbs from Bosanska Krajina, we had Croatian colonization on their estates. Italian consulate in Banja Luka informed its Office in Zagreb on July 13, 1941, that 2,000 Serbs were arrested in Banja Luka and that they would be deported to Serbia over Slavenska Pozega (territory under German command in Serbia). 600 Croatian families, moved from Macedonia in accordance with the agreement made with Bulgarian occupiers authorities) were settled on the estates of the deported Serbs. With these examples we come to the issue related to mass displacement of population, initiated from the Third Reich, which were complemented with similar Croatian plans. This points to the position of the camps in the system of Ustasha NDH, and the position of the largest of those camps, Jasenovac camp.

The official truth of the new history of Croatia is that the camps in NDH were collective and work camps. But they did not have in mind that in the sources of NDH itself, Jasenovac was often called a concentration camp and the term collective is Croatian translation of the term concentration. Frantic minimizing of the number of victims, without stating that the victims were mostly Serbs and that they, together with the Jews and Romas, were the victims of genocide, became a part of public consciousness and indisputable truth. According to it, the camps did not differ much from the Ustasha official version of camps as places of healthy, socially useful work in the open air.

Camps in NDH should be regarded as the quintessence of the whole system of Ustasha Croatian state starting from its proclaimed aims and means they were accomplished by. Grandiose aim of exterminating one third of the population, the Serbs and at the same time the Jews and Romas (partly), together with Croatian overtaking of Serbian ethnical territory could

be achieved only through enormous efforts and by engaging newly formed institutions. In that light, the institutionalized position of the camp acquired its full meaning. Genocidal attack of Croatian state against the Serbs in spring/summer 1941, happened in parallel with the killings at numerous greater and smaller execution sites and in the first improvised camps of death near Gospic (Jadovno) and on Pag island (Slana and Metajna). Since the beginning of the formation of Jasenovac camp on August 21, 1941, mass killing was concentrated right in this camp, although mass execution on Serbian ethnical territories continued.

Crucial institutions in the whole process of fundamental change in ethnical structure of Greater Croatia were: Institute for colonization, State Institute for Reconstruction, State Treasury (Ministry of Finance), and death camps (refugee camps for a short period of time) These institutions undertook main operations of Croatinization of Serbian ethnical territories: killing and expulsion of the Serbs and loot of their property, and then putting it at the disposal of Croatian state or colonized Croats. Jewish property was treated in the same way, although the special laws were passed.

This policy was supplemented by the forceful conversion of the Orthodox Serbs into Roman Catholic religion although this was often the first step towards physical extermination of the victims. All these measures were legally founded, in other words, terror and genocide were institutionalized and legally covered. They remain remarkable testimonies of one state which was based on crime.

The camp of death in Jasenovac itself (Jasenovac III), which was the central camp and has remained its symbol, was founded on the looted Serbian estate, undoubtedly in accordance with some of the laws. There was a Trade cooperative in Jasenovac whose cooperators were mainly members of one Serbian family the Bacics. The cooperative had its own industry (brickyards, sawmill, chain factory, limekiln) in the vicinity of Jasenovac and in the very village they had its mill. Immediately after the establishment of NDH, the trustee was appointed who, in the name of the state, managed this property. During great floods in autumn 1941, few surviving inmates from the first Jasenovac camps (Jasenovac I in Krapje and Jasenovac II near Brodice) were transported to the building of the cooperative industry, turned into a camp. after the destruction of the major part of the camps buildings and the remaining inmates, the Ustasha left Jasenovac at the end of April 1945, and soon after that Yugoslav forces entered it.

Summary

One of the basic problems regarding Jasenovac concentration camp is the question: Why was the camp situated in this small Slavonian village at the mouth of the Una and the Sava? Interpretations brought to the fore the

strategic reasons, for example, possibility of defence with relatively weak forces, vicinity of some big and strong garrisons well connected with the camp in terms of transportation, marshy area unsuitable for the attack of stronger forces. These indisputably important reasons, however, answered the purpose of the most important and crucial reason.

This execution camp (Vernichtungslager) was situated near to the center of Serbian ethnic zone, stretching from Western Slavonia to Bosanska Krajina, Banija, Kordun and Lika and over North Dalmatia to the Adriatic Sea. Nazi Germany, which had built its central execution camps (Auschwitz, Birkenau etc.) in geographic and transportation centers of the Jews, provided a model to Ustasha state to situate its camps of execution at similar spots. Except fascism, in its racist and clerical variant, ideological basis of Croatian fascism was religious and political myth about Croatia as *Antemurale Christianitatis*.

The plans for massive dislocation of the population, and definitely massive execution, were made by Poglavnik while in exile in Italy at the end of the 30s. Zagreb Arch-bishop Alojzije Stepinac, in October 1939, advocated planned colonization of North-eastern Bosnia expecting Bosnia to become part of Croatia very soon.

Primary historical sources on the formation of a camp in Jasenovac are not known, but legal regulation had already been adopted in May and June 1941, when Pavelic was directly in charge of the great land-reclamation measures in Lonjsko and other fields. Preparations for the internment of the surviving inmates from the first execution camps near Gospić and Pag island had to be completed before their transportation to Jasenovac starting from August 21, 1941. These groups, together with the new inmates, were interned to newly formed camps in Jasenovac I (Krapje) and Jasenovac II (Brodice) where they started building the dikes at once. Because of rain and floods surviving inmates of these camps were transported in November to Jasenovac III, to the brickyard near Jasenovac village. Brickyard and other industrial and trade buildings were owned by Trade cooperative Jasenovac, whose cooperators were mainly from a Serbian family the Bacics. This camp became the center of the whole system of the camps and mass execution sites until the destruction of the camp and the retreat of the Ustasha at the end of April 1945.

Supplement 3

Aleksandar Fredi Mosaic

Myth about Greater Serbia and Serb-oriented hatred as the base for the genocide in Jasenovac

Since "Vlach Statute" from 1630. until the System of genocide in the concentration camps in Jasenovac and other places during the Second

World War, and then in the tragic repetition after 50 years, there is a continuing line of Serb-phobia which, in the first half of the 20th century became a Serb-oriented hatred and was connected with the brutal Nazi anti-Semitism and holocaust.

Initial mentioning of the year 1102 in the discussion about myth, about Greater Serbia and Serb-oriented hatred as the base for the genocide and holocaust in Jasenovac, is not intended to inspect the history of the middle and new age in Croatia in the first half of the 20th century, but to try to explain the origins of the name of Croatian Rights Party.

What kind of rights are in question here and how come that it is the precursor, nucleus, founder of the Ustashi system and government in the territory stretching from Zagreb to Mostar and Petrovaradin from 1941 till May 1945?

Since the agreement of twelve tribe leaders and Hungarian King Koloman in 1102. until the Ottoman victory at Mohach field in 1526, Croatia is a part of Hungarian Kingdom, and from 1527. it is under Habsburgs' rule. After Austrian Empire had been turned into dual monarchy in 1867, and after the Croatian-Hungarian Agreement in 1868, Croatia was totally under the political and economical dependence of the government in Budim.

This brought about to the foundation of the Croatian Rights Party in 1861, based on tradition of the Croatian landowners' struggle for their rights supposedly given by the Agreement of 1102. This tradition was accepted by the new citizenry but now strongly nationally oriented.

Old rights had the glow and emotional attraction of an inviolable legend so they soon turned into ultra-nationalistic theories and ethnic phobia and later even into ethnic hatred. First it was directed against the Hungarians, and later against all those peoples in Croatia who were non-Croats. It mostly affected the Serbs descendents of the frontiersmen from the 17th, 18th and 19th century.

The origin of this are in Vlach statute (Statuta valachorum) from 1630, which grant to the Serbs inhabiting the territories devastated during the Austro-Turkish fighting, privileges for their military services which were in contrast with the feudal political organization of that time.

Feudal lords both clerical and secular were fighting for two and a half centuries to turn the free frontiersmen into peasants (kmet) and converting schismatics to catholic religion or Uniate.

Together with the political weakening of the political influence of feudal landowners this fight was acquiring nationalistic character.

Strongly affected by nationalism and revolutionary enthusiasm from 1848, 'old rights' appealed to new citizenry as well as dissatisfied peasants. In these conditions Ante Starcevic, a mediocre writer but a passionate opponent of the Habsburgs, founded the Croatian Rights Party in 1861. He considered the Serbs to be a disturbing factor and slowly introduced a

dangerous statement which could already be heard in major European cities: convert one third of the population to Catholicism, expel one third and kill one third.

When Joseph Frank, a lawyer and political xenophobe who hated the Serbs a lot, replaced Starcevic as the leader of the party, attacks on the Serbs became common in the cities.

Royal government tolerated them, even induced them, especially during the preparations for the annexation of Bosnia, and all within the conflict of interest between Austro-Hungary and Serbia.

High-treacherous process against Pribicevic and 51 members of the Croatian-Serbian coalition based on forged documents in Zagreb from March to October 1909. and almost immediate Fridung process in Vienna, were the reason and the basis for the creation of Greater Serbia myth.

This forgery outlived Austro-Hungary Empire and Kingdom of Yugoslavia and served until the end of the 20th century to form a bad picture of Serbia and the Serbs in Anglo-Saxon countries and intensify hatred against the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia.

Croatian Rights Party was formally dismembered in 1918. but its members, now called Frankovci, joined Croatian Peasants Party. After the assassination of Radic brothers in the summer of 1928, they had a major influence over the new leader Vlatko Macek.

A large number of the distinguished Frankovci emigrated then, among whom was Ante Pavelic who, in Italy, gathered young Frankovci in the camps for military and terrorist training and in summer 1932 he founded Croatian Revolutionary Ustasha Organization, UHRO, similar to VMRO, which they were closely connected with.

Italian fascist government financially supported Pavelic and UHRO until April 1941 but it did not prevent them from getting closer to German Nazism.

Anti-Semitism in its worst racist form was the sign of political correctness for the Nazi, as it is now referred to in self-complacent, allegedly, democratic political environment. Nazi cry was "Jude fereke" "death to Jews".

When the Ustashi in April 1941. under the protection of Vermacht took control over Croatia and Bosnia and in August of the same year founded the concentration camp in Jasenovac on the Sava, Franko thirds were no longer mentioned. All the Serbs, all the Jews and all the Gypsies who were deported to the camp were brutally murdered as the victims of the genocide and holocaust.

A terrible crime of genocide and holocaust was committed in Jasenovac as well as the Nazi concentration camps in occupied countries from 1935 to 1945. Scientifically said it was mega crime by the number and giga crime by the atrocities.

At a very respected conference about Yugoslav state from 1918. until 1988. held in Belgrade in December 1998, colonel Dr. Slavko Vukcevic, head of Historical Military Institute repeated that the truth about genocide could easily be determined without any kind of revanchism and without accusing the whole Croatian people in the period immediately after the Second World War.

Yugoslavia was then a stable and internationally respected state. Now scientifically unsolved problems are strongly influenced by the daily political events.

Jasenovac left the deep scars from the Mura, the Sutla, and the Kupa to the Neretva, Begej and the Timok. A few years ago and especially a year ago all the scars bled again, genocide over the Serbs was repeated.

Healing of these wounds can no longer last less than three generations in case we treated it seriously and honestly.

The victims of genocide and holocaust in the Balkans from the middle and the end of the 20th century must finally get their 'Jad Vasem', which means name and memory.

SUPPLEMENTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

THEME 2

Milan Zivkovic, MA, director of Federal Institute for Statistics

Yugoslav victims of the Second World War (number)

One generation, which experienced the sufferings during the Second World War, is on decline. Some of those people, that generation undertook a very difficult task to determine the names and surnames of the victims and they are publishing, adding new names and completing the lists the same way it was done in Museum Jad-Vasem in Israel.

The bearer of this very important work is Dr. Milan Bulajic and the Museum of genocide in Belgrade, I hope that both Dr. Bulajic and the Museum will be remembered for this invaluable important work. .

Yugoslavia in its pre-war borders was among several countries with the greatest number of victims of war, destruction and genocide.

That is the reason why such careless attitude towards the victims of war¹ is even more surprising. We could find some political motives but not a justification. The fact that after the war it was not even attempted to include information about the perpetrators of the crime in the registers of victims can be explained with the intention of leaders of Yugoslavia not to create additional problems. In the situation of hardly settled national hatred, which culminated during the war, it was not wise to provoke conflicts.

That postponed serious analysis of the victims of war, completions of lists of victims, together with the identification of the criminals and their condemn created enough space for manipulation, guessing, underestimates and exaggeration. Today we can critically analyze estimates and evaluations made in the past and eventually determine irrefutable facts and thus come to the lower limit of the number of victims.

Existing estimates

In this paper we will deal with:

- Estimates published in the report of the reparation commission of the Government of the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia in the document Human and material losses during the war 1941-1945.
- Dragoljub Tasic's estimates published in the preface of the Registration of population from 1948, book I;
- Estimates by Ivo Lah published in Statistic Review 1951;

¹ the term victims of war includes only the persons who were killed and who died during the war. War victims, victims and real losses are used as synonyms and do not include the wounded and otherwise hurt persons (although they are undoubtedly the victims of war).

- Dolf Vogeltniks estimates published in Statistic review 1952;
- Foreign estimates² (Princeton University and Frukman);
- Bogoljub Kocovics estimates in Victims of the Second World War in Yugoslavia from 1985 and
- Vladimir Zerjavics estimates in his paper Loses of population of Yugoslavia in the Second World War from 1989.

General assessment

Among the estimates on war victims cited here there are considerable differences although the available documented material and the methodological approach are rather similar. In that respect the only official estimates, of the Reparation Commission of FNRJ, was done on the most scarce material (there were no data about the population number after the Second World War) and in very short time - insufficient for any serious systematization of material and the statistic-demographic calculations.

Most of these estimates were carried out with the same methodological approach whose starting point was the difference in the results obtained in registrations from 1931. and 1948. Different authors reduced the results of these two registrations to comparable as regards to covered territory, and according to different suppositions on natality, mortality and migrations they estimated the potential number of population in 1948. Finally, different authors estimated differently the possible decline in birth rate due to the war and the number of those who left the country during and immediately after the war.

Estimates	Victims	Demographic Loss
FNRJ - 1947	1.706.000	-
Tasic - 1948	1.400.000	2.428.000
Prinston ² -1948	-	1.200.000
Frukman ² -1948	1.500.000	-
Lah - 1951	1.000.000	2.100.000
Vogeltnik - 1952	1.800.000	2.854.000
Kocovic - 1985	1.014.000	1.985.000
Zerjavic - 1989	1.027.000	2.022.000
Min	1.000.000	1.200.000
Max	1.800.000	2.854.000
Average	1.350.000	2.098.167

² both these estimates are not based on enough evidence in order to be considered serious but are relatively often cited and that is the reason they are cited here as well

First after war assessments

The first published assessment of the number of victims of the Second World War in Yugoslavia was given as a report of the Reparation Commission to the Government of SFRJ and that number was used by all Yugoslav officials and that figure became official. Namely, the figure of 1.7 million victims of the Second World War is mentioned in most textbooks dealing with that topic. First of all, it was for that reason and not for the methodological approach in calculating that figure that it deserves any comment.

The FNRJ Governments estimate was carried out before the first after-war registration so that it was based on the assessed trends in population. The shortcomings of most other approaches was the time distance from the period for which it was supposed to determine the demographic loss i.e. what would be the population number had there not been any war. In this case there were no certain data on Yugoslav population after the war.

The author of the first assessment, Vojislav Vukcevic in his article published in the magazine *Our word* describes some interesting details starting from the bizarre fact that as a student of mathematics employed with the Federal Institute for Statistics, he was given a deadline of two weeks to complete such a difficult task and the instruction that the figure had to be significant and scientifically and statistically founded. Vukcevic states that he assessed the number of population comparing statistic sources of neighbouring countries and the results of some researches which were at his disposal in 1947. However, the most important thing is that he states that he calculated demographic losses and that in the final version of his paper they were turned into victims.

Evaluation of this work cannot be done because there were no original scripts about the way it was done, and the testimonies of the author do not contain enough data.

At this time distance there are some serious questions that Vojislav Vukcevic could answer how was it possible for him to contact Edvard Kardelj, when at that time, Vogelnik worked in the Federal Institute for Statistics and was the director together with Dimitrije Tasic and Ivo Lah.

How was it possible that his demographic victims differed so much from Vogelniks estimates and how did he dare to publish them when he was a student of mathematics and Vogelnik was the director of the Institute.

Why did he not publish his recollections on calculations much earlier?

The next estimate we are going to deal with here was published in the preface of the Book I, Registration 1948, signed by Dimitrije Tasic. As he is an expert in demography and population of Yugoslavia and as it was done at the time when there were some data which enable actual process his work is certainly worth of our attention. Compared to all other analysis Tasic

estimates a higher percentage of real victims in demographic losses 58%. Lah stated only demographic losses and immediately after him Vogelnik estimates both demographic and real losses.

Comparison of these four assessments determines the number of real victims to be between 600,000³ to 1,800,000 and the demographic losses between 1,200,000 to 2,854,000. Such difference is surprising if we know that all four of them were employed in the same institution Statistic Institute, that they were well informed about what and how each one of them was working at estimating the war losses, that Vukcevic, only a student, was the first who published his assessment and Vogelnik, the director of the Institute, was the last one. The last three estimates were based on the same data and the same methodological approach so that we can conclude that at different times the suppositions on migrations, natality and mortality were formed according to different political and patriotic motives.

Assessments of Kocovic and Zerjavic

The assessments of Kocovic and Zerjavic were far more detailed, with better arguments and more complexly presented⁴ than the assessments of the four researchers employed by the Federal Institute for Statistics.

The differences between these two assessments are minor and refer to regional and national structure of the victims but not the total number. Kocovic's assessment of 1,014,000 victims and Zerjavic's assessment of 1,027,000 differ in only 13,000 victims and it is quite certain that the very method of calculating brings an even greater statistical error. Estimates of the demographic losses of these two authors can be evaluated accordingly: Kocovic 1,958,000; Zerjavic 2,022,000; and rounded at 2,000,000. Both authors agree, and it is similar in all other available sources, that Bosnia and Herzegovina had the greatest number of demographic losses, then Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro and the smallest number Slovenia and Macedonia. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia i.e. on the territory of NDH it is estimated that there was the greatest number of victims and the greatest demographic loss. In Serbia there is a relatively high demographic loss, first of all, because of the great loss in Vojvodina, from where until then highly present Germans left.

Regarding the number of war victims by their nationality Kocovic and Zerjavic differ, first of all, in the estimate of the number of Montenegrin, Slovenian and Muslim victims.

^{3*} If we assume that at least one half of the demographic losses are real victims

⁴ They were published in the form of books

War victims %	Kocovic	Zerjavic	Overlapping
Serbs	487.000	530.000	91,9
Montenegrins	50.000	20.000	40,0
Croats	207.000	192.000	92,8
Muslims	86.000	103.000	83,5
Slovenians	32.000	42.000	76,2
Macedonians	7.000	6.000	85,7

According to these two authors, regarding the estimated number of population the Serbs and the Muslims (almost 7% of population died during the war) suffered the greatest war losses. Between 5-5.5% Croats were killed, about 3% Slovenians and less than 1% Macedonians. The greatest difference regards the number of killed Montenegrins and according to Kocovic from 10% of Montenegrins were killed.

We have to mention that both these authors also estimated suffering of non-Slavs in Yugoslavia during the Second World War. Sufferings of the Jews (according to Kocovic 60,000 or 77.9% of all Jews in Yugoslavia) were extremely great as well as the sufferings of the Gypsies (27,000 or 31.4%).

Serbs as victims

All available data and researches show that the number of the Serbs killed in the Second World War is extremely great both in absolute figures and in percentages. Kocovic and Zerjavic compare the number of killed Serbs and the potential number of Serbs on the whole territory of Yugoslavia. But if we take into consideration the territory disposition of war victims it is clearly noticeable that the greatest number of victims was on the territory of NDH, especially the territories consisting of mainly Serbian population. So if we divide the Serbs into two groups those who were under the NDH rule and those who were east of the Drina then the percentages of the victims change considerably while a relatively small number of the Serbs were killed on the territory of central Serbia (where they are a majority), in some parts of NDH whole settlements were destroyed. According to Kocovic 16.3% Serbs from Croatia and 14.6% Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina died as the war victims meaning approximately every sixth citizen.

Demographic losses of the Serbs were estimated similarly: on the territory of NDH over 380,000 i.e. more on the territory of Serbia.

From this perspective there are reasons to believe that the researches of these two authors were ordered and, not accidentally, very often cited in the works of the authors published in Croatia.

REGISTRATION OF WAR VICTIMS (FROM 1946.) **Methodology and shortcomings of the registration**

The registration of the victims was carried out in November, 1964, almost 20 years after the war.

Preparations for this registration started seven years earlier and were motivated with an idea of claiming war reparation from Germany.

Original decision was that the Federation of Veterans should carry out the registration. This decision was changed after the trial registration in June 1963.

In accordance with the decision of Federal Government (SIV) of June 10, 1964, Federal Commission for the Registration of War Victims was formed and it, together with the statistics institutes, made methodology and organized collecting of data.

The commissions were formed at all levels: federal, republic, regional and municipal. The commissions consisted of the representatives of veterans organizations, socio-political communities, army and statistics.

With all the shortcomings which could be expected due to memory effect⁵, the composition of the commission also make us suspect the registration was not done impartially. Namely, it is easy to see that the innocent victims among civilians were registered with more details and with no data among local population who were connected with or recruited by the Ustashi, homeguards, Chetnics and other units which were treated as opponents and quislings by the Partisans movement and the new Yugoslav authorities.

So, this registration gives a list of the unquestionable war victims but it can, by no means be considered final. Ideologically unacceptable victims, victims with no one who could give any data⁶ about them and the forgetfulness effect should be added to the total number of registered victims.

Method of registration predicted that the data of the victims of war and fascist terror be collected and it is about:

⁵ Memory effect i.e. influence of the memory error or forgetfulness has not been studied in our country but it is known that it must exist after some period of time and even for the most important events. On the other hand, the effect of Žmassacre mania, as according to Desimir Tosic, a painter Mica Popovic called the passion for increasing the number of victims, cannot be neglected. However, if it exists, the cumulative effect of these two effects should be negative i.e. it is most probable that there is a part of forgotten victims.

⁶ In some cases there was nobody who could give any information because they had all been killed. It was especially the case with the Jews and the Gypsies and sometimes even some families from the cities. Finally, also because of the high rate of migration immediately after the war. In some areas it was not possible to find witnesses of the war crimes.

- integrated, imprisoned, deported, taken to slave labour or captured, regardless of whether they were killed, they died, disappeared or survived the terror;
- killed soldiers of the Yugoslav army from April 16 to June 7, 1941;
- killed soldiers of National Liberation Army, POJ and the allies soldiers to May 15, 1945. and about
- killed civilians as the result of the direct terror of the enemy and its collaborators in the period from April 6, 1941. to May 15, 1945.

It could be concluded from the formulation of the aims of the registration commissions that the registration will not be complete because it was not even planned to collect data on victims who were not killed in the direct terror of the enemies and their collaborators or on victims from the armed units of the enemies and their collaborators.

Immediately after the registration the terrain coverage check was carried out. It was most thoroughly checked in Croatia and it was established that in Osijek 2% of the population was not covered. In Banja Luka it was established that even 28% households were not covered whereas in Serbia and Macedonia additional registrations were conducted.

All republic commissions, except Macedonian, evaluated the registration as successful. The registration was processed in Federal Institute for Statistics and all the documentation was put in 2,800 boxes in the Archive of Yugoslavia.

The Federal registration commission in the preface of their report (marked for internal use only and published in 1966.) gave their own assessment of the number of victims and demographic losses, in order to evaluate the registration coverage. Assessment of the number of inhabitants for 1948, based on demographic model which was done by dr. Dusan Breznik and the real data for 1948, is 2,056,510 which would represent the evaluation of the demographic losses accepted by the Commission. The Commission assumed that about 500,000 Germans and 100,000 Italians and the others had left Yugoslavia during and immediately after the war. Thus we come to the loss of 1,456,000 which should be further reduced for effects of increased mortality and the lower birth rate during the war, so that the Commission concluded that between 56% and 59% of the real war victims were included in the registration. Such calculation has no methodological shortcomings and leads to the conclusion that the number of real victims could be about 1,100,000 which was in contradiction to the common belief that 1,700,000 people were killed in Yugoslavia.

The results of the registration of war victims were marked for internal use only. Except for the small number of copies distributed by the list, the rest of the copies were well kept and later destroyed at the beginning of the 80s. The Federal Institute for Statistics renewed the data processing and formed the data base on the registered victims of war. The list of all, almost 600,000

registered victims, separately the book of war victims in NDH and the war victims Jews, was published but only 10 copies. This registration forms a base on which today new proved victims are added and that is how we come to the list of names and surnames.

The results of the registration of war victims

The final result of the registration gave a summary of the registered war victims: 597,323 of people who were killed, who died or disappeared and 509,846 survived victims of war. In different republics that relation was as follows:

Republic	The dead	Survived victims
Bosnia and Hercegovina	153.449	41.080
Montenegro	14.423	11.450
Croatia	185.685	103.377
Macedonia	18.745	29.816
Slovenia	41.597	104.008
Serbia	183.424	220.118

Statistic limits of the number of victims

According to the available statistical material it is not possible to give a reliable assessment of the number of victims of the Second World War in former Yugoslavia. The following reasons:

- pre-war registration was carried out ten years before the war and the after-war registration three years after the war;
- there is no war time documentation on the sufferings of the civilians (from German, Ustashi, Chetnic, Partisan ... sources),
- registration of war victims was carried out rather late: 20 years after the war and it was never made public so that the list of the victims could be completed while there were relatively many witnesses (it has been done in the last couple of years);
- partial correction of Yugoslavia borders was done, so that pre-war and after-war Yugoslavia differ in about 8,262 km² because the territories of Istra, Slovenian coast, Zadar with its islands (according to the peace agreement with Italy from September 15, 1947) and Zone B, i.e. districts Kopar and Buje (according to London agreement from October 10, 1954.) were joined to Yugoslavia;
- after the Second World War a completely new territorial segmentation was carried out so that the data from the registration from 1948. and 1953. of newly formed republics and districts are not

directly comparable with the data from the 1931. registration, done in the districts (banovine) of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and

- during and immediately after the war there was a massive emigration of the Germans, the Italians, the Hungarians on one side and the ideological opponents of the new regime on the other side.

All these reasons cause great uncertainties in the calculations on demographic and real losses which are increased by searching for more detailed answers. However, the first lower limit is set by registration of war victims from 1964, stating 600,000 victims. This registration, most probably, did not include (or only partly) ideological⁷ unacceptable persons, then those about whom nobody could give any information and accidentally missed names of victims. The victims on the other side in Ustashi, Chetnic, Homeguards and other similar formations or victims killed by Partisan authorities were not registered. The Jews were killed at an enormous percentage so that for the great number of victims there were no survivors who could give any information. It was similar with the Gypsies as well as in the cases of some smaller isolated groups of different nationalities.

Finally, the migration after the war move some of the witnesses to other parts of the country. We could say that the registration gives the lower limit which is, almost certainly, significantly broken.

Name	Registration 1964	The smallest number of unrecorded victims	The greatest number of unrecorded victims	Minimum (rounded off)	Maximum (rounded off)
Serbs, Motenegrins	365.016	150.000	230.000	510.000	590.000
Croats	83.251	110.000	190.000	190.000	270.000
Muslims	32.300	40.000	60.000	70.000	95.000
Slovenians	42.027	1.000	8.000	43.000	50.000
Macedonians	6.724	300	3.000	7.000	10.000
Jews	45.000	15.000	20.000	60.000	70.000
Gypsies	10.000	10.000	25.000	20.000	35.000
Hungarians	2.690	2.000	5.000	5.000	8.000
Albanians	3.241	1.5000	6.000	5.000	9.000
Germans	-	20.000	30.000	20.000	30.000
Others	9.996	6.000	13.000	16.000	23.000
Total	597.323	-	-	946.000	1.210.000

Using rough calculations based on the Registration of war victims, registration documentation from 1931, 1948. and 1953, vital statistics

⁷In already cited methodology of registration of war victims it is emphasized which categories were registered so that one part of victims among population which was not meant to be registered can be considered as ideologically unacceptable victims.

documentation, suppositions about migrations and part of population directly engaged against the partisan movement, we get an approximate image on real number of war victims. The figure between 950,000 and 1,200,000 is in accordance with the assessments of Kocovic and Zerjavic. The Federal Registration Commission of the Registration of victims in 1964, in its report stated that it found that the registration included 60-65% of victims supposed to be covered by the registration methodology. So, it estimated that there were more than 900,000 victims supposed to be covered by the registration. As the victims of the other side were not to be registered it can be considered that this figure fits within the calculated interval.

Of course, it is not difficult to find a number of calculations especially in pro-Ustashi and pro-Chetnic emigrant press or statements based on testimonies of witnesses about an even greater number or sometimes a lot smaller number of victims. Political or emotional exaggerations could be expected especially immediately after the war. But it is now evident that the victims have to be registered and the culprits for their deaths, if not punished, at least identified wherever possible. Had it been done in time, a great tragedy could not have been used as an instrument for a similar tragedy (new wars 1991.-1995.).

JASENOVAC NUMBER OF VICTIMS

Jasenovac is the most brutal and cruel system of NDH and Ustasha camps of death which was in function from August 21, 1941. until April 22, 1945.

Jasenovac is a complex consisting of 210-240 km² of mass graves.⁸ All doubts about the total number of victims in the Second World War are applicable to the number of victims in the system of Jasenovac camps.

Seven years after the war, in 1952, the Yugoslav Association of Jewish Communities determined, based on testimonies, documents etc., that about 500, 000-600, 000 people were killed in the Ustasha camp in Jasenovac including about 20, 000 Jews. Jad-Vashem in Jerusalem estimated that the number of Jewish victims in Jasenovac was 25,000.

Jakob Kabiljo: daily average number of victims was 400 victims if this number is multiplied by 1,090 days, from March 1942. to March 1945. we come to the number of 436,000.

Breyer Oto:⁹ Until my escape from Jasenovac on November 26, 1944. I think that during my imprisonment about 350,000 men, women and children¹⁰ were killed in different ways.

⁸ Dr. Milan Bulajic Jasenovac, Belgrade 1999

⁹ Breyer Oto, from Bjelovar, (1916.), a Jew

¹⁰*Minutes of Oto Breyers hearing, written on April 25, 1945. by District commission for determining war crimes in Banija; Archive VII, a NDH, k. 315, reg. no. 5/7, A. Miletic, book, 2, doc. no. 365, page 911.

Zlatko Vajler: Jasenovac with more than 700,000 people murdered in the most brutal way represent the evidence of that time in which we had the law of knife, mullet, crematory and other different ways of murdering which can not be accepted as reality by normal human brain.¹¹

Josip Erlich: It is an unquestionable fact that in Jasenovac about 700,000 people were murdered. Most of them were Serbs and then Jews and Gypsies although there were Muslims among the inmates as well as Croats and there were few Slovenians, I think eleven.¹²

Milos Despot: Inmates found out from one Ustasha who kept the evidence of the number of people deported to the camp and killed in the camp. So, it can be concluded that there were about 700,000 inmates in the camp. My opinion and the opinion of my fellow inmates is that surely 1,000,000 inmates went through the Jasenovac camp from 1941. to 1945. The man who kept the evidence of camp Jasenovac was a sergeant major and his nickname was Lisac(fox) ...¹³

Dr. Nedo Zec: Approximately 40,000 Gypsies, 20,000 Jews, 100,000 Croats and Muslims and about 650,000 Serbs were killed.

The survey commission, having visited Jasenovac camp, in its report from May 18, 1945. concluded: In respect of the range and the number of the committed crimes even the worst suspicions were surpassed.

According to the testimonies of the witnesses about 1,400,000 people were brutally killed (testimony of the witness Duzemlic Milan). Most of the victims were killed in Gradina right across the Sava on the opposite side of the camp, the victims were mostly killed without using fire-guns, mostly by hitting them with wooden mullets or iron bars on their heads, then by stubbing them either in their necks or their stomachs, by tying their legs and arms and putting weights on them and then throwing them into the Sava and finally by burning.

According to the decision of the Second Assembly of the National Antifascist Liberation Council of Yugoslavia a Commission for determining the crimes of the occupiers and their collaborators was formed on May 8, 1944. Preparations for this important task started very thoroughly, among other places, at the Conference of Croatian lawyers on August 11, 1944.

District commission for determining war crimes Nova Gradiska visited the execution place Jasenovac immediately after its liberation, and a week later on May 11, 1945. the State commission of Croatia. It was a commission of

¹¹Memories of the Jews on Jasenovac, page 316

¹² Minutes of witness Josip Erlich's hearing (id. 5504068), before judge Miodrag Paunovic in Dinko Sakics trial, March 3, 1998. Kri. 169/98

¹³ Minutes of Milos Despot's hearing (id. 5590/96) before judge Miodrag Paunovic in Dinko Sakics trial, March 11, 1998. Kri. 169/98

experts. In their report to Nurnberg they mention the figure of about 500,000-600,000 killed inmates victims of fascism.¹⁴

Minimization of victims

In the preparations for Late Yugoslav Nurnberg trial to the ex-commander of Ustashi camps of death Dinko Sakic Tudjman's ideology minimization of Jasenovac victims was particularly emphasized:

Nikica Valentic from Historical Institute of Croatia keeps claiming that the number of Jasenovac victims is somewhere between 30,000 and 50,000 (between Franjo Tudjman and Franjo Kuharic).

Director of Croatia State Archive, Josip Kolanovic stated that the authentic book of State Commission for Determining the Crimes Committed by Croatia from 1947. was found. According to that book, 15,792 victims from Croatia were killed in Jasenovac. from 1941. to 1945. These data refer to 34 districts starting from letter P (Pakrac) to letter Z (Zupanja).¹⁵

Institute of Adil Zulfikarpasic in Zurich claims that the number of victims is 58,188.

It is strange that dr. Slavko Goldstein openly supports this number of victims,¹⁶ as he was supporting the results of demographic researches by engineer Vladimir Zerjavic, although the number of victims by their names and surnames was far exceeded, although Vladimir Zerjavic accepted the number of 85,000.

Estimates in well-known encyclopedias

Tudjman cannot have overlooked either the estimates or the assessments of the Ustashi camps of death in different encyclopedias. He does not accuse encyclopedias for the creation of Jasenovac myth directly. But, Encyclopedia of Lexicographic Institute of Yugoslavia edited by the greatest Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža, Tudjman quotes: In Encyclopedia of Lexicographic Institute of Yugoslavia it can be read (under Jasenovac), that about 500,000-600,000 people were killed¹⁷ in the camp, but also that about 350,000 persons died¹⁸, and then under the same item (in the new edition from 1978.), several hundred thousands of the Serbs, the Croats, the Jews and the Gypsies were killed¹⁹.

¹⁴ Same. Page 12.13

¹⁵ Beta Zagreb, Only 15,792 persons killed in Jasenovac, Blic, Belgrade, July 8, 1998

¹⁶ Statement of Slavko Goldstein ŽManipulations regarding the number of Jasenovac victims to be ended, Politika, Belgrade, July 5, 1998.

¹⁷ ELI, 3, 1958, 648

¹⁸ Under CONCENTRATION CAMPS ELI, 4, 1959, 322

¹⁹ ELI, 4, 1978, 504

Military encyclopedia under Ustashi cites: Massive killing of the Serbs, the Jews and antifascists were carried out in Ustashi concentration camps: in Jasenovac about 600,000, in Jadovno 72,000, in Stara Gradiska 75,000, in Sremska Mitrovica about 10,000 and several thousands in the camps Staro Slano, at Pag, in Djakovo, Sisak, Jastrebarsko, Koprivnica etc. The author of this entry is Nikola Slavica, a Croat, assistant at the Military Historical Institute who used enormous archive documentation.²⁰

In YUGOSLAVIA it is cited that an exact number cannot be determined but according to the estimate based on the testimonies of the survivors number of victims exceeds 700,000²¹.

In Controversies from the history of Yugoslavia Croatian academic Ljubo Boban published that Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia (book 8) almost twenty years ago (1971.) instead of his numerically unspecified statement cited that about 600,000 were killed, in Jadovno about 72,000, in Stara Gradiska about 75,000, in Sremska Mitrovica about 10,000 and several thousands in the camps Staro Slano, at Pag, in Djakovo, Sisak, Jastrebarsko, Koprivnica etc, data taken from the Military encyclopedia. Although the source of Military encyclopedia was specifically stated but without the note that it was done by the Encyclopedia editorial board by including the given data in his text about the Ustashi. He was so offended that he decided to sue them but he gave up after prof. Sidak had asked him not to!

In the Short Prosveta Encyclopedia it is stated that in Jasenovac several hundred thousands of patriots and antifascist were killed²². It is worth noticing that the term patriot is used which will be later replaced by identifying the victims according to their nationality and religion.

Popular Encyclopedia MIGZ gives the data that the Ustashi had killed 700,000 men, women and children.

Lexicon of the National Liberation War and Yugoslav Revolution 1941-1945. cites that it was determined that over 500,000 people were deported to Jasenovac camp, based on transportation lists, and that 600,000-700,000 people were killed there.

In, which was published in 1980. dr. Ivan Jelic gives a rather reasonable assessment on the camps in general and also on Jasenovac. Having mentioned that firstly groups of communists and soldiers of NOR were brought to the camp, and later even greater groups of Serbs, Jews, Croats, Muslims, Gypsies, Jelic says: Jasenovac became the largest centre for torturing and murdering of all UNACCEPTABLE PERSONS for Ustashi

²⁰Book X, page 321, first edition

²¹Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia, 4, 1960, 467

²² 1959. 1567, pages 91 to 92

regime. Thousands of people went through this camp and most were killed in many massacres carried out there. .. Supporters of the myth criticized it and Encyclopedia of Croatian History and Culture, which infuriated them by its very title, was drawn from the market and its author was forced to retreat.²³

There is a special Survey commission for investigating the crimes in Jasenovac camp formed by the State commission for Croatia which is supposed to collect all the material related to the crimes committed in the camp where there were about 500,000-600,000 victims.

These are only some of the figures of the people killed in the Complex of Jasenovac camps published so far. Unfortunately, last year (1999.) the lowest number so far was presented by the Assembly Commission of Croatia (about 2,238 victims) which was strongly criticized even by Croatian public.

However, I think it is very important that the Museum of Genocide from Belgrade presented the number of 78,163 victims at the First International Conference and Exhibition on Jasenovac held in New York on October 29, 1997, and now they came up with the figure of 79,857 victims.

As a statistician I can only support this methodology and the way towards the truth and unfortunately, it cannot easily be discovered or proved. I think that we should say here that the most frequently mentioned number is 500,000-600,000 of killed Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, Croats, Muslims and other nations and nationalities in Jasenovac from 1941-1945.

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SUPPLEMENT 2

Dragan Cvetkovic

Concentration camp Jasenovac April-November 1944.

What is Dinko Sakic responsible for?

Criminal responsibility of the Ustasha commander Dinko Sakic²⁴ can be seen in two ways his personal responsibility for the murders he himself had committed and his responsibility as a commander of the system of Jasenovac camps for the crimes committed there.

The crimes he had committed himself will not be the subject of this discussion because his guilt is indisputable. In this discussion we are going to talk about the guilt which is the result of the subordination of Jasenovac camp where he as a commander of the camp is responsible for all lost lives.

So, it is necessary to determine the period in which Sakic was the commander of the system of camps. Unfortunately, in Narodne novine which was the official paper of NDH Government there is nothing about appointment or release of Dinko Sakic from the duty of the commander of the camp.

In the documents of the State commission for determining crimes of occupiers and their followers there is a decision from 18 March, 1947. made in Zagreb stating that from 1942. to 1944. Sakic was the chief of general department, and from 1944. to 1945. the commander of Jasenovac camp, which does not give us the possibility to determine precisely the period of his command.²⁵

²⁴ DINKO SAKIC Ustasha officer (Studenici near Imotski, 08.09.1921.). At the age of thirteen he was expelled from all schools in Yugoslavia and was denied the right to take any entrance exams. Married to Luburics sister Nada, so that he even through his family relations was an adjutant and one of the closest associates of V. Luburic. His father was a mayor of Bosanski Brod during NDH. In February 1942. he was appointed a commander of general department in Jasenovac camp. A month later he was transferred to Stara Gradiska and became the adjutant of the camp commander, in November he returned to Jasenovac as the deputy commander of the camp and in 1944. he was appointed the commander of the camp; in these camps tens of thousands of people were killed during NDH. In November 1944. he was transferred to Zagreb to the Reporting Board of the Headquarters of defense units as an adjutant for special affairs to V. Luburic. In May 1945. he left Zagreb, retreated to Austria and later to Argentina. After Luburics death he was the President of Croatian National Resistance. From 1955. he was a member of Perons party. (Group of authors: What is NDH, Minerva, Zagreb 1997, page 375.)

²⁵ AJ: 110 State commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators, Fbr. 3376/1

In the sentence pronounced in Regional Court in Zagreb on 4 April, 1999, it is stated that the accused was the commander of Jasenovac camp in the period from May 1944. to October 1944.²⁶

At the same process the defense claimed that he was the commander of Jasenovac camp from 02 July, 1944. to 01 October 1944,²⁷ meaning only three months.

Sakic himself, in an interview, given in 1995. said about his activity in Jasenovac: I came in November 1942, and I was appointed the commander of Jasenovac in 1944. I stayed there until November 1944.²⁸

Many testimonies of the survived inmates and Captured Ustasha witness Sakics presence and command of the camp during 1944. without quoting precisely the time of command. They mostly mention the events from June and September related to the murder of student Valner and Dr. Milo Boskovic.

Jakov Danon in his statement given to the State commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators on 26 May, 1945, immediately after the end of war operations on Yugoslav territory, states that Dinko Sakic was the commander of the camp from spring 1944. to September 1944, formerly the commander of the general department of the camp, Ustashi lieutenant colonel.²⁹

Partially saved Diary of changes in the number of inmates of Ustasha camp Stara Gradiska could help us determine the period in which it was certain that Sakic was the commander.

In daily reports about the number of inmates signed by the commander of the camp we have the period from 19-26 October 1944. signed by Dinko Sakic, four documents with his name in full and five with his initials.

Among the above mentioned documents there is only one with a problematic date. It is document F136/1 in which there is a correction of the date 05. 11. to 05. 10. which leads us to conclude that Sakic might have been the commander in November 1944. as well.³⁰

That is why we think that the period from April to November 1944. should be taken into consideration in determining the guilt of Dinko Sakic as the commander of the camp.

According to partially revised registration of war victims 1941-1945, the registration which was carried out in 1964 and which was mentioned

²⁶ AMZG: Collection Dinko Sakic file, Sentence of the Regional Court in Zagreb (official number VK 242/98 257) page 27.

²⁷ AMZG: Collection Dinko Sakic file, Final speech of the defense K-242/98 page 6.

²⁸ Magazine, February 1995, Zagreb page 27.

²⁹ A. Miletic: Concentration camp Jasenovac, Belgrade Jasenovac 1987, Book III, page 541

³⁰ AMRS: (F 136/1, F 136/5, F 136/10, F 136/11, F 136/ 12, F 136/13, F 136/14, F 136/15, F 136/16)

here a couple of times and according to the revised registration done by Museum of victims of genocide with the Federal Institute for Statistics, Dinko Sakic who was the commander of the camp until November 1944, is responsible for death of 4,892 inmates³¹ identified by their names and surnames and all other personal data.

Victims were from all parts of Yugoslavia, most of them from the territory of NDH. From the Croatian territory there were 2,506 which makes 51.2% of the dead³², from Bosnia and Herzegovina 2,093 or 42.8%³³, from Srem 160 or 3.3%, from Serbia without Srem 88, from Slovenia 33, from Montenegro 13 and from Macedonia 1 person.

Regions nearest to Jasenovac camp and inhabited mostly by Serbs suffered greatest losses. Bosanska krajina lost 1,703 persons which makes 34.8% of all people killed in that period or 81.4% of victims from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Slavonija lost 1,019 inhabitants or 20.8% killed in Jasenovac and 40.7% of victims from Croatia, Banija lost 891 or 18.2% of the total number of victims during this period and 35.6% of victims from Croatia. Remaining eight regions suffered considerably smaller number of losses in this period: Eastern Bosnia 177, Herzegovina 131, Middle Bosnia 59, Northwestern Croatia 267, Lika 119, Dalmatia 112, Kordun 48 and Gorski Kotar with Croatian coast 33 victims.

If we analyze this by months, the system of concentration camps was most active in June when 1,079 inmates were killed or 22.1% of all killed in that period, then in November when 1,076 or 22.1% inmates were killed, in October 1,010 or 20.7%, in September 862 or 17.6%, in August 281 or 5.7%, in April 210 or 4.3%, in May 206 or 4.2%, in July 168 or 3.4%. It is important to notice that the greatest number of killing happened in the last two months of Dinko Sakics command, when 2,086 inmates or 42.7% of all killed during his command were murdered.

The most brutal crime in the system of Jasenovac camps from 01 April to 30 November 1944. was committed over children.

During Sakics command 963 kids were killed, aged from one day to 14 years.³⁴

Killed children make 19.7% of all people killed in the camp during the mentioned period. It is important to notice that the greatest number of children 686 or 71.2% were killed in the last three months of Sakics

³¹ AJ: 179-Fund: Federal Commission for registration of war victims 1941-1945. AMZG: Fund: War victims 1941-1945.

³² AJ: (179-2095-2867)

³³ AJ: (179-1126-1683)

³⁴ During this period they killed 26 children under the age of one, 42 one-year-olds, 43 two-year-olds, 71 three-year olds, 61 four-year-olds, 76 five-year-olds, 73 six-year-olds, 81 seven-year-olds, 63 eight-year-olds, 67 nine-year-olds, 78 ten-year-olds, 57 eleven-year-olds, 71 twelve-year-olds, 63 thirteen-year-olds and 91 fourteen-year-olds.

command, in September 152, in October 141 and in November 393 children³⁵.

Insight into the national structure of killed inmates gives a more detailed picture of genocidal activity in NDH.

Serbs with 3,407 victims or 69.6% of all killed during Sakics command make by far the largest group of killed inmates in the period we are talking about.

Killed Serbs originate mostly from NDH, from Croatia 1,889 or 55.4%, from Bosnia and Herzegovina 1,289 or 37.8%.³⁶

Croats lost 567 persons or 11.6%, Gypsies 522 or 10.7% and Muslims 150 or 3.1%, Jews 109 or 2.2%³⁷ and all the others 137 or 2.8%. We should also mention that most of the Gypsies originate from Bosanska Krajina (507) and that many Gypsies from Croatia were registered as Croats in the registration War victims 1941-1945 carried out in 1964.

The sex structure of the victims shows that 2,893 males and 1,899 females and four children of unspecified sex were killed in the camp during the period from April 1 to November 30, 1944. The disproportion between the killed males and females in different regions is also noticeable. So, on the territory of B&H 735 females were killed which is 35.1% of the total number of victims from that territory. In Croatia the percentage of killed females is much higher. There were 1,363 killed males and 1,142 females which is 45.6% of total number of victims from Croatia.³⁸ Since the number of Serbian victims is much higher it is easy to notice the tendency of the Ustashi to completely eliminate Serbian population in Croatia.

According to the sentence to Sakic he was convicted of at least several hundreds of killed inmates in Jasenovac camp in the period from May to October 1944.³⁹ Based on the above presented data for the mentioned period he is responsible for the deaths of 3,606 inmates among whom there were 552 children, 293 of them (53.1%) were killed during the last two months. Qualifications at least several hundreds of killed inmates in Jasenovac camp can be accepted if take into consideration the period of commandment from July 2 to October 1, which was suggested by the defense.⁴⁰ In that period the number of killed inmates in the System of Concentration camp Jasenovac is 1,311 (July 168, August 281, September 862 constant increase), among whom were 210 little children, 152 of them

³⁵ Among other months June with 190 killed children is significant, whereas in other months the number of the killed is considerably smaller: April 18, May 11, July 19 and August 39.

³⁶ Majority of the victims originate from neighbouring areas of the concentration camp: Bosanska Krajina lost 998 persons or 77.4% of killed Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slavonia 838 or 44.4% and Banija 824 or 43.6% of victims from the territory of Croatia.

³⁷ The greatest number of Jews were killed in 1941. and 1942.

³⁸ Bosanska Krajina lost 1,103 males and 600 females which is 35.2% of the total number of victims from that region, Slavonija lost 528 males and 490 females (48.1%) and Banija 472 males and 419 females (47%).

³⁹ AMZG: Collection Dinko Sakic, Sentence... (VK-242/98-257) pages 35 and 2.

⁴⁰ AMZG: Collection Dinko Sakic, Defense... (K-242/98) page 6.

(72.4%) were killed in September. It is noticeable that the defense put the period of Sakics command between June, when 1,079 inmates were killed and October when 1,010 inmates were killed.

We will mention the saved parts of the Diary of changes in the number of inmates in the Ustashi camp Stara Gradiska again. Apart from helping us to determine the period of Sakics command they also help us to get an insight into the way the camp was operated and also the living conditions of the inmates. In the Diary of changes the number of inmates of the previous day and the number of inmates to be fed the next day were recorded every day. On the first day for which we have data, October 19, number of inmates is 618 and that number was decreased to 616 on October 21, with the note that two inmates had died during the night. The next change in the number of inmates was on October 24. Number from the previous day was 616 but the number of those to be fed was 594. There was no note. What had happened to 22 inmates? The next day we have a new change in the number. From 594 from the previous day 586 inmates were to be fed that day. So, there are 8 more inmates whose destiny was not known. Thirty inmates in two days with unknown destiny. They might have been killed, transported to Jasenovac, exchanged or freed? Last two options are less probable because both groups of inmates were taken off the list of inmates fed with liquid food only and from the hospital (in both groups one). Nutrition of the inmates gives an insight into the living conditions of the inmates. They were divided into three groups. The most numerous was the group who ate only liquid food, so that on October 19 it consisted of 465 persons what is 75.3% of the inmates on that day whereas on October 26 it consisted of 411 inmates or 70.1%. The Ustashi were aware of the bad quality of that food and after the above mentioned deaths of two inmates in the night between October 20 and 21 they increased the group inmates on liquid food and bread from 83 to 104 which is the increase of 25% but that group represented only 16.9% of inmates on October 21 and 17.9% of inmates on October 26. On every page of the Diary there is a Note: 17 inmates get the whole bread. The smallest group consisted of those who were in the most privileged position. This group consisted of the inmates who were on Ustashi food and their number was between 29 to 34 which is 5.5% of all inmates. Living conditions in the camp are best illustrated by the case of four inmates of whom on October 19 one and on October 20 three were transferred from the hospital list to the list of those fed by liquids.⁴¹ Division of the inmates according to their diet and position in the camp opens a new topic for more elaborate research within which their national and religious affiliation, social status, their professions, political convictions and other relevant factors which could influence their position in the camp, should be studied. Although very frugal by the given information the Diary of the changes in the number of inmates in the Ustashi camp Stara Gradiska offers a partial insight into the lives of inmates during Dinko Sakics command. (picture 1 and picture 2)

⁴¹ AMRS: F136/10, F 136/11, F 136/ 12, F 136/13, F 136/14, F 136/15, F 136/16

Dnevnik promjena
zatočenika u U. S. I. St. Gradiška za dan 1941.

Sadržaj	Brojno stanje zatočenika	Na račun izlaska iz lagerskog područja	Na račun izlaska iz lagerskog područja	U bolnici	U zatvoru	Ukupno			
Prenos od prošlog dana	549	105	418	34	-	31	-	6	549
Na izlazi biti će	549	105	418	34	-	30	-	6	549
Prirasi					Nestanak				
Opazka: 17 zatočenika odlaže se na rad.					Ustavljeno prema priloženim listama (Pavelić)				

NARODNI MUZEJ BANJA LUKA
Izv. br. 130/41-75

Picture 1

Dnevnik promjena
zatočenika u U. S. I. St. Gradiška za dan 1941.

Sadržaj	Brojno stanje zatočenika	Na račun izlaska iz lagerskog područja	Na račun izlaska iz lagerskog područja	U bolnici	U zatvoru	Ukupno			
Prenos od prošlog dana	616	105	418	34	-	32	-	6	616
Na izlazi biti će	594	105	418	34	-	31	-	6	594
Prirasi					Nestanak				
Opazka: 17 zatočenika odlaže se na rad.					Ustavljeno prema priloženim listama (Pavelić)				

NARODNI MUZEJ BANJA LUKA
Izv. br. 130/41-75

Picture 2

Although in the beginning the official name of the camp was Ustashi defense Command of the collective camp Jasenovac, and in November 1941, according to Pavelić order, became Collective and work camp Jasenovac⁴², presented data about 4,892 persons killed, among whom there were 963 children during eight months (April to November), or during six months (May to October) 3,606 people killed, 552 children, show that it was an example of the concentration camp.

⁴² A. Miletić: Concentration camp Jasenovac, Belgrade 1986, Book I pages 20 and 22.

Bosanska Krajina

BANJA LUKA

BANJA LUKA

Antonic Erna , Jew, 1940-08.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 0858018047)
Antonic Ostoja Natasa , Serb, 1924-08.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 0858018046)
Begic Salih Aisa , Muslim, 1918-11.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 11030034004)
Zanic Muso Mura , Muslim, 1900-07.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1326004003)
Husetinovic Semsal Salih , Muslim, 1900-05.1944, Stara Gradiška (Arch. No. 1131046037)
Ilic DjordjeDarinka , Serb, 1925-06.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 5020000283)
Ilic DjordjeZorka , Serb, 1922-06.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 5020000282)
Ilic Djuro Danica , Serb, 1875-06.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 5020000284)
Ilic Ljubo Mladen , Serb, 1900-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1129028006)
Kocic MilanDjordje , Serb, 199-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 0930038008)
Kojic Vaso Branko , Serb, 1922-10.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1127010035)
Kojic Vaso Dusan , Serb, 1920-10.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1127010034)
Konjik Djordje Savo , Serb, 1928-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1127013032)
Loncar Jefto Lazo , Serb, 0887-05.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No.)
Mackovic Antonije Ljubica , Serb, 1921-09.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1131039009)
Nanosi Lajos Andrija , Croat, 1915-05.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1126006055)
Perdub Djordje Branko , Serb, 1920-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1130037044)
Piljevic Mrza , Serb, 1907-05.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No.0844051043)
Salihagic Sulejman Ifakat , Croat, 1906-10.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1577066040)
Samac Milos Desanka , Serb, 1926-09.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1128022046)
Stupar Milan Branko , Serb, 1919-11.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1130032021)
Sinikovic Ilija Milan , Serb, 1900-10.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1132049005)
Zubovic Sava Nevenka , Serb, 1920-10.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1126007027)

BARLOVCI

Stamberger Josip Frane , Slovenian, 1902-10.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1133067001)

DOBRNJA

Karac Ilija Milan , Serb, 1900-11.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1275028065)

DRAGOCAJ

Bozic Jevta Mirko , Serb, 1915-07.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1134091018)

IVANJSKA

Jajcevic Mile Niko , Croat, 1927-10.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1126005043)

KULJANI

Blazevic Jakov Jure , Croat, 1923-11.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1138112011)

Bumbar Ivo Anto , Croat, 1926-11.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1138112002)

Domic Misa Marko , Croat, 1910-11.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1134086004)

Katic Rade Simo , Serb, 1904-11.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1138112008)

OBROVAC

Corda Djuradj Mirko , Serb, 1907-11.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1139119013)

Djurdjevic Stevan Lazar , Serb, 1910-11.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1139119017)

PISKAVICA

Dragisic Mladen Milorad , Serb, 1927-11.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1130035001)

STRICICI

Dragicevic Damjan Milan , Serb, 1903-11.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1275028111)

VUJINOVICI

Pavleka Lovro Jura , Croat, 1917-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1134088005)

Zulovic Jovica Spasoje , Serb, 1909-11.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 1134088004)

BIHAC

DUBOVSKO

Miljus Mile Sava , Serb, 1905-08.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 5020000291)

GORJEVAC

Vukmirica Stanko Milkan , Serb, 1901-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1330031016)

HRGAR

Mihajlovic Trivun Lazo , Serb, 1901-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 5010000120)

Pilipovic Stana , Serb, 1903-09.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 5010000071)

KLISA

Poznanovic Simo Sana , Serb, 1880-07.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1330031014)

ORLJANI

Renic Meho Ibrahim , Muslim, 1912-09.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1334055015)

RIPAC

Gagic Basa Branko , Serb, 1902-07.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 0831027014)

BOSANSKA DUBICA

BIJAKOVAC

Kukic Jefta Deva , Serb, 1889-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1188059195)

BOSANSKA DUBICA

Bejtovic Uzeir Zehra , Serb, 1921-05.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No.1150012023)

Ceric Ahemt Omer , Serb, 1889-09.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1149008055)

Cihota Nikola Vojislav , Serb, 1896-11.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1150010016)

Gogic Jefta LJubomir , Serb, 1890-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 0006008015)

Grabovic Djordje Ostoja , Serb, 1917-10.1944, Stara Gradiska (Arch. No. 0570003022)

Hrkec Blazo Janko , Croat, 1889-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1149008015)

Hrnjak Nikola Jovo , Serb, 1934-07.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 0307043021)

Janosevic Stevo Jovo , Serb, 1902-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1150010036)

Jokic Hasim Mirisa , Muslim, 1925-09.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1150011016)

Keca Milos Borislav , Serb, 1929-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 7003000396)
Kovac Todo Radmila , Serb, 1940-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 7003000658)
Ladjevic Simo Stojan , Serb, 1905-09.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 2561008050)
Marevic Dusanka , Serb, 1939-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 7003000398)
Marevic Milka , Serb, 1938-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 7003000400)
Marevic Nikola , Serb, 1940-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 7003000399)
Masic Omer Ahmet , Muslim, 1900-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1150010030)
Mirkovic Nikola Borislav , Serb, 1939-09.1944, Dubica (Arch. No. 1148007230)
Noglic Djuro Rudolf , Croat, 1902-04.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1149010010)
Pezic Sulejman Berka , Muslim, 1923-04.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1149009015)
Pilipovic Milan Dusan , Serb, 1939-06.1944, Dubica (Arch. No. 7003000669)
Pilipovic Milan Pavo , Serb, 1937-06.1944 Dubica (Arch. No. 7003000668)
Pjevic Jovanka , Serb, 1908-05.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 2817096017)
Pjevic Savo Vojislav , Serb, 1934-05.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 2817096019)
Rakic Mileta Savo , Serb, 1930-10.1944. Dubica (Arch. No. 0901068023)
Ranic Selim Muharem , Muslim, 1910-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1132049008)
Trenk Djuro Katarina , Croat, 1887-04.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1541031032)
Vlajnic Tomo Slavica , Serb, 1932-06.1944, Dubica (Arch. No. 7003000657)
Zaric Selim Muharem , Serb, 1885-07.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1150012006)
Zdjelar Milos Djordje, Serb, 1928-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 7004000212)
Zubovic Hasan Rejhan , Serb, 1898-08.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1149008001)
Zubovic Rejhana Nevzeta , 1925-08.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1149008002)

CELEBICI

Stakic Rade Rosa , Serb, 1912-07.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 0105017011)

DIZDARLIJE

Arsenic Bozo Simeunka , Serb, 1875-04.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1147007232)
Crnogorac Janko Nemanja , Serb, 1929-10.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1156020013)

DONJA SLABINJA

Kos Mile Mika , Serb, 1900-04.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1156022111)

Popovic Trivun Ilija , Serb, 1903-06.1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1156022088)

DRAKSENIC

Radmanovic Blagoje Marko, Serb, - 10. 1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1160026160)

Suman Dusan Danica, Serb, 1929. 10. 1944. Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1159025148)

Suman Dusan Simeun, serb, 1932. 08. 1944. Jasenovac (Aech. No. 1159025149)

Suman Jovo Vidosava, Serb, 1908. 10. 1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 1159025147)

Vlajnic Dragutin Dusan, Serb, 1934. 04. 1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 0412399006)

GORNJOSELCI

Kotur Stanko Milinko, Serb, 1932. 06. 1944, Jasenovac (Arch. No. 7003000027)

The list of victims is not complete.

SHORT VIEW OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF JASENOVAC VICTIMS

Economical aspects of the Ustashi genocide or simply legally sanctioned plunder of people i.e. the loot, taking away of personal belongings, gold and other valuables, movables and real estates of the inmates is a topic to be given our full attention in an elaborate scientific study. Therefore this paper has only one aim to open just one segment of the future research. In order to study the economical aspect of genocide in NDH a complete analysis of the social and economical structure of the population exposed to repression of NDH should be undertaken. It is important to examine, in order to determine whom the Ustashi plundered. Since this conference deals with the System of Jasenovac concentration camps, I will only deal with the social structure of the inmates.

By revising the registers of the War victims 1941.-1945. carried out by the Museum of the victims of genocide from Belgrade in association with the Federal Institute for Statistics it has been determined, by their names, that 78,163 inmates were killed in Jasenovac.⁴³ Among them there were 47,123 Serbs or 60%, 10,521 Jews (13.5%), 6,281 Croat (8%), 5,836 (7.5%) Gypsies and 919 Muslims (1.2%) whereas 7,483 (9.6%) victims were of other nations, or on 52 killed Serbs there were 12 Jews, 7 Croats, 6 Gypsies

⁴³ AJ: 179 Fund: State commission for registration of war victims 1941-1945. AMZG: War victims 1941-1945.

and 1 Muslim. For 64, 844 killed Serb, Jew, Croat and Muslim inmates the occupation was known for 50,129 or 77% of the number of victims. Only these four nations were considered because their profession was known which is not the case with the others. It was very difficult to determine it for the Gypsies because they were not carefully registered in the registration in 1964 and most of them were registered under other nationalities (most frequently as Muslims or Croats) and their occupation was not recorded at all so this issue should be considered carefully.

Regarding their occupation, the greatest number of victims are dependants women, children and the old, 23,840 of them or 47.6%, almost a half of the total number of people killed in the camp. The greatest number of killed from this group, are of Serbian nationality 19,180 or 80.5%, the Jews follow with 3,057 killed or 12.8%, then 1,447 (6.1%) Croats and only 156 (0.7%) Muslims. Killed pupils and students 3,544 or 14.9% of the group of dependants and 7.1% of the total number in the camp - were included in this group. Among the pupils and the students the most numerous are the Serbs 2,224 or 62.8%, then the Jews 893. In the group of active working population, farm workers form the largest group and 16,529 of them or 33% were killed in the camp, among them again the Serbs are the most numerous 15,229 or 92.1% of all victims, then the Croats 1,096 or 6.6%, Muslims 210 or 1.3%. There are no data about the Jews engaged in agriculture.

Industrialists, craftsmen, tradesmen, building contractors, entrepreneurs 3,704 of them were killed or 7.4% of the total number of victims. The Jews were the most numerous in this group 1,668 or 45%, then the Serbs 1,104 or 29.8%, then the Croats 817 or 22.1% and the Muslims 115 or 3.1%. In the group of workers in industry, workshops, shops 6.8% or 3,398 people were killed. The Serbs are most numerous 1,854 or 54.5%, then the Croats 956 or 28.1% and the Jews 405 or 11.9% and the Muslims 183 or 2.5%. Killed teachers and professors 196 of them or 8% of all the experts and clerks and 0.4% of the total number of victims in the System of Jasenovac camps. Most of them were Serbs 104 or 53.1%, then Croats 46 (23.5%), Jews 42 (21.4%) and Muslims 4. Doctors, dentists, lawyers, pharmacists, bank clerks and others 341 of them were killed or 0.7% of the victims. The most numerous are the Jews 163 or 47.9%, Serbs 92 (27.1%), Croats 78 (22.9%) and Muslims 8 (2.4%).

Out of 47,123 killed Serbs in the System of Jasenovac camps occupation for 38,145 or 80.1% is known, whereas we are searching for the rest in literature and sources. The greatest number of victims are dependants women, children, the old 19,180 or 50.3% and among them we have a great number of pupils and students 2,224 or 5.8% of victims whose profession was known. Among the active working population the farm workers form the largest group 15,299 or 39.9% of the victims. After them we have the so-called urban professions among whom the most numerous are industrial, trade, construction, craft workers 1,854 or 4.9%. 1,104 or 2.9% of their

employers were killed. 686 or 1.8% of clerks and experts of different occupations were killed. Among them there were 104 teachers and professors or 0.3% of the victims.

Out of 10,521 Jews killed in the camp the occupation for 6,040 or 57.4% is known. The greatest number of victims are dependants 3,057 or 50.6% of the victims, among them there were 893 (14.8%) of pupils and students. Since they mostly lived in urban regions they were not engaged in agriculture. Among the active working population industrialists, craftsmen and tradesmen form the largest group 1,668 or 27.6%. 405 (6.7%) industrial, construction and trade workers were killed. Clerks and experts of different occupations 747 (12.4%); 42 (0.7%) of teachers and professors; 163 (2.3%) of different professions were killed in the camp.

Among the Croats who lost their lives in the camp, the occupation is known for 5,211 or 83%. The most numerous is the group of dependants 1,447 (27.8%) of the victims; 372 (7.1%) of pupils and students. Among the active working population the farm workers are most numerous 1,090 (20.9%). Among the workers there were 956 (18.3%) victims and 817 (15.8%) of their employers were killed in Jasenovac. 823 (15.8%) clerks and experts of different professions were killed, 46 (0.9%) teachers and professors.

Out of 919 Muslims killed in the camp the occupation is known for 733 (79.7%). The most numerous are farm workers 210 (28.6%); workers of different occupations 183 (25%), their employers 115 (15.8%), clerks and experts of different professions 61 (8.4%); dependants 156 (21.3%), 55 (7.5%) pupils and students.

From the supplied data it is quite obvious that the greatest number of the killed Serbs originated from rural areas, which except Slavonian peasants could hardly survive, and that was especially the case in Bosanska Krajina where most of Jasenovac inmates come from. So, the question is: What could the Ustashi take from them except their lives and some cattle? Only 5-10% of the Serbs killed in the camp, including wealthy peasants and rich citizens, could possess any valuable property or valuables. The future research should answer that question. The situation with the Jews is much clearer because even 42.3% of the victims were wealthy. The loot of the Croats, 31.5% being potentially rich, and the Muslims, 25%, was the consequence of their anti-fascism but relatively a small number of 8.7% killed could hardly result in taking away of any valuable property. So, another question is imposed on us in the future research: How much and what could have been taken away from the inmates? I hope that this short paper will help in the future research.

Supplement 3
Mladenko Kumovic, MA

SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE OF SREM IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP JASENOVAC 1941-1945.

After the aggression of fascist forces in April 1941. and the dismemberment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Srem was joined to so-called NDH. In the beginning the Germans had Stara Pazova and Zemun districts under their jurisdiction until October 10 when these two districts were joined to Ustashi NDH. In fact, during the war 1941-1945. i.e. until final liberation both the German and the Ustashi rule intertwined in Srem and sometimes were confronted because of different interests.

A large group of local Germans Volks-deutchers, there were about 63,000 or 16% of them in Srem was considered to be a part of powerful Hitler's Germany, and accordingly the only authorities in Srem. The Ustashi kept dreaming about Croatia stretching all the way to Belgrade and Srem, they did not hide it, was particularly interesting for Pavelic's state because of the food it provided. In one Ustashi document from 1941. it says: Srem covers only 6.5% of the surface of Croatia and 7.5% of the total number of population and still produces more than one of wheat and almost of corn grown in Croatia. It also says that without Srem Croatia would be, regarding wheat production, a passive country because they would have a shortage and that wheat would have to be imported.⁴⁴

According to territorial division of NDH, Srem was one of 22 districts (zupanije) so-called Great zupa Vuka, which covered the territory of 6,350 km² and had 400,000 inhabitants.⁴⁵

In fact, Great zupa Vuka was almost identical to the pre-war Srem district in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia without Zupanja district. National composition of the population was very diverse. The Serbs were the most numerous about 50%, then the Croats 27%, the Germans 16%, the others were Hungarians, Slovaks, Russians and Jews. The Mayor of the district was a local German Jakov Eliker and his assistant was a Croat dr. Luka Azdajic. It is clear from this division that the Croats shared control with the local

⁴⁴ IA PK, Arch. No. 19,900/49, NDH, F IX/234

⁴⁵ Data taken from the paper: Occupation rule and the system of national discrimination in Srem during NDH, Matica Srpska, Collection of social sciences

Germans. In NDH, the Germans had a special privileged status. Their position was regulated by a number of laws and acts.⁴⁶

These legal acts and regulations were passed in Croatian Parliament, as Artukovic said that full recognition be given to our brothers the Germans in NDH and especially due to great contribution of the Great German Reich to Croatian state and Croatian people.⁴⁷

According to legal regulations the Germans in Srem were equal to Croats and the Ustashi authorities avoided confronting them in any way. The Germans tended to keep Srem, as fertile area, under their control, in the beginning for the supply of German army and later for the creation of Dunav state which would be inhabited by the Germans only. That is the reason why the Germans acted as real masters from the very beginning, and that often led to conflicts between the Germans and the Ustashi. Due to this double control, the terror over the Serbs was not so brutal and massive as in other parts of so-called NDH. Namely, the Ustashi were afraid of the Germans and their negative reaction because of the expected protest of the people and on the other hand, they did not want to show which methods they were using to clear Croatian nation as they did in Lika, Kordun, Bosanska Krajina and Herzegovina. In fact, they wanted the Germans to allow them to solve the so-called Serbian question by themselves and in their own way in other parts of NDH. So, relatively a small number of Serbs were killed in Srem in 1941. considering their total number and considering other parts of NDH inhabited by the Serbs. They were imprisoned immediately after the occupation and were mostly killed without a trial and only an insignificant number was taken to the camps from where they never returned.

It was similar with the Jews, the Gypsies and other discriminated ethnical communities. Generally speaking, more massive killing of the population of Srem started in 1942. and it reached its peak in the middle of summer in the so-called Tomic action which happened at the same time as Great German offensive to Fruska Gora and the battle for harvest that year.

The Germans gave their blessing to the Ustashi and they themselves took part in the massive killing and deportation of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. Due to German domination, although the Ustashi were also anti-Semites, the Jews were the first to be attacked.

Terror over the Jews in Srem started immediately after the German army had entered Srem. Local Germans together with the Army attacked and robbed all wealthy Jews and they also destroyed the synagogues in Ruma and Sremska Mitrovica. The Jews had to wear yellow ribbons on their arms and they had to report to Ustashi and German authorities. Their property was taken away, they were forced to do the hardest jobs and were not allowed to go to the market before 9 a.m. etc. Even conversion to

⁴⁶ Such as: Law on the temporary legal position of the Germans in NDH, legal act on the usage of German language, German flag and German symbols in NDH, an Act on formation of German communities, Act on German education etc.

⁴⁷ Memory book of the first anniversary of NDH 10. 04. 1941. page 86.

Catholicism (which was done by many of them) did not guarantee they would be saved. On the contrary, in the order from the office of the Commander of public order and security given on August 6, 1941. and which was passed by the Command in Vukovar it says: It is in the interest of public security that all the Jews (converted or not) and Serbs (converted or not) be imprisoned as suspected communists.⁴⁸

Communism and cooperation with the communists served as excuses for the committed crimes to both the Germans and the Ustashi in all cases when there was no other evidence. Even when the hostages⁴⁹ were killed they used to say that it was done because of their collaboration with the communists.

In 1942. the Jews were almost exterminated from Srem. They were taken from all the places and were transported to Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska. Of 2,223 Jews in Srem before the war according to the data from Jewish communities after liberation there were 199 Jews left.

The data about suffering of the Jews in Srem can be found in one report of the Survey commission, kept in the Archive of Vojvodina Museum, in which it says that there were 1,811 Jews in Srem at the beginning of the war and after the liberation there were 199 left.

The same happened to the Gypsies in Srem. During the first few months of the occupation the Ustashi and German authorities did not undertake any greater repression towards the Gypsies except that they were forced to do hard and humiliating jobs.

At the end of 1941. a more massive persecution of the Gypsies began. They were imprisoned together with the Serbs and deported to the camps and prisons. Intention of the Germans and the Ustashi was to completely exterminate Gypsies as well as Jews from Srem but they did not succeed in that in the beginning because the Gypsies hid in the woods with the Serbs. Only in the second half of 1942. a great action of imprisonment and deportation of the Gypsies was carried out. Whole families were imprisoned and immediately deported to Jasenovac or Stara Gradiska.

At the end of July and the beginning of August massive capturing and deportation of the Gypsies from Irig (40), Grabovac (200), Molovina (95), Ruma, Ljub and other places in Srem to Jasenovac was carried out.

There is an interesting report on deportation to Jasenovac of 95 members of Gypsy community with the surname Familic from Sid. It was a famous Gypsy family of excellent players and singers.

Having heard that the Gypsies were imprisoned and taken to Jasenovac, the Familics gathered and singing and playing awaited the

⁴⁸ Crimes of the occupiers in Srem, page 49

⁴⁹ According to the law act from October 2, 1941, signed by A. Pavelic, A. Artukovic and M. Puk, in case of death of one or more persons and if the perpetrator is not found within 10 days, ž10 people to be shot for each deceased, D. Lazic Gojko, Bloody Summer in Srem in 1942, Sremske novine 1982, page 29

Ustashi. They continued singing all the way to the railway station and even while they were passing through Sid in wagons and it is believed that they met their death in Jasenovac singing!⁵⁰ It is a fact that they never returned. So, the majority of Gypsies from Srem ended in Jasenovac just like the Jews and the Ustashi and the Germans could send reports to their superiors saying that racial issue in Srem was resolved.

Solution of the Serbian question in Srem was much more complicated. Firstly, because the Serbs were a majority in Srem and secondly, the Serbs did not wait for the Ustashi and the Germans to capture them at their doorsteps but they organized resistance which intensified with the increase of occupiers terror.

Precisely because of this the Ustashi maneuvered in ethnic cleansing of Srem. They used even more perfidious methods. In the beginning they mostly captured and deported distinguished Serbs as well as the representatives of the clergy. They thought that by this decapitation they would prevent a more massive resistance and thus convert the Serbs into Catholicism more easily. With the same aim they passed a Law on prohibition of Cyrillic alphabet and they looted Serbian monasteries and churches and took all significant cultural and national valuables.

Imprisonment of distinguished Serbs started in the middle of April in 1941. when a group of Serbs was imprisoned in Ilok⁵¹. It was continued during May in Sremska Mitrovica, Sid, Vukovar, Beocin, in June in Sremski Karlovci, Krusedol, Maradik, Ruma.⁵² The imprisoned were taken to prisons in Ruma, Sremska Mitrovica or Vukovar. Those who were not killed in prisons during the torturing were transported to the camps Danica in Koprivnica and Jadovno at Velebit.⁵³ Some of them were later transported to Jasenovac where they died.

Imprisonment and internment to the camps of Serbian priests in Srem started on July 10, 1941, by the imprisonment of the priests from Sremski Karlovac, Sid, Irig and Ilok districts and on July 15, the priests from Vukovar.⁵⁴ Most were interned to the collective camp Caprag near Sisak. In the mentioned camp then there were 280 Orthodox priests with their families. The Ustashi tortured them in different ways and forced them to do the hardest work. They dug, fenced the camp, pulled stone and sand in wagons, loaded and unloaded the coal and wood etc.

Imprisonment of the priests was renewed in August 1941, after an order by the State command from August 9, 1941. had been sent to large districts (zupe) that all the monks to be imprisoned as well as remaining Orthodox priests together with their families and to be sent to the camp

⁵⁰ Dusan Ladic Gojko, *Bloody Summer in Srem in 1941*, Sremska Mitrovica, 1982, page 52

⁵¹ Crimes of the occupiers in Srem, pages 44-92

⁵² ibidem

⁵³ ibidem, page 48

⁵⁴ IA PK Archive No. 3023/66

Caprag near Sisak. It was said that this referred only to Orthodox priests, Serbs and Montenegrins.

Occupiers terror over the Serbs was intensified at the end of 1941. as their response to the resistance of people and strong national liberation movement, and it reached its climax in 1942.

The Ustashi and the local Germans, under the excuse of preventing communist movement, attacked villages in Srem inhabited mostly by the Serbs and then imprisoned everyone regardless of age or sex. They killed many inhabitants of those villages usually old men, women and children on the spot or took them as hostages to the camps. Most of the captured died in Jasenovac.

In order to give some sort of legal form to their actions they organized court-martials that in fact were just a farce to kill innocent people or to send them to camps. Among numerous Ustashi actions organized as a hunt for Serbs in Srem during 1942. the so-called Tomic action was significant.

There was almost no village in Srem which was spared. Dusan Lazic Gojko, in his book *Bloody Summer in Srem 1942*, recorded imprisonment in July and August: Pecinci - 24 people, Dobrinci 14 peasants, Novi Karlovci 22, Jasak 165, Budjanovci 27, Pavlovci 150, Ruma 40 etc. Most of them were brutally killed then in Vukovar and Sremska Mitrovica. It is believed that only in Tomics action about 6,000 Serbs were killed.

This data is partially proved with one German document sent to the Command of the Reichs state security by a German representative in NDH, Ziegfried Kasche ion August 27, 1942, in which he reported on the capturing: in Zemun 70, and 400 more were expected, in Sremska Mitrovica 70, Ruma 734, in Stara Pazova 115, in Irig 166 etc. With a small exception all the imprisoned, it is said also, were Serbs. Until now, it says in the report, 350 people were sentenced to death and 265 were deported to the concentration camp. They refer to camp Jasenovac here which was already turned into a real factory of death that year.

According to the report of the Commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators the first bigger train sent to Jasenovac on August 26, 1942. had five wagons full of women and children and one wagon in which there were 50 men. They were mostly Serbs from different places in Srem, especially from Pazova district. The day after, on August 27, 1942, fourteen more wagons, full of men and women, were joined to the train. It took two days and two nights to the train to reach Jasenovac. On their arrival to Jasenovac women with children were taken to Gradina by ferries and then killed.

There is one original Ustashi document on this transportation List of persons who were transported to collective camp Jasenovac on August 26. The document was sent by Higher guard office for Great zupa Vuka, signed by Oktavijan Svjezic, to Ustashi supervising service Office I.

The list includes the names of 141 persons. Among them there were 87 women, 10 of them with 24 children.

Here are some names from that list:

- Gavrilovic Angelina from Zemun, born in 1900, a housewife, Orthodox, with four children (names of children are not listed).
- Rajkovic Angelina, a housewife from Stara Raca, born in 1909, with four children.
- Golic Darinka from Stara Raca, with three children etc.

There are many men and women on the list aged over 60 and below 14, for example, Rajkovic Radmila from Stara Raca who was sent to the camp with her brother Nedeljko aged 10.

Almost all of them were brutally killed in Jasenovac. Dusan Lazic Gojko and Brana Majski cite that, for example, of 40 people interned to Jasenovac from Sremska Mitrovica only two women survived, of 49 people from Pazova only two survived, of 115 people from Divosani seven returned, of 220 people from Calma only five returned etc.⁵⁵

Unfortunately, it will never be possible to determine the exact number of people from Srem killed in concentration camp Jasenovac. There are few Ustashi documents kept because almost the entire archive of Guards office of Great zupa Vuka was intentionally burned in 1944, when its headquarters was moved to Vinkovci.

In Vojvodina museum, in fact a former Historical museum, i.e. Museum of workers movement and peoples revolution, data on suffering of the population of Srem were collected in the after-war period. It was determined that 21,597 inhabitants of Srem died in the war 1941-1945. In Jasenovac 9,644 Serbs, Jews and Gypsies were killed, among whom there were 2,207 children younger than fourteen. The data were collected from the archives, based on reports of the Commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators, based on birth registries and other sources.

In 1993. the data with names and surnames, sex, ages, places of birth etc. were computer-processed. It is believed that apart from 9,644 people whose names were listed, there are 2,000-3,000 more inhabitants of Srem killed in Jasenovac, so, between 2% and 2.5% of population.

⁵⁵ Dusan Lazic Gojko, Brana Majski, Dudik, Vukovar, 1977, page 198

**VICTIMS OF JASENOVAC CONCENTRATION CAMP FROM SREM BY
THEIR PLACES OF BIRTH**

PLACE	No.	PLACE	No.	PLACE	No.
Adaševci	262	Erdevik	70	Podgajci	149
Babina Greda	127	Županja	468	Popinci	8
Babska Novak	24	Ilinci	10	Prhovo	18
Batajnica	15	Ilok	302	Privina Glava	33
Batrovci	116	Indija	8	Privlaka	225
Bačinci	9	Irig	84	Progar	46
Belegiš	21	Jamena	324	Putinci	18
Beočin	10	Jankovci	869	Rajevo Selo	27
Berkasovo	28	Jarak	27	Račinovci	34
Bešenovo	17	Jazak	25	Rivica	9
Beška	12	Kruš. Prnjavor	7	Ruma	232
Bečmen	7	Krčedin	29	Sarajevo	9
Bingula	14	Kupinovo	8	Slavonski Šamac	25
Bobota	144	Kuzmin	19	Soljani	84
Bosut	213	Lačarak	25	Sot	9
Bošnjaci	155	Ledinci	12	Srem. Kamenica	18
Budrovci	18	Lipovac	7	Srem. Mitrovica	189
Buđanovci	18	Lug	5	Sremska Rača	294
Veliki Radinci	14	Ljuba	19	Sremske Laze	29
Vašice	28	Mali Radinci	12	Srem. Karlovci	84
Vinkov. Banovci	17	Mandelos	29	Stari Banovci	33
Vinkovci	4	Maradik	29	Stara Pazova	62
Višnjićevo	169	Martinci	26	Stejanovci	18
Voganj	14	Mikluševci	73	Strošinci	15
Vojka	11	Mirkovci	128	Surduk	5
Vrbanja	255	Molovin	115	Susek	24
Vrdnik	28	Morović	177	Tovarnik	247
Vukovar	274	Mohovo	18	Čalma	92
Grabovci	12	Negoslavci	34	Čerević	25
Grabovo	7	Neštin	64	Čortanovci	12
Grgurevci	22	Novi Karlovci	16	Šarengrad	14
Gunja	91	Ogar	8	Šašinci	28
Deč	5	Opatovac	11	Šid	141
Divoš	124	Orolik	21	Šimanovci	174
Dobanovci	9	Otok	173	Šuljam	10
Drenovci	107	Pavlovci	13	Other places	1538
TOTAL					9644

Supplement 4
Marko Rucnov, a writer

**Basic thesis of the speech at the Second International Conference
JASENOVAC, THE SYSTEM OF USTASHI GENOCIDE CAMPS**

The base of my presentation will be my book *Why Jasenovac?* which is in press.

1. The first monographic part (about 200 pages) analysis the way of functioning of this Ustashi industry of mass and individual murders with unbelievably strongly expressed blood thirstiness and brutality of Ustashi executors.
In my presentation I am going to emphasize the results of a very developed camp economy aiming at material profit of the state Ustashi terror but also at massive exhaustion of the inmates which resulted in high death rate.
2. The second half of my book (480 pages) with the names of about 2,700 Ustashi and other executors and war criminals will be especially emphasized. For most of them (only war criminals in accordance with internationally accepted principle *prima facie*) elaborate biographies are included which reveal new facts regarding the work of Jasenovac camp system.

Belgrade, April 28, 2000.

Marko Rucnov, a writer

About the book *Why Jasenovac?*

The book came as the result of a long literary and journalist studying of Jasenovac theme just as the very theme studied the author.

It consists of two parts the first, monographic Ustashi system of Jasenovac camps of death and the second Nomenclature of the Ustashi crime in Jasenovac camps system. In the first part the author analysis the way of functioning of this Ustashi industry of mass and individual murders with unbelievably strongly expressed blood thirstiness and brutality of Ustashi executors, with a very developed camp economy which with a planned high death rate of the inmates brought high profit to the clero-Nazi Ustashi state.

In the second and much more elaborate part made by lexicographic canons there is a list of the names of about 2,700 Ustashi and other executors and war criminals.

For most of them (only war criminals in accordance with internationally accepted principle *prima facie*) elaborate biographies about their unbelievable crimes and even more unbelievable dehumanization are included.

This research project with a new approach to Jasenovac theme got the most favourable reviews by the distinguished reviewers, dr. Nikola Zutic from Belgrade Institute for contemporary history and dr. Veljko Djuric from the History department at the Faculty of Philosophy in Pristina.

According to dr. Djuric, after the book *Why Jasenovac?* by Marko Rucnov it will no longer be possible to deny the unbelievably great number of victims in Jasenovac camp system because there are a lot of Ustashi criminals mentioned in the book by their names and surnames. The book consists of 680 pages.

Belgrade, April 26, 2000.

Supplement 5
Dr. Novica Vojinovic
University Srpsko Sarajevo
Pale

DIMINISHING THE NUMBER OF JASENOVAC VICTIMS AND THE CLAIM THAT THE CROATS WERE KILLED THERE

Concentration camp Jasenovac in Hitler's fascist Independent State of Croatia was founded in summer 1941, and operated as the factory of death until April 22, 1945, when a group of 33 inmates escaped from the camp and 200 of them died, then 200 more in the so-called tannery (kozara) from which only three people managed to escape.⁵⁶ While the camp was in function, Croat fascists Ustasha denied the existence of such a camp, claiming that Jasenovac was a camp of work, order and discipline. With the aim to deceive the public about the atrocities in that camp, Ustashi authorities published reports of different commissions describing good conditions in that camp.

The camp was stretching over 2.5 km² of land and on three sides was bordered by a wall and on the fourth side by the river Sava. During four years 1941–1945, they applied different most brutal methods of killing people, humiliating them, terrorizing them, killing of men, women and children with bats, sticks, knives, pistols, starving to death in so-called zvonara, hanging, burning in so-called Picili stoves, named after engineer Picili, chief of working service in the camp, mass execution and massacres of thousands of men, women and children at Granik, then at Gradina and other execution places where Croatian fascists Ustasha killed people with mullets, hammers, tore their stomachs and threw them into the Sava. Some of the killed were tied to boards and their bodies were put into boats and let flow down the river Sava with an inscription: meat for Jovans market in Belgrade.

At the beginning of 1945, Ustashi suspected that the end of Croatian fascism and fascism in general was coming, so they gradually destroyed the camp in order to hide their crimes. They excavated mass graves and then burnt the bodies. A part of the building was mined so that at the end of April 1945, when Yugoslav army entered Jasenovac, they found ruins and what was left of the camp was destroyed by the new communist authority. They leveled the land and sowed grass in order to completely destroy the traces of Ustashi crimes, in accordance with the Vatican principle *Damnatio Memoriae* – destroy even the memory that the camp had ever existed. When Broz was asked why Jasenovac was being destroyed, he answered: Serbs would like to declare all the Croats to be Ustashi.

⁵⁶ These data from Krležas encyclopedia are not correct because about 1,000 people tried to escape from the camp and about 400 succeeded in it. The data is also not correct: escape did not happen on April 23, as it is stated in the encyclopedia, but on April 22, 1945.

How many people were killed in the Ustashi camp Jasenovac and who are those people which nationality, religion, race and political affiliation those questions have been asked ever since. The historians, lawyers, politicians and other authors of different articles on Jasenovac camp differ to a great extent regarding this problem. Firstly, they differ regarding the number of Jasenovac victims. If we take into consideration the data from two encyclopedias we can spot the difference of about 100,000-200,000 victims. In General Encyclopedia of Lexicographical Institute in Zagreb from 1953. in book 3 (Firk- Jugos) it is stated:

In Jasenovac camp about 500-600 Serbs, Croats and Jews were killed. As it can be seen Gypsies are not mentioned at all as if none of them were killed there although it is well known that about 30,000 Gypsies were killed in Jasenovac.

At the same time in Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia, book 4 (Hil jugos) there is a difference: as anything that could be used as data at determining the number of victims was destroyed in the camp, the exact number of people killed in Jasenovac camp cannot be determined; according to estimate based on the testimonies of survivors, saved documents and admissions of guilt of the captured Ustashi criminals from Jasenovac camp, number of Jasenovac victims exceeds 700,000. It means that in this encyclopedia the nationalities are not specified, only a total number of over 700,000 victims of Jasenovac is mentioned.

According to these data only it is obvious that the official government of socialist Yugoslavia tended to minimize the horrors of Jasenovac so they mention neither the nationalities nor the exact number of victims.

During the Second World War the American Intelligence at Rousevelts order in April 1942. after eight months of existence of fascist Ustashi NDH, published data about the killed in Yugoslavia. That data from April 1942. was: about 750,000 of Serbs were killed, 650,000 killed by Croatian Ustashi, 10,000 by Shiptar fascists (balisti), 6,000 by Bulgarian fascists, 6,000 by Hungarian fascists 4,000 Serbs and Jews were pushed alive into the frozen Danube in Novi Sad in January 1942. Remaining 80,000 were Jews, Gypsies and the others. In this document it was not emphasized who were the victims of Jasenovac but it was presumed that they were mostly Serbs.

American president Rousevelt ordered investigation about the number of killed Serbs in Yugoslavia in 1942. because he was informed through Italian press about Croatian fascists crimes over Serbian people in fascist NDH. He found out about it because Italian occupiers in Yugoslavia, especially in Dalmatia, which was given to them by Pavelic on May 18 1941. as a salary for supporting his Ustashi in Italy from 1930-1941. on Lipar islands, did not have good relation with German fascists because they also had their interests on Dalmatian coast and they relied upon Pavelic and his Ustashi. German fascist occupiers protected Croatian fascists Ustashi while they were killing and massacring the Serbs and somewhere Italian

occupiers, especially so-called Kings army protected the Serbs from the Ustashi criminals. For that reason Mussolini, at Hitlers order, dismissed some of his officers and instead of them he appointed fascists officers and generals who treated Serbs the same way as Ustashi. Italians wanted to discredit Croatian criminals and bandits because they supported German aspirations for Dalmatia. That is why the Italians, as soon as they had reoccupied parts of fascist Ustashi NDH in Dalmatia, Herzegovina and parts of Bosnia, dug out the corpses of killed Serbs, took photographs of them and sent them to Italian newspapers and magazines to publish them and describe in detail Ustashi crimes over Serbs. Having been informed about it Rousevelt ordered investigation of these crimes and was given the information about 700,000 killed people.

Rousvelt then decided that after the war Croatia should be under the protectorate and control of Western allies, later United Nations, as a result of the crimes of its fascist Ustashi army committed over Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in Yugoslavia. However, here we have to add two facts. Firstly, that this Rousevelts decision had failed, it was evaded by Yugoslav marshal Broz in such a way that he in agreement with Roman Pope Pie XII Pacelli fascist Pope, from 1943-1945. allowed almost entire Pavelics army, Ustashi and homeguards, to join the Partisans keeping their ranks and war experience and rights as if they were anti-fascist from 1941. It had enormous negative consequences for the entire after-war development of Yugoslavia. We are not going to talk about it here because it is contrary to todays topic at this international conference.

In the conclusion of this part of the paper about making it impossible to research the number of Jasenovac victims, we have to emphasize repeat the fact that Pavelics Ustashi, after they had joined the partisans, became communists, officers, generals, leaders in army, police, diplomacy and from those positions tried and mostly succeeded in hiding and diminishing their Ustashi crimes during the war. A great number of them after joining the partisans deserved important positions in Socialist Yugoslavia. They became members of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, lieutenant generals in the army, ambassadors in diplomacy and company managers and they, very successfully, prevented research of Ustashi crimes, and hid the number of victims so that today, we have no possibility to find out how many victims and what nationalities had died in fascist Croatian-Ustashi camp Jasenovac. But undoubtedly, the greatest victims were Serbs, Jews and Gypsies and the camp was formed because of them. Of course, a certain number of Croats partisan soldiers and other patriots, and Muslims were killed but Serbs undoubtedly suffered most, much more than all the others.

Accordingly, as to number of Jasenovac victims and its minimization, Brozs Socialist Yugoslavia, based on false brotherhood and unity, was perfect for such minimization, for destruction of the documents and finally, for destruction of Jasenovac and all other evidences of Ustashi crimes in Yugoslavia. This was possible because Ustashi elements came to power

tens of thousands of them. They completely changed ideological and political structure of Yugoslavia: instead of Yugoslavism we had republicanism and nationalism, and instead of brotherhood and unity we had chauvinism, and especially anti-Serbianism which culminated in the war 1992-1995. solely on religious and national base between Catholics Croats and Muslims on one side and Orthodox Serbs on the other. In such conditions of development of Brozs Yugoslavia from 1945-1991. with authorities in which the main positions were held by chauvinist anti-Serbian elements, which originated from fascist Ustashi elements from the war, it was not possible to do anything serious about finding out the real number of Jasenovac victims. Even until 1971. Jasenovac was a taboo and the pits in Herzegovina were covered with concrete in 1946, at parties committee order, aiming at covering with concrete even the consciousness of Ustashi crimes over Serbian people.

When in the last decade it was possible to do something regarding the number of Jasenovac victims, anti-serbianism and chauvinism against the Serbs in Yugoslavia was a leading ideology. Even in 1971. in so-called maspok Ustashi had the greatest influence not only in Croatia but in whole Yugoslavia and it was getting stronger until the dismemberment of that state in 1991/1992.

In such a situation in socialist Yugoslavia some authors came to the idea to radically diminish and minimize the number of Jasenovac victims and to destroy so-called Jasenovac myth. Former Brozs general and officer in the Headquarters of Yugoslav Army in Belgrade dr. Franjo Tujman had the same idea. He was the first president of the second Croatian state (the first was Pavelics fascist state from 1941.) and he wrote a book *Wastelands of historical reality* (Zagreb 1984.) in which, among other things, he claimed that not more than 40,000 people were killed in Jasenovac and he included a great number of Croats into that number. Academic dr. Ljubo Boban also claimed that only about 30,000 people were killed in Jasenovac among whom were Serbs, Croats, Jews and the others.

If this tendency in science is continued we will soon read that only Croats and Croatian patriots were killed in Jasenovac. Anti-Serbs will claim that they were killed by Serbian Chetnics or Greater-Serbs who have been killing all other nations in the Balkans for a whole century.

Regarding the sufferings of Croats in Jasenovac camp when, by whom and how they were killed it is difficult to answer because the documentation about it had also been destroyed by, mostly, the government of Socialist Yugoslavia. However, this question is very specific because a great number of Serbs killed in Jasenovac were converted and registered as Catholics and Croats at District Catholic Offices. Even in 1941. there was an order by Croatian fascist government in Zagreb that every converted Serb automatically became a Croat. This was a rule carried out in 1941. by dr. Mile Budak, assistant of commander Pavelic, in his well-known plan of one third: one third of the Serbs to be killed, one third to be deported from Croatia and one third to be converted and turned into Croats.

In order to show that there are a great number of Serbs who were killed in Jasenovac as Croats, we will give some examples. We will take only three villages in Herzegovina: Loznica, birth place of the author of this work, Klepci⁵⁷ and Gnjiliste from which 82 women and children were deported to Jasenovac. We will give some names of the Serbs who were converted and then deported to Jasenovac and killed as Catholics and Croats.

1. Marusic Ilinka, late Simos daughter, 60 years old
2. Marusic Darinka, late Mihos wife, 59 years old (aunt of the author)
3. Corluca Stana, late Danilos wife, 48 years
4. Corluca Danica, late Danilos daughter, 20 years (authors uncles Daughter)
5. Corluca Ivana, Danicas daughter, 4 years
6. Corluca Branko, late Danilos son, 4 years
7. Toholj Ljuba, late Spasojes daughter, 18 years (the Toholjs are godfathers of the Vojinovics)
8. Toholj Zdravka, late Spasojes d., 7 years
9. Toholj Soka, late Spasojes d., 9 years
10. Tripic Javorka, late Mihos d., 10 years
11. Mandrapa Jelka, late Djuros d., 18 years
12. Mandrapa Danica, late Djuros d., 13 years
13. Mandrapa Mladenka, Djuros d., 5 years
14. Giga Stoja, late Aleksas wife, 55 years
15. Giga Ljuba, late Aleksas d., 17 years
16. Cavaljuga Persa, late Rades d., 14 years (authors uncles daughter)
17. Cavaljuga Sreten, late Stojans d., 4 years (authors uncles brother)
18. Cavaljuga Danica, late Stojans w., 39 years (authors aunt)
19. Cavaljuga Olga, late Stojans d., 15 years (authors uncles daur)
20. Zurovac Djurdja, late Ristos w., 45 years
21. Zurovac Neđa, late Djokos d., 15 years
22. Zurovac Mara, late Djokos d., 18 years
23. Zurovac Djurđa, late Djokos w., 55 years
24. Zurovac Mara, late Ristos w., 60 years
25. Zurovac Bosa, late Spasojes d., 25 years
26. Zurovac Desa, late Spasojes d., 20 years
27. Zurovac Dusan, late Spasojes s., 6 years
28. Puhalo Vida, 70 years (the Puhalos are related to the Vojinovics)

⁵⁷ Old Vukasin was from Klepci as well. He was beatified and his fresco image is in the altar in the church near Niksic. Old Vukasin said to an Ustashi in Jasenovac who was cutting him into parts to force him shout žLong live Ante Pavelic.: You do your job, my son, and I will not say it. Ustashi slaughterer Zile went insane because of scornful look of Old Vukasin and he was treated by dr. Nedo Zec, a Serb from Mostar, also an inmate.

29. Puhalo Milica, Nikola, 35 years
30. Puhalo Ilinka, Spaso, 35 years
31. Puhalo Joka, Manojlos w., 35 years
32. Puhalo Mara, Vojins w., 55 years (authors mother)
33. Puhalo Gaba, Nikolas w., 36 years
34. Puhalo Mara, 2 years
35. Puhalo Slavka, 4 years
36. Puhalo Slavojka, 5 years
37. Puhalo Danilo, 4 years
38. Puhalo Danica, 7 years
39. Puhalo Mladenka, 5 years
40. Puhalo Andja, Milosavs w., 33 years
41. Puhalo Jovo, 6 years
42. Puhalo Danica, 4 years
43. Puhalo Dara, 6 years
44. Pokrajcic Joka, 45 years
45. Pokrajcic Jevra, 10 years
46. Pokrajcic Jelena, 7 years
47. Pokrajcic Jovo, 5 years
48. Pokrajcic Nikola, 4 years
49. Pokrajcic Ilinka, 3 years
50. Dragicevic Sofija, 36 years
51. Dragicevic Mara, 19 years
52. Dragicevic Milenka, 5 years
53. Dragicevic Vasilija, 4 years
54. Dragicevic Milorad, 4 years

Parents and husbands of these women were thrown into the pit on August 11, 1941, near Capljina in Herzegovina in village Bivole brdo;⁵⁸ village Loznica was erased from the map because there is no one living there and it was joined to the neighbouring village Klepci. In these three villages about 90% Serbs were killed and in Loznica 95%.

All above mentioned are Orthodox Serbs and they were all killed in Jasenovac as Catholics and Croats and registered at Catholic bishops and Ustashi authorities.

During my research I acquired the data that it was similar in many other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Second World War: everywhere, Catholic priests first converted the Orthodox, turned them into Croats and then, together with the Ustashi, killed them. There are many information about it in the book by Catholic scientist and Croatian professor doctor Magnum Crimen whose first publication in 1948. was bought by the Vatican and then burnt but several copies remained so that in 1990. it was published for the second time. Tens and hundreds of names of the Catholic

⁵⁸ Author of this paper escaped death in this pit by chance but his two brothers were thrown into the pit: 18 years old Bozo and 16 years old Veljko and 44 close cousins of his Cavaljuga, Corluca, Marusic, Toholj, Puhalo families

priests who converted Orthodox are cited in the book. There are many data about it in the book: Genocide of Croatian clero-Ustashi over Serbs in Herzegovina 1941-1945. (Belgrade 1990.).

Accordingly, when we talk about diminishing the number of Jasenovac victims we should bear in mind that Ustashi authorities, who destroyed all the documents within their reach in 1945, were responsible for it. Their task of diminishing the number of Jasenovac victims and the destruction of documents about Ustashi crimes was continued by the authorities of Socialist Yugoslavia where, from 1945. until its fall in 1991, the most influential were people from Pavelics army. Among them were tens of thousands of Ustashi criminals who became Brozs generals, national heroes, ambassadors, directors, bearers of partisan medals⁵⁹ and in 1991. they once again became Ustashi and Ustashi officers and generals with Tudjman as their leader and created a new Croatian state.

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25 July13

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⁵⁹ There are many examples of it. In Capljina, Jozo Jelcic who was the president of Capljina community for 10 years and then the secretary of districts committee of the communist party of Yugoslavia and he was an Ustashi official who led Serbs from Kelpci and Prebilovci about 1,000 women, children and the old people together with a group of Ustashi, to pits Surmanci and Bivolje Brdo. The principal of high school in Capljina was an Ustashi Abdurahman Nametak; the head of police (UDB) was Mirko Praljak who threw Serbian children into the pit at Dabar near Stolac in June 1941; Zvonko Rados, a teacher from Tribizet, who killed Stana Dragicevic from Loznica and her two children in their house, was later an official of Socialist league in Zagreb; lieutenant general Omer Mrgan from Bivolje Brdo who threw children to the pit on Bivolje Brdo in 1941. and many others.

Supplement 6

Edited by
Jovan Mirkovic

PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE: ETEROVIC MIRKO

Since the establishment of NDH, organized, programmed terror against people based on religious, racial, ideological exclusiveness was carried out. It had all the elements of a crime against humanity, not only war crime and crime against civilians but also crime of genocide over the Serbs, Jews and Romas which is obvious if we compare the activities of NDH and Ustasha movement with the definition of genocide in all its aspects. Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations from December 11, 1946, points out: Genocide is the denial of the right to life to human groups such as homicide is denial of the right to life to individuals.⁶⁰

In article II of the Convention on preventing and punishing crimes of genocide there is a definition: ... genocide is any of the deeds listed below committed with the intention to completely or partially destroy some national, ethnic, racial or religious group:

- a) murder of the members of a group
- b) serious violation of physical or mental integrity of the members of a group
- c) intentional exposure to such living conditions which are to lead to its complete or partial physical destruction
- d) actions intended to prevent birth within a group
- e) forceful moving of children from one group to the other.⁶¹

One report by the Italian Military Intelligence confirms that not only was organized terror and violent conversion of Orthodox population at play here but also planned genocide. They found the order of General Ustasha Headquarters (GUS) to massacre Orthodox population and inhabit Catholic and Muslim families in the area planned to be reoccupied by the Italian Army in the period from August 31 to September 6, 1941.

According to this document, published by Italian historian Rodone Talpo, the Ustasha wanted to exterminate all the Serbs once and for all.⁶²

Organized terror began on the very first day of the proclamation of NDH and that it was planned and prepared in advance is shown in Nova Gradiska

⁶⁰ Nurnberg verdict, Archive for legal and social sciences, Belgrade 1946, 238

⁶¹ Sluzbeni vesnik of the Peoples Assembly of FNRJ, No. 2, from July 5 1951.

⁶² Oddone Talpo, Dalmatia, Una cronica per la storia (1941), Roma, "Stato maggiore dell' Esercito, Ufficio storico" 1985. 616. According to: Ekmečić, Crkva i nacija kod Hrvata (Church and nation at Croats), Oglledi iz istorije, Beograd, JP Sluzbeni list SRJ 1999, 139-140.

where already on April 10/11, 1941. Ustasha arrested distinguished Serbs,⁶³ so, exclusively on religious and national basis.

International and national legal regulations defined the crimes against humanity and sanctioned them. Nurnberg Court proclaimed the following associations i.e. organizations to be criminal: Leadership of the Nazi party, Gestapo, SD and SS.⁶⁴

However, neither Nurnberg Court nor the judicature of Second Yugoslavia and its federal unit Croatia, neither the judicature of the Republic of Croatia convicted NDH, Ustasha organization and its bodies for crimes of genocide nor did the proclaim them criminal organizations and the trials that had been held for some groups and individuals were trials for war crimes and crimes against civilian population.

Many criminals, under the protection of the Vatican and through the ratlines, found refuge and were not prosecuted for the crimes they had committed. We should mention Pavelic, Luburic and many others.

There was a trial to the Ustasha Minister of the Interior Affairs Andrija Artukovic in 1986. in Zagreb. Last year there was a trial to Dinko Sakic and his wife Nada Luburic Sakic was not even brought to trial. It was even suggested that Rojnica be an ambassador of Croatia instead of being on trial.

Last year one name appeared in the media and I would like to present some facts about him. It was Mirko Eterovic who was proclaimed a criminal by the State commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators.

Mirko Eterovic was born on 10 October 1913. in Pucisca on Brac Dalmatia. He graduated at the Faculty of Philosophy at Zagreb University. Before the establishment of NDH, according to Who is who in NDH⁶⁵ He was a member of HSS and the association (Domagoj), and according to the Decision on determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators of the State Commission of Croatia⁶⁶, he was an Ustasha even before April 10, 1941.⁶⁷

⁶³ 57 persons 7 children and 13 women (AJ, f. 110, F. No. 21843)

⁶⁴ Nurnberg verdict o.c, Crimes against humanity and international law, Belgrade, NIU Sluzbeni list SRJ 1992, 17-18.

⁶⁵ Who is who in NDH, Zagreb, Minerva, 1997, page 111. Note was written by M.P. (Milan Pajic, archivist in Croatian State Archive in Zagreb)

⁶⁶ Archive of Yugoslavia (further: AJ), Fund 110, State Commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators, the Decision on determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators of the State Commission of Croatia for a criminal Mirko Eterovic, F. No. 21843

⁶⁷ Which is obvious from the fact that on April 10, 1941, when NDH was proclaimed he was in the leadership Ustasha Office in Nova Gradiska where he organized the taking over of power and arrest of the distinguished Serbs.

According to the above mentioned Decision in A short description and qualification of the crime, Eterovic is indicted for TREASON OF NATION MURDERS AND SLAUGHTERS TORTURE AND ABUSE OF CIVILIANS DISPATCHING TO CAMPS (Vernichtungslagere), DEPORTATION OF CIVILIANS ACTIVE SERVICE TO OCCUPIERS (Article 23, 46, 42 and 47 of the Hague Reglaman from 1907, and Article II of the Law No: X (crimes against humanity issued by Allies control council in Berlin from December 20, 1945 and Article 3) of Yugoslav Law on criminal acts against the state from August 1945).⁶⁸ Eterovic was accused of: arrest, torturing, deporting to camps, robbery of victims (cited in the submitted list under A) and arrest and deporting of 109 persons (under B) and terror and persecution of anti-fascists while he was in camp in Supetar and the department chief of Ustasha forces in Ustasha Headquarters in Zagreb.⁶⁹

The first day after NDH had been proclaimed on 10 April, 1941, high-school teacher from Nova Gradiska Mirko Eterovic became one of the leaders of Ustasha Command in Nova Gradiska and according to some testimonies, the chief representative of central Ustasha Government in Nova Gradiska.⁷⁰ Together with the officer Milan Lukac⁷¹ and others⁷² he organized and carried out the arrest⁷³ of distinguished Serbs from Nova Gradiska. In the beginning, on April 10/11, 1941. 57 persons - 7 children and 13 women were arrested and tortured in a most brutal way in prison of the regional court. Abuses, according to the statements of the witnesses,⁷⁴ were carried

⁶⁸ AJ, t: No. 21843

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Statement of Milan J Dimic, a priest from Nova Gradiska, to the State commission from November 15, 1944, AJ, Dos. No. 3849.

⁷¹ Statement of Mirko Trninic: ... this very day (April 11, 1941, underlined by J.M.) I was, by the verdict of Milan Lukac, Mirko Eterovic... sentenced to death... AJ, Dos. No. 3849

⁷² In the documentation of the State Commission, from the testimonies, names of Ustasha criminals who, from the first day after NDH had been established, took part in arrests, torturing, persecution, deportations, killings, robberies of the Serbs, are quoted: Eterovic Mirko, high school teacher, member of the headquarters; Lukac Milan; Petranovic called Braco, Lulic Antun, Bukojevic Ivan, Bilig. . ., Poljak Rudolf, judge; Junadevic Antun, Prsa Eduard, Slama Emil, bank manager Cvijic Franjo, factory manager "Kruljac", mayor; Somodi Kresimir, doctor; Delija Franjo, Belac Drago, Kurolt Nikola, Baranac Ivan, Barac Josip, Stern Konrad, Pavisic Pero, Koren Janko, carpenter, prison commander; Lukacevic Josip, Sejdo Zvonko, Ferencin Ivan, Trobic Stevo, Stivic Mijo, Simic Ivan, Rosic Josip, Tutic Ivan, Brozicevic Stjepan, Turkaj Stjepan, Brucic Antun, Domazet Ivica, Tomjenovic Stjepan, Bilic Marija, Balasko Dragutin, Tadej Vlado, Tadej Zdenko, Dragic Zvonko, Dragic Tomislav, Bukojevic Ivan, Dragic Andrija, Kunce Baltazar, Koturas Juraj, Korad Filip, Cincic Mijo, Bikljacic Djuro, Devic Vlado, Hamer Franjo, Siguric Zvonko, Kres Vjekoslav, chaplain; Pokas Grgac Katicic Ivan, Bijelic Zvonko, Balasko Franjo, Klepic Antun, Mujagic Zdravko, Tadej Antun, Grcevic Antun, Cvetkovic Mijo, Holesuh Fric, Simunic Branko, Aleksic Josip, Rosic Josis, Butkovic Ivan, Miler Ivan, Suto Ivan, Bakel Vilim, Medvedovic Emil, Ugrenovic Vlado, Tomjenovic Ante, Pavicic Pero, Basic Marko, Rihteric Slavko, kot. predstojnik; Skopac Stjepan, director of the Forest department, Knez Antun, Rukavina, Srdic, secretary of great zupan; Josip Kruljac, owner of the furniture factory, Todoric.

⁷³ Veljko Zec in his statement, says that he has been interrogated by Mirko Eterovic, AJ, Dos. No. 3849

⁷⁴ Statement of the witnesses: Veljko Zec, Rajko Markovic, Mirko Trninic, AJ, Dos. 3849. See: Vukasin Vujo Zegarac: Diary about Jasenovac, Belgrade 1987, p. 15: Mirko Trninic, post office clerk, very strong and tall man, 30 years old was taken out of his cell by six men. He was beaten on his head, stomach, pulled by his penis. He was screaming so that all Gradiska could

out in such a way that the arrested were taken one by one to the shed in the prison yard with a blanket over their heads and then hit by blunt objects to unconsciousness. Two prisoners, Nikola Protic and Gavro Bogdanovic were killed in prison and they were later, in order to hide their crime, hanged in their cells, as if they had committed suicide.⁷⁵

This group of arrested Serbs, exposed to everyday torture, beating, starvation, offences, mental cruelty were transported from Kotar prison to Stara Gradiska⁷⁶ on May 6. This was ordered by the Ustasha officer and Kotar commander.

Ustasha leadership from Nova Gradiska: officer Milan Lukac, a member of the command (and a trustee of GUS?), Mirko Eterovic, district head Slavko Rihtarid and the others organized robberies and blackmails and extorted gift contracts from the arrested promising that they would be released. By these contracts they gave away their property as a gift to NDH. Eight among them, in order to save their lives, signed the contracts,⁷⁷ however, they were not released but deported to Serbia and their property was taken away. The contracts were made by a judge Rudolf Poljak. In the Decision of the State commission it is stated that the value of that property was about 19 million pre-war dinars.⁷⁸

After Germany had attacked the Soviet Union on 22 June the inmates from Nova Gradiska exempted from the command of prison and were put under the direct rule of the officer and the Great parish priest (veliki zupan), i.e. Ustasha command from Nova Gradiska and Great Zupa Livac Zapolje (Nova Gradiska),⁷⁹ which confirms the presumption that the prison in Stara Gradiska was turned into concentration camp de facto on 10 April, i.e. 6 May, 1941. (imprisonment without a trial) and on 22 June 1941. (taking jurisdiction over imprisoned Serbs from Nova Gradiska from the prisons administration).

hear him. He survived. Djuro Baborac, a tailor, was, like the others, first beaten and then hanged by his testicles.

⁷⁵ Statement of the witnesses: Veljko Zec, Rajko Markovic, Mirko Trinic, AJ, Dos. 3849. Zegarac states that Petar Puhalo, Gavro Bogdanovic and Milan Basaric were killed. In the Decision (AJ, F. No. 21843) it is stated that Puhalo and Basaric were deported to Serbia.

⁷⁶ After some of the inmates had contacted German soldiers the Ustasha organized a trial on May 6, 1941, about which Zegarac wrote: At 11 o'clock we are taken to trial in groups. The verdicts have already been written. We can choose whether we want to be: Chetnics or Communists žyou are sentenced to prison and forced labour in Stara Gradiska for unspecified period of time (as Chetnics or Communists) because you broke the law of the Independent State of Croatia. The trial did not last long. We were thrown into a track for transportation of furniture... so after 25 days spent in court prison we found ourselves in a real prison.

⁷⁷ Lawyer dr. Milos Divic, lawyer dr. Dragutin Gajski, trader Rajko Markovic and the others

⁷⁸ Rajko Markovic in his statement says that he gave as a present to NDH his house, his store with all the cash, total value 4,000,000 pre-war dinars. AJ, Dos. No. 3849. Zegarac also states that the trader Markovic gave as a present his store, house worth 8,000,000 and 6,000,000 pre-war dinars in cash.

⁷⁹ Zegarac, 18.

Of the mentioned group arrested on 10-11 April, from the supplement to the Decision,⁸⁰ in Eterovics organization, two people were killed in prison,⁸¹ 12 in Jasenovac camp⁸² and the rest were later, after they had been robbed and tormented, deported to Serbia.⁸³

In this Decision, under b Eterovic is charged with the arrest of the remaining Serbs in Nova Gradiska in summer 1941. (109 persons) who were put in the hall of a former sokols building and after two days they were deported to camp Caprag and seven days later in cattles wagons to Serbia.⁸⁴ All their movables were taken away and real estate was confiscated to the benefit of NDH.⁸⁵ Among them was an Orthodox priest, a rector of Serbian Orthodox parish in Nova Gradiska, Milos Dimic, who was in home custody since the Ustasha had come to power.⁸⁶

Witness Djuro Petric states that, at the order of the head Franjo Cvijic, he went to take oath to the county. The oath was carried out by Mirko Eterovic. However, taking oath did not have any significance because two or three days after that an order which outlawed the Serbs and the Jews was passed,⁸⁷ and he had to give his shop to the Ministry of National Economy,⁸⁸ and by the decision of the District office he was forbidden to live in and use the real estate in Smetlica and by the order of the City hall he had to move out from his own house in Gradiska and hand it over to Milan Lukac, district

⁸⁰ Registration of the victims together with the Decision for the criminal Mirko Eterovic under a. AJ, F. No. 21843

⁸¹ Nikola Protic, 63, caterer and Gavro Bogdanovic 45.

⁸² Krezic Nikola, shop-keeper, 30; Petkovic Stevo, railway clerk 36; Petkovic Mirko, pupil, 18; Tatomirovic Ljubo, caterer, 46; Knezevic Stanko, forest clerk; Miljevic Slavko, shop-assistant. 30; Baborac Duro, tailor, 35; Basaric Milan, official regional chief; Rajakovic Joco, forester; Beric Djuro, shop-keeper, 39; Nikolic Milan, pupil, 19; Djuric Milan, student, 26. 24 Dr Gajski Dragutin, lawyer, 41; Zegarac Vukasin, forest clerk; Cuvic Zivko, shop-assistant. 25; Knezevic Nikola, mechanic, 45; Zec Veljko, pensioner, 48; dr Divic Milos, lawyer, 56; Zec Ranko, student, 23; Markovic Zivko, shop-keeper, 66; Stanojic Petar, shop-keeper, 36; Glisovic Dragoljub, pupil, 19; Puhalo Petar, former police commander, 62; Tminic Mirko, railroad worker, 36; Lovrenovic Nikola, shop-assistant 32, Glisovic Bozidar, pupil, 17; Markovic Jelena, 31; Markovic Angelina, 63; Markovic Slobodan, child, 9; Markovic Radojka, child, 7; family of dr Gajski: wife Adela and children Mirjana, Nada and Milijana; Matic Mihajlo, dir. of Serbian savings bank and his wife Jovanka; Ogorelica Svetislav, bank clerk and his wife Vidosava; family of Zegarac Vukasin: wife Zora, 33, children Vukasin, 5, Marija, 7; Petric Djuro, shop-keeper, 62; Trkulja Gojko, baker, 63; Nikolajevic Aleksandar, economist, 64, Nikolajevic Milan, economist, 34; Petric Draga, housewife, 58; Nikolajevic Ladislava, housewife, 54; Stanojic Ljerka, housewife, 23; Kezeric Danica; Divic Jovan, pupil, 17; Stevic Vlado, freight forwarder, 20; Manojlovic Vojislav, pupil, 19; Puhalo Anka, housewife, 45; Divic Hanja, housewife, 37 all Serbs residents of N. Gradiska. AJ, F. br. 21843. Registration of victims, supplement under "a". Some of the above mentioned were driven away to Jasenovac before deportation, so Trinic Mirko spent three months in Jasenovac, and Zegarac Vukasin stayed in Jasenovac until 30 March, 1942. when he was transferred to Zemun, and then to Belgrade (see: Zegarac).

⁸⁴ In the mentioned Decision for crimes under b the following witnesses are named Milos Dimic and Milic Blagojevic. Statements of the witnesses, AJ, Dos. No. 3849

⁸⁵ Damage was assessed at over 10,000,000 pre-war dinars

⁸⁶ Statement of Milos Dimic, AJ, Dos. No. 3849

⁸⁷ Statement of Djuro Petric, AJ, Dos. No. 3849

⁸⁸ Ibid.

leader.⁸⁹ By the same order all the Serbs and the Jews had to leave the main street in Gradiska.⁹⁰ Ustasha officers, as stated by Djuro Petric, took from him, other Serbs and Jews, the shares of Sumetlice hotel and the banks, with an excuse that it is better that the town owns its hotel than that it be taken by NDH.⁹¹

The State commission determined the details of the crimes committed by Mirko Eterovic based on the statements of witnesses for the crimes under a: Veljko Zec (minutes of the District commission in Nova Gradiska from November 2, 1945.), Rajko Markovic (minutes of the District commission in Nova Gradiska from November 6, 1945.) and Mirko Trinic (minutes of the District commission in Nova Gradiska from November 13, 1945.), and under b: statements - reports of the rector Milos Dimic to the State commission from November 15, 1944. and the statement of witness Milic Blagojevic from November 22, 1945.⁹²

Mirko Eterovic went to the island of Brac in summer 1941, and became logornik⁹³ in Supetar. According to the findings of the State commission he terrorized, arrested, persecuted, abused and plundered. His statement is cited: Our hand are still bloody of the revolution. Who does not obey will be killed.⁹⁴ As logornik he gave the order to arrest⁹⁵ and abuse from village Skripa: Jurja Krstulovic, Danilo Nikolic, Petar Zuvic, Ivan Pulisevic, and a smith from Supetar Bozo Ercegovic.⁹⁶

In 1942. he was appointed a head of department in GUS department for relations with state authorities.⁹⁷ This department had to make contacts

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² The statements of the above mentioned witnesses, AJ Dos. No. 3849

⁹³ Due to incorrect interpretations in the press (the position of logornik has been interpreted as the position of a concentration camp commander) we giving a short explanation: LOGOR (camp) is organizational institution of Ustasha movement unit of the Ustasha organization (organizational institutions are: tabor includes the area of one administrative municipality, logor includes the area of administrative district i.e. districts section-office, stozer includes the area of one large zupa (district), glavni ustaski stan (GUS) the main institution of the Ustasha movement. The head of the camp is logornik (Ustasha organization official), higher superior to tabornici and zbirci and subordinate to stozernik (district leader). About Ustasha organization see: Propisnik o zadaci, ustrojstvu radu i smjernicama Ustasha hrvatskog oslobodilackog pokreta (Narodne novine no. 18 from August 13, 1942.), see in: Ustasha dokumenti o ustaskom pokretu, Zagreb, Zagrebacka stvarnost, 1995, 227-315; also in: Bogdan Krizman, Ustase i treci Rajh, II, Zagreb, 1983, 414-421.

⁹⁴ AJ, f. No. 21843

⁹⁵ In the statements of witnesses together with Eterovic some Ustashi are also named: Renko, Fadic, Uros Kalimbatovic, Vladilo Pavao Pavlov, Vladilo Marija, Roko Ante, File Dragicevic, Martic Kuzma, Vicko Bendic.

⁹⁶ Statements to the Municipality commission in Supetar: Bolo Ercegovic, Bartul Krstulovic, Ivan i Marija Pulisevic, Ivan and Doreteja Nikolic, Petar Zuvic and the others. AJ, Dos. No. 3849

⁹⁷ Decision, AJ, F. No. 21843 ... appointed head of department of the highest party forum, i.e. GUS in Zagreb. AJ, F. No. 21843 Register of criminals, book 54. head of department in GUS, same in: Miodrag Zecevic, Jovan Popovic: Dokumenti iz istorije Jugoslavije, vol. II, Belgrade, Arhiv Jugoslavije and Printer Comerc, 1998, page 375, under No. 1799, see: Krozman, 416

between GUS and all ministries with the aim to enable Ustasha movement activities.⁹⁸

That Eterovic was an important figure in Ustasha NDH can be seen from the fact that he participated in confidential meeting of Ustasha commanders and other confidants in Koprivnica on January 18, 1943.⁹⁹

Eterovic went to Brac and became a camp officer. According to Military Paper he was promoted to sergeant major and reserve captain of Ustachi Army.¹⁰⁰

He was decorated with an order of first degree by Commander Ante Pavelic for devoted service and achievements.¹⁰¹

In May 1945. Eterovic, together with other Ustasha officers, escaped from the country. At the State commissions knowledge he was in some camp in English occupation zone in Austria. From Austria he went to Italy. For some time he was in the monastery St. Paolo and Reholia in Rome together with V. Nikolic and ten others. Kren, Ustasha Minister of Air force, who was extradited to Yugoslav authorities, testified about it.¹⁰²

The State commission of Croatia for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators found out: According to the above mentioned, responsibility of the criminal prof. Mirko Eterovic is completely proved by the testimonies of the witnesses for specific crimes and by the information from Ustasha press for his position in the Ustasha terrorist system and those crimes have significant characteristics of war crimes according to the Article 23, 46, 42 and 47 of the Hague Reglaman from 1907, and Article II of the Law No: X (crimes against humanity) issued by Allies control council in Berlin from December 20, 1945. and finally his treacherous criminal activity has all characteristics of criminal acts according to Article 3 of Yugoslav Law on criminal acts against the state from August 1945. In view of the above stated facts this Commission declares this former Ustasha logornik on Brac, officer of Ustasha command in Nova Gradiska, head of department in GUS in Zagreb, prof. Mirko Eterovic a traitor of his own people, a war criminal and active collaborator of occupiers, who has to be called to criminal account in the court of the people of Yugoslavia.¹⁰³

State commission for determining the crimes of occupiers and their collaborators from Croatia brought this Decision on declaring Mirko Eterovic

⁹⁸ Krizman, 416; Ustasa dokumenti o ustaskom pokretu, 305

⁹⁹ Hrvatski narod No. 634 from January 19, 1943, p. 3

¹⁰⁰ Vojni vijesnik No. 21/1943 and 41/1944.

¹⁰¹ Narodne novine from July 13, 1944.

43 Decision, AJ, F. No. 21843

¹⁰² Bogdan Krizman: Pavelic u bjekstvu, Zagreb, Globus, 1986, 212.

¹⁰³ The Decision, AJ, F. No. 21843

a war criminal on September 28 in 1946. in Zagreb and on October 11, 1946. in Belgrade it was confirmed by the State commission.¹⁰⁴

Eterovic emigrated from Italy in 1947.(probably through Ratlines) to Argentina where he has lived up to now. He worked at Catholic University in Cordoba, he was a secretary of the Society of Catholic intellectuals, member of HOP and since 1976. president of the HNV board in Cordoba.¹⁰⁵ In the list of authors in Studia Croatica Indice General he is listed in two entries.¹⁰⁶

In the Archive of Yugoslavia, in the Fund of State commission for determining crimes of occupiers and their collaborators in the Book of records of war criminals extraditions, there is a note that on October 15, 1946, extradition was requested through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and submitted to Vienna, that on February 18, 1947. extradition was requested from Argentine Government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported that by Note No. SP 10 from August 13 1947. it asked for extradition.¹⁰⁷

Last year we could read in the newspapers Novosti, Politika in Belgrade, Jutarnji list, Globus, Vecernji list in Zagreb, Novi list in Rijeka that Argentina was willing to extradite Eterovic, that Eterovic denied his involvement in the crimes, that Eterovic had disappeared and finally that Eterovic as a citizen of Croatia was in Zagreb where he arrived with a regular airline.

After that nothing was heard about him. Based on the Decision of the State commission and the testimonies of the witnesses there is enough evidence to prosecute Eterovic for war crimes and crimes of genocide if we talk about his activities in Nova Gradiska. Conference on Jasenovac is a place from which we should send a message to all judicial organs of all countries on the territory of former Yugoslavia to undertake necessary activities not only regarding Eterovic but Rojnica, Nada Sakic and the others.

Edited by Jovan Mirkovic

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, and: Register of criminals, book 54, ordinal No. 21843

¹⁰⁵ Who is who in NDH, 111.

¹⁰⁶ Studia Croatica Indice General (<http://studia.croatia.com/indice/igscau07.hat>)

¹⁰⁷ 49 AJ, State commission for determining crimes of occupiers and their collaborators..., the Book of records of war criminals extraditions, No. book 16.

Supplement 7
Lazar Lukajic

MASSACRE

Lazar Lukajic, MA, professor of literature and south-Slavic languages, sociologist of culture and economist, wrote an elaborate work titled *Frairs and Ustasha are slaughtering*, based on authentic data and testimonies of persons who, as children, had survived Ustasha massacres in five villages near Banja Luka in February 1942, by pure chance.

One part of that work contains a small anthology of texts mainly taken from the works of Croatian authors (because the Serbs are not trusted) which illustrate mass monstrous massacres, committed by Catholic friars and Ustasha in NDH.

(*Magnum Crimen* Great Crime, capital work of a Croat, Viktor Novak, is almost an encyclopedia of those crimes.)

Professor doctor Viktor Novak, a former assistant of Vatican archive, a connoisseur of several languages, a historian, is certainly one of the greatest south-Slavic and especially Croatian intellectuals, brought up by the Catholic church...

Magnum Crimen, it could be said, in a sublime way marks and expresses the centuries of dramatic history of south-Slavic and other nations in the South of Europe.) (Viktor Novak, *Magnum Crimen*, Nova knjiga, Beograd, 1989, reprint from 1948)

Lukajic cites numerous texts from *Magnum Crimen* because the drama and the tragedy of Yugoslav peoples can hardly be understood without, according to Lukajic, that most elaborate and the best documented one volume work ever published in Yugoslavia. It has about 4,500,000 characters.

The second, the most important and the most elaborate part of the book, are the notes of persons who, as children, had accidentally survived Ustasha massacres. At the end are testimonies of the former inmates from Jasenovac camp, Borislav Seva from Piskavica, who saw with his own eyes an Ustasha roasting one man, burning living persons, children and women in crematoriums, making soap of human flesh and killing and slaughtering massively and monstrously every day.

The complete registration of the victims of the massacre has never been made. The Ustasha and German sources cite that only in one day, 7 February 1942 about 2,730 persons had been slaughtered in three villages Drakulic, Sargovac and Motike. Lukajic has so far identified 1,620 names of the slaughtered, based on several incomplete lists and the testimonies of the

witnesses. He also identified the names of 210 victims in Piskavica and Ivanjska. These still incomplete lists are a part of the work Friars and Ustasha are slaughtering.

Several witnesses, whose testimonies are recorded here, are attending the Second International Conference on Jasenovac in Banja Luka.

The basic facts about the most massive massacre in the Second World War are given in this text, on 8 pages. The testimonies of persons, who had survived the massacre, are given on 25 pages.

The greatest Massacre in the Second World War

The First World War started with Germans attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. On Sunday morning on 6 April 1941, without the declaration of war, the planes of Hitlers Germany bombarded Belgrade. While German and Italian planes were bombarding Yugoslavia, Hitler and the Headquarters of the Reich were in Vienneurustadt, south of Vienna, in a railway compartment near a tunnel, and from there followed the destruction of Yugoslavia. It was right there that Hitler approved of the formerly prepared plan of dismemberment and division of Yugoslavia on 12 April 1941.

Two days before Hitlers decision of dismemberment and division of Yugoslavia and five days before its capitulation, while German troops were entering Zagreb in tanks, the main organizer of home Ustasha, Slavko Kvaternik, on 10 April 1941, declared the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) over Zagreb radio.

... which included, besides the territories traditionally inhabited by the Croats, Bosnia and Herzegovina and parts of Serbia. At that moment more than 2,00,000 Serbs were living in this newly-formed puppet state, which was about one third of the total population of NDH... (Hrvatska Jasenovac, sistem ustaskih logora/Croatia Jasenovac, system of Ustasha camps/, Muzej zrtava genocida, Beograd Muzej Vojvodine, Novis Sad, 1997, str.5).

On that day, April 10, Ante Pavelic was trying out his new Ustasha uniform at a tailor in Florance. He came, unnoticed, with his Ustasha to Zagreb from Italy on April 15 1941 at 4 oclock in the morning. After exactly two months, on June 15, he signed a treaty in Venice of joining NDH to the Tripartite Pact, already signed by Germany, Italy and Japan on February 27, 1940. Pavelic declared war to the USA and Great Britain on December 14 that same year.

The friars and the Ustasha started slaughtering the Serbs, Jews and Romas immediately after the proclamation of NDH. The Vatican and the Catholic Church are the main culprits for the genocide over the Serbs. That is the reason why they went morally bankrupt in the Balkans.

Since the Middle Ages Roman Catholic Church has taken the constant offensive against Orthodox religion in these parts. (Veljko Djuric, *Ustase i pravoslavlje /Ustasha and Orthodox religion/*, Beograd, 1989, str. 114)

The Vatican had immediately sent to Zagreb its Apostolic Visitor, Ramiro Markone, to help, with his paternal pieces of advice Pavelic, Stepinac and the Ustasha, convert and exterminate the Serbs in NDH. Appointment of the Popes Legate in NDH represented strong moral and political support to clero-Ustasha regime in the eyes of the Catholic believers in NDH and abroad, as well as the establishment of a special relationship between the Vatican and Croatian episcopate.

After his arrival in Zagreb, abbot Markone immediately took an active part in clero-Ustasha and Axis forces propaganda apparatus. (Risto Goje Dakina, *Budi katolik ili umri /Be a Catholic or die/*, Institut za savremenu istoriju, Beograd, 1944, str. 293)

Abbot Markone was in a constant and direct contact with the Vatican both through correspondence and in person, what can be seen from his trips to Rome, where he was a first-hand informer on the circumstances in Croatia. (Viktor Novak, *Magnum Crimen, Nova knjiga*, Beograd, 1989, reprint from 1948, p. 905).

The policy blessed by Alojzije Stepinac had to be the policy required by the Vatican, as a higher authority. The other bishops followed the same course. (V. Djuric, o.c., p.50.)

All Croatian bishops identified themselves with the Ustasha movement in the genocide over the Serbs. The chairman of the Department for conversion affairs and the chaplain of the commanders court was friar Dionizije Juricev. He claimed publicly:

Nobody but the Croats can no longer live in this country. Today, no harm can come from killing even a small child aged 7 if he interferes with our Ustasha establishment. Being in a priests robe does not stop me, when necessary, to take the gun and exterminate everyone, even those in cradles. (V. Novak, o. c., p. 627).

All centers of Catholic religion in NDH were at the same time, the centers of Ustasha movement, such as priests schools in Sinj, Siroki Brijeg, Travnik and Visoko, then theological schools and seminaries in Makarska and Mostar and even Theological Faculty in Zagreb. The great zupan dr. Ante Nikolic in his report, sent to The Ministry of Internal Affairs of NDH on August 14, 1941, claims:

As to the Franciscans the truth is, they were almost all the Ustasha and worked on Ustasha movement. (R. G. Dakina, o.c. p. 59)

They were real Ustasha, slaughterers, soldiers and the new authority that replaced the cross with the knife and gun. (V. Djuric, o.c. p. 51)

R. G. Dakina in his book *Budi katolik ili umri /Be a Catholic or Die/*, based on Ustasha and clero-fascistic literature, gave the names and some other basic data for 977 Catholic priests who collaborated with the Germans, Italians and Ustasha in committing genocidal crimes over the Serbs, or who, even personally killed and slaughtered the Serbs. Among them there were 108 doctors of theology and 27 professors of Catholic theological schools. The Vatican and Germany, during the civil war in Yugoslavia 1991-1995, also had their part and were the first to recognize Croatia as an independent state.

Slaughtering in NDH began in Gudovac, continued in Glina, Veljun, Ljubinje, Opuzen, Drnis, Knin, Suvaja, Grabovac, Vojnic, the surroundings of Bihac, Bosanska Krupa, Cazin, Sanski Most, Prijedor, Bosanski Novi, Banja Luka and other towns and villages which were within Ustashes reach. Almost 1,000,000 Serbs were slaughtered and killed.

Dr. Nikola Bilogrivic, the parish priest from Banja Luka, was the most active in preparing the massacre of the Serbs. He converted 1,500 Serbs by force, although he preferred killing. Even a Franciscan doctor of theology, friar Alojzije Cosic from Kotor Varos, a close friend of the most bloodthirsty officer in NDH, Viktor Gutic, who stood out as the bitter persecutor of the Serbs in Kotor Varos and Banja Luka regions.

Glez von Horstenau said in his report that on the eve of the massacre a meeting was held in Petricevac monastery near Banja Luka. Dr. Viktor Gutic, former great zupan, dr. Stilinovic, the court president in Banja Luka, several Catholic priests, among whom was a certain priest Filipovic who was present during the slaughtering, took part in the meeting. (Archive of the Supreme Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, B. I. I. k171-13/15-1)

Ustasha Supervising Office (UNS) from Banja Luka, three days after the massacre in Drakulic, Sargovac and Motike, i.e. on February 9, 1942, as soon as they had sorted and checked the data on the slaughtered, sent its first, and on February 11, the second report to Eugen Kvaternik on the massacre of the Serbs in three above mentioned villages. (Father of Eugen Dido Kvaternik, Slavko Kvaternik, leader of Ustasha before Ante Pavelic came to Croatia, proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia over the radio on April 10, 1941. He was a commander in chief in that state. His son Eugen Kvaternik was the state secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, head of UNS in NDH and the most reliable Poglavniks Ustasha who organized and had under his command the so-called department of closer security of Pavelic. (Bogdan Krizman, *NDH izmedju Hitlera i Musolinija /NDH between Hitler and Mussolini/, Globus, Zagreb, 1986, p. 61).*

Report of UNS No. 69/42 from Banja Luka says:

RADIOGRAM

Sent on February 11, 1942 to

HEADQUARTERS OF UNS

For the attention of Mr. Eugen Kvaternik

ZAGREB

Related to your radiogram from 9 this month I am reporting. One company of Ustashi army under the command of the first lieutenant Josip Mislov accompanied by friar Vjekoslav Filipovic on February 7, at 4 o'clock in the morning took control of the mine Rakovac and killed 37 Orthodox miners with pick-axe. They continued killing men, women and children with pick-axe and ax in villages Motike, where 750 people were killed, and Drakulici and Sargovac, where 1,500 people were killed. The massacre was completed on the same day at about 2 p.m. Since then Ustashi have been transporting food, cattle and furniture of the victims to their storehouses. Detailed report will follow. Great zupan colonel Aleman,

Above report correct. Detailed report to the great zupan of command from this office will be sent by a courier. UNS Banja Luka.

(Seal and number of the Office)

(Borba, special edition, February, 1988).

UNS from Banja Luka later sent a more detailed information to Eugen Kvaternik, as promised in the radiogram from February 11. It said:

... On 7th this month one company of the II Poglavniks Guard, led by the first lieutenant Josip Mislov, and in whose escort was a reverend Miroslav Filipovic, a parish priest from Petricevac, and now a captain in Ustasha battalion, undertook the following action:

On the stated day at four o'clock in the morning about 10 Ustasha of the above mentioned battalion came to Rakovac mine near Banja Luka. Several miners, of Orthodox religion, who remained in the mine roll-call room, were driven away by the Ustasha and immediately killed in the vicinity of the mine. At eight o'clock in the morning, the rest of the company arrived, and then the Ustasha captured the miners of the first shift, who had come to work, identified them and separated all the miners of Orthodox religion, took them away, tied them and killed them near the mine. The killing was committed in such a way that an individual was hit with a blunt object on the back of his head, and then finished them off with a pick axe. After they had killed them, they captured the miners from the night shift, who were coming out of the mine, and then killed them in the same way. The remaining miners were told to dig out the grave and bury the killed miners. 37 were buried and 52 were killed according to the statements of some miners. The Ustasha came to the

mine again at three o'clock in the afternoon, identified all the miners but nobody was killed on that occasion. There were 60 miners of Orthodox religion working in Rakovac mine and all those who survived escaped to the woods.

From Rakovac the Ustasha went to village Drakulic where Ivo Juric, a miner, Stipe Golub and Simun Pletikosa pointed at the houses of the Greek-Orthodox people and they drove them out and killed them one by one, men, women and children.

The massacre was also committed in village Sargovac. The number of the killed in both villages came to 1,300-1,500 people. The killing was carried out in the same manner as in the mine, with the only difference that the axes were used as well.

The same happened in village Motike, where about 70 families were killed in the same way. The other villagers were given the order to bury the killed. The burying began on the same day, and it finished on February 10. There were corpses eaten by pigs and dogs.

After the massacre, the Ustasha came back to the above mentioned villages and took away food, cattle, poultry and later even furniture.

According to the reports from this Office, the Orthodox inhabitants of these villages were peaceful and did not support the Chetnics because they were completely surrounded by Croatian villages. (Joza Horvat and Zdenko Stambuk, Dokumenti o protunarodnom radu dijela katolickog klera, Zagreb, 1946, str.9.)

The reports of the same content were sent to Germany by the representative of German supreme command to Ustasha Government, Hitler's close friend Gles von Horstenau and the most reliable German intelligence officer in NDH Arthur Hefner.

Gles von Horstenau in his report to German Headquarters, among other things, wrote:

In Sargovac there was also a massacre. One Catholic witness says that only in school 53 school children were killed. She herself saw when Ustashi impaled on a bayonet one one-year-old child and then shot him... (Vasa Kazimirovic, NDH u svjetlu njemackih dokumenata.../NDH in German documents/, Nova knjiga Narodna knjiga, Beograd, 1987, p. 343)

Ante Josipovic at the hearing in UNS in Banja Luka on February 11, 1942, among other things stated:

I heard from the home guards that the Ustasha had come unexpectedly, and asked the captain in charge there to block all the roads. They chose several

home guards to guide them to the Orthodox part of the village, so-called Stijakovici and Todici. According to the home guards, the Ustasha leader called out the household members of certain houses and then the Ustasha killed them all. As soon as they had finished with that part of the village, they moved to the other part of the Orthodox village, so-called village Vasici and they did the same... The home guards carried some of the wounded, mostly small children, to Catholic houses... About 70 families were killed... (this refers to village Motike only underlined by L.L.)...

Ivo Juric, a miner, who was chosen to be Ustasha's guide stated at the hearing in UNS in Banja Luka on February 11, 1942.

... Ustasha called out one by one person from the house, and then killed them behind the house by hitting them with the axe. Then they would carry the children out from the house and then killed by hitting them with the axe on the head.

Andrija Golub from Sargovac, Ustasha's guide stated at the hearing in UNS in Banja Luka on February 11, 1942:

They were hit with blunt objects on the head, and then hit to death. It seemed that that object was an axe. They finished the killing fast there and went to Drakulic. First they went to Djuro Glamocanin's house and started killing there. They gathered all the Orthodox people, men as well as women and children, from the village and killed them. I think that they completed their job in Drakulic by twelve o'clock and then went to Sargovac where they did the same. They were killing all the Orthodox people, starting with a one-day-old baby. (All the documents in Bosanska Krajina Archives, Banja Luka, Mf k-11).

Italian consul in Banja Luka informed his Government on January 13, 1942, that Banja Luka commander Viktor Gutic and the bishop of Banja Luka were preparing a mopping up operation against the Serbs in this area.

The report, released by the State Commission for Determining War Crimes for Bosnia and Herzegovina in December 1964, completes this dark image of horror the Serbs were subjected to in 1941 and 1942.

On February 7, 1942 Ustasha slaughterers, i.e. one unit of Pavelic's II battalion, led by Ustasha first lieutenant Josip Mislov and a parish priest from Petricevac near Banja Luka, Vjekoslav Filipovic, Ustasha slaughterer, committed one of the most bestial massacres over innocent Serbian people from Banja Luka region. Over 2,300 innocent men, women and old people were the victims of this massacre.

The massacre started at four o'clock in the morning in Rakovac mine where the miners were killed on the spot with blunt objects or sabers. The

remaining miners were told to dig out the grave and bury the killed miners. 52 Serbian miners were killed.

However, that was just the beginning. Having completed the massacre in Rakovac the bloodthirsty Ustasha beasts moved to the neighbouring village Drakulic, where they took the peaceful peasants, women, children and the old men out of their houses, gathered them all together and slaughtered them with knives and axes, and those who were still showing some signs of life finished off with the picks. Small children were killed in the same way. (V. Novak, o. c. p. 646)

Nowhere in the world ever in history had so many peaceful and loyal persons been killed during one single working day (from the morning until 2 p. m.) without any reason or motive. They were killed only because they were Serbs.

Why were the peaceful Serbs in Drakulic, Sargovac and Motike swept by Ustasha iron broom?

Ante Pavelic, back in 1939, denoted Banja Luka as the seat of the great Croatian state, and nine days after his return to Croatia, i.e. on April 24, 1942, he decided to move the vice presidency of his Government, headed by Osman Kulenovic, to Banja Luka with an aim to be in the immediate vicinity of the Muslims who were not only to be adhered to NDH but also converted to Catholic religion, which was in accordance with the wishes of Rome and the Catholic church.(V. Novak, o. c.)

During his meeting with Hitler and Ribbentrop on June 6, 1941 in Fuschle and Berghof, Pavelic presented his plan for Banja Luka as the capital of NDH and received their approval. His next activity was ethnical cleansing.

Gles von Horstenau wrote in his report:

On the eve of the massacre a meeting was held in Petricevac monastery near Banja Luka. Dr. Viktor Gutic, former great zupan, dr. Stilinovic, the court president in Banja Luka, several Catholic priests, among whom was a certain priest Filipovic who was present during the slaughtering, took part in the meeting. (Archive of the Supreme Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, B. I. I. k171-13/15-1).

That Franciscan priest called friar Satan led Ustasha battalion and at the very site of execution released the slaughterers from their sins. While they were killing the miners in Rakovac mine near Banja Luka, friar Satan said to his Ustasha:

Keep killing, and I will release you from all sins. (V. Novak, o. c. p. 648)

But, the most brutal was the massacre of 60 school children, whom they encountered in school and chopped their heads off in front of their teacher, who went mad after she had witnessed that horrible scene.

From the testimony of a university professor dr. Jovo Jovanovic, who had had a chance to talk to the teacher, after she had recovered, we can see that friar Vjekoslav Filipovic himself participated in those crimes, even in killing of Serbian children. (V. Novak, o. c. p. 647)

The writer of these lines was a teacher and principal of a primary school in Siprage in 1955 and 1956, where Dobrila Martinovic was working as a teacher. She described the massacre in primary school in Drakulic with much more details. According to her it happened like this:

Suddenly, during the lesson, friar Miroslav Filipovic entered her classroom. She had known him because he was a friar in a nearby monastery in Petricevac. The children also knew him because that friar was often passing through Drakulic, Sargovac and Motike. He was wearing Ustasha uniform. Twelve more (Apostles?!) Ustasha followed him and they stood by the door, next to the board and the teachers desk facing the desks and the children. Nobody was nervous or afraid because the Ustasha often passed by the school and did nothing bad. Friendly friar Filipovic brought peace. The children were looking at the soldiers curiously and without fear.

Then the friar asked the teacher to call one Serbian child out of his desk. Not being aware of what would happen she chose one pretty and tidy eight-year-old girl Vasilija, Djuro Glamocanins daughter. The teacher thought that the child was supposed to recite something, the way it was happening before, and therefore she chose a nice and clever child. When Vasilija came to the teachers desk, the friar lifted her to the desk and then he took out his knife and slaughtered her in front of other children, the teacher and the Ustasha. Then, in a calm and dignified Jesuitic manner, turned to the Ustasha and said:

Ustasha, in the name of God I am converting these devils and you should follow me. I take the sin on me and I am going to confess you and release you from all sins. (Dusan Lukac, Banja Luka u ratu i revoluciji,/Banja Luka during the war and the revolution/ SUBNOR Banja Luka, 1968, p. 192)

There was panic in the classroom. Terrified children were shouting, screaming, crying and jumping one over the other, between the desks and over the desks. The friar ordered the teacher to take all Serbian children out in the yard. Then he ordered the children to run around the schoolyard. At certain spots along the fence he positioned the Ustasha. He ordered them to cut a part of a childs body as they came across ear, nose, cheek, tongue, hand, take his eye out to put that part in their stomachs slashed open, and then make the massacred child run. It continued until the children fell down. Then they finished them off there in the snow.

Mara Sunjic, testified at friar Filipovics trial.

Mara Sunjic, a teacher, told that Filipovic-Majstorovic came to her school one day with a group of Ustasha. He ordered her to classify the children by their nationalities and then took out his knife and said:

Children, watch.

He started slaughtering Orthodox children. He cut some of them and they, blooded, began running around and screaming. Half-slaughtered children, out of themselves with fear, were awaited by the Ustasha who hit them with their guns and killed them. (Dragutin Curguz, Milorad Vignjevic Kozarski odred /Kozara unit/, Nacionalni park Kozara, Prijedor, 1982, p. 415). In schools, the desks of Serbian children remained empty. In Sargovac only, 53 children were missing.

Friar Satan, as Jasenovac commander, showed non-human instincts. For example, he liked drinking hot human blood. On Catholic Christmas Eve in 1942, Filipovic shot three inmates in front of other inmates. One victim was not killed at once and was crying. The murdered grabbed his knife, put his hand on the victims throat, slaughtered him, drank a handful of blood and then said:

Ah, how sweet this blood is.

Such villain friars had never been known of in history. (Viktor Novak, o. c. p. 649)

At night, he would put on some strange raincoat, Satans robe, and go to Gradina to slaughter all night long. Dr. Nikolic, a Croat, wrote:

The Ustasha were telling that friar Satan, Filipovic passionately took to killing children and the sick with a hoe. (Dr. Nikola Nikolic, Jasenovacki logor smrti /Jasenovac camp of death/, Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 1985, p. 86)

He is, certainly, the most monstrous priest of all religions, of all nations and of all times. There was none like him but in NDH, there were many similar Catholic friars which can be seen from Magnum Crimen and a number of other sources. For example, apart from friar Satan, in the most inhuman and the most horrible of all camps, in Jasenovac, there were commanders and passionate slaughterers who made the image of the camp, many clerical snakes: Ljubo Milos, friar Ivica Matkovic, friar Ivica Brkljadic, friar Zvonimir Brekalo etc.

Friar Satan was the symbol and the trade mark of the monstrosity of the Catholic Church and the Vatican. These data and judgments are given here because he was a child and the greatest achievement of the Catholic Church right here in Banja Luka.

The Ustasha were only monstrous, spiritual children of the monstrous Vatican and monstrous Catholic Church in these parts. The Ustasha were

not made to be criminals or slaughterers of the Serbs. Before all and above all, more than by their families, political parties or anybody else they were taught by Catholic priests, whose main aim was to exterminate the Serbs and Orthodox religion in the Balkans. The Catholic church educated the greatest number of monstrous slaughterers from undeveloped and culturally underdeveloped Catholic regions of Dalmatia, some islands, Herzegovina and Bosnia such as Imotski, Benkovac, Livno, Duvno, Bugojno, Ljubuski, Siroki Brijeg etc.

The greatest slaughterers did not come from Croatian Zagorje but from Herzegovina, because it was a poor area of illiterate and primitive people. Politika, 8 March 1991).

Out of 38 persons who survived the massacres, and who are the witnesses in "Priests and Ustasas Slaughter" Lukajic here quotes only 8 of their shortened testimonies: Dragan (born 1926), Mladjen (1915), Mirko (1932) and Petko (1932) Stijakovic from Motike, Radomir Glamocanin (1927) from Sargovac, Dusan (1924), Veljko (1924) and Danka (1934) Milakovic from Ivanjska and Dara (1918) Milosevic from Piskavica. Part of the testimonies has been recorded on a tape. Those are gruesome stories. In short time the Ustasha would kill or burn to death up to 30 persons in small rooms of 10 to 15 square meters. Those testimonies cannot be easily reported. All the horror of these testimonies can be fully understood only when listening to the witnesses, or when reading a complete, detailed testimony. However, the following section contains few extracts from those testimonies:

Dragan Stijakovic (1926) hid under a wooden bed before the Ustasha had entered the room.

"At that moment the door of the room opened. I saw a young Ustasha with blonde hair under his cap coming in. He was wearing an Ustasha uniform. He couldn't see me. He was carrying a rifle ready to shoot, with a bayonet fixed at the top of the barrel. My mother Zorka was standing in front of him. He stopped for just a moment at the threshold, took a quick look around, and then, without saying a word, without changing the expression of his face, he entered the room and pushed his bayonet into my mother's chest. Then he pulled his rifle out, holding it with both hands. I saw the blade covered with blood come out of my mother's body. Mother stood in that position shortly with her blood pouring down her dress. She didn't say a word. The Ustasha stood beside her. For a moment. Then my mother fell down onto the floor. After she had fallen, the Ustasha stabbed her in her head, below the left eye. He missed it. Mother didn't make a sound. She was lying on the floor. The blood was passing through her dress and spreading on the floor. The rest of people in the room, scared as lambs watching a wolf killing them one by one, stood petrified watching what the Ustasha was doing. Without saying a word, without making a face, slowly and calmly he stepped over my mother's body and started stabbing the rest of the people in the room one by one, as easy as collecting bales of straw with a pitchfork. The first victim was

my sister-in-law, Joka. She was standing motionless near the window holding a child in her arms. She was a good-looking young woman, 27 years old. The Ustasha came near and stabbed her in her chest. She fell down near my head providing me an even better hiding place. Her six-month-old child, Ratko, still in her arms, started crying. The Ustasha stabbed her another time, and I could see the blade pass right in front of my eyes, so near. Now I could see only the lower part of the Ustasha's body. Joka winced and trembled a few times and then stopped moving. Her arms lost grip, and the child fell beside her, crying. The Ustasha speared the child with his bayonet, raised him, and then let him fall near his mother's body. He never bent down, and perhaps that was the reason of my salvation. He didn't discover I was under the bed. I could see his lower part moving around the room, but I made no movement, not even the slightest one. I was rigid like a rock. I could see and hear everything, but couldn't move a part of my body. As if my body were dead, and my mind and my senses alive and well. My emotions were gone as well. I wasn't afraid or anxious. I wasn't afraid of being slaughtered. The fear had disappeared. As if I took no interest in what was happening. I felt no emotion. I didn't wish to defend myself, to get away... If the Ustasha had seen me and wanted to kill me I wouldn't have moved. I was completely empty. I was lying on my stomach, with my head up, looking over Joka's body, which was lying in front of me. I watched as the Ustasha was killing the rest of the people in the room. My mouth was half-opened, dry and rigid. A giant weight seemed to press upon me, preventing me from moving. I didn't feel any grief over my family's death. I can't describe it correctly, not even today, though I've been thinking about it for almost 60 years. I was aware of it all, but it was as if it were something normal, far, out of my world. If the Ustasha had discovered me, and tried to kill me, I wouldn't have been scared at all, as if it were something not concerning me. If he had ordered me to get out and stand in front of him, in front of his bayonet to stab me, I would have done it, calmly, without any fear. It was a strange feeling, impossible to understand. And I've been through all of it. But later, I've been looking at it in a completely different manner, with a lot of pain, sorrow and fear.

At that time, all I was doing was looking the Ustasha walk around the room killing my family. I remember seeing a lot of blood on the floor. As soon as a body would fall down on the floor, a pool of blood would soon appear underneath. My uncle's son Petar, 4 years old, was stabbed in head, and Joka's 3 years old daughter Desa was stabbed in chest while she was still lying on the floor. I watched my 11 years old sister Slavka being stabbed. The children's bodies would fall dead after the first blow, one beside the other, or one onto another. There was little space. The Ustasha would stab them another time, while they were lying down, to make sure they were finished off.

So, one Ustasha, him alone, slaughtered in short time, with a bayonet, 8 persons in the room. He didn't cut a throat, nor he had in his hands anything else but a rifle with a bayonet. He just stabbed with his bayonet one person after another. During all that time another Ustasha stood at the door,

watching his friend killing people. They didn't say a word. They were both silent as fish.

The massacre lasted shortly. The murderer was short, strong lad, and seemed to be very skillful at killing with a bayonet. He used to stab people quickly and easily, like doing it for a hundredth time. Nothing distracted or agitated him - neither our fear, our cries, nor our blood. His uniform was all soaked with blood, but he didn't pay any attention to it. In the end he went towards the door, where the other Ustasha was waiting. They left our house together. No voice could be heard. Everything was over in a couple of minutes.

As soon as the Ustasha had left, my brother's daughter Marica (6 years old) joined me under the bed and said:

- Uncle, they haven't found you.

Only then, for the first time, I felt that weight lift. I became alive again. I got my strength back. I could move."

Dragan left his house, full of dead and wounded people, and went with his neighbour, a 14 years old girl Danica, over to her house to check what had happened there.

"Danica called me to go over to her house, to see what had happened with her family. Until that moment she hadn't brought up the subject, as she was stupefied with what had happened. Her house was about 60m away from ours. As we were getting near the house we saw Danica's aunt Sava(40), Ilija's wife. She was lying on the snow. Beside her, a 2 years old child lay dead, slit open, with one arm cut off. The snow around them was trodden and red with blood. Blood. 5-6 meters farther a big pig was eating the arm of that child. I opened the door of Ilija's room, and threw the child's body in, without even looking at what was in. When Danica entered the room she screamed and fainted. Blood was all over the floor. It was still liquid. Danica was unconscious and wasn't moving. I looked inside. What I saw was the worst scene I've ever seen. A room full of jumbled bodies covered with blood. In that small room of about 15m² 16 people had been slaughtered, excluding Sava and the child who had been killed outside. Before they died they had been making efforts to move, and were, therefore, all covered with blood. Bodies were in most strange positions, one beside another, or one over another, their limbs tangled. Their heads had been cut off, and then cut in half or smashed. In some of the skulls it was possible to see the brain. The Ustasha had collected 16 persons from 3 neighbouring houses and took them into that room. Those were the families of Nikola Stijakovic (6 persons), Ilija Stijakovic (7 persons), and Cvijo Stijakovic (5 persons). Nikola's children: Novak, Dusan, Dusanka and Marica; Ilija's: Veljko, Marko, Zorka, Vida and Djura; Cvijo's: Nenad, Petar and Stojana. I don't know why Sava and the child were found outside. They were cut into pieces and slaughtered with axes. The bodies showed signs of being cut with axes.

In Danica's room the Ustasha were slaughtering people until they were all dead. They left a trail of blood behind them as they left.

From those 3 houses of the Stijakovics the only survivors were Cvijo, who escaped from the village in April 1941, and his daughter Danica(14), the same who was lying unconscious at her threshold that day after the massacre.

Mladjen Stijakovic (1915) had found out all about the massacre of his family while he was in German concentration camp, serving war sentence.

At the time of the massacre in Motike (1942) I was a prisoner in Sudeti, Czech Republic. An old Czech, Encel Skobac, a free man living near the prison, kept always in touch with the prisoners. It wasnt forbidden. We all knew Encel very well, met him for many times. He confidently told us he kept a radio down in his basement, and listened to the news regularly. He was well informed of all major events in Europe and the rest of the world, so he kept informing us of the most interesting news.

The Czech came to me on Sunday, February 8, 1942), right after the day of Motike massacre. I told him, as an ordinary Yugoslav, a lot about my native place. Thats when he told me of the great massacre of Serbian people that took place in three villages near Banja Luka - Drakulic, Sargovac and Motike. He told me, according to the radio news, that no Serb had survived the day. When I heard it from Encel, I impulsively started looking for a knife to kill myself immediately. My fellow prisoners, who had all heard of my tragedy, started feeling anxiety about my intentions. They caught me and held my trembling body tight, until I eventually calmed down. They tried to convince me that the news might be an act of disinformation or political propaganda. I told them:

Leave me! Im all right now.

A month later I received a letter from my native place. I remember it said exactly:

None of your family, except Dragan and Pantelija, has survived.

When I came back from the German war-camp, in June 1945, I went to Dragocaj i.e. hamlet Graorce, to meet my sister Andja, who got married and settled there, before the war had started. She told me all I was to know. I stayed at her place for two days. During the massacre, our brother Pantelija was visiting our aunt in Bistrica so he survived. He prepared to go to Stijakovic, our home. I came along. We could barely recognize it it was all covered with grass and bushes. The tiles and gutters were seriously damaged. Of all the buildings in the yard, the house and my brothers little wooden building remained. Those are still here. Still being used. I couldnt let any of it get crushed. None around- just grass and bushes. Like a desert-abandoned long ago.

They told us that our house yard no longer belonged to us legally. How was that possible? It spreads over 30 hectares of soil and woods. The forest had been cut, but the soil was still there. It was true, they said, but during the time of the Independent State of Croatia it had automatically and legally been transferred to our neighbours, Nika and Stipe Pustaija. Now, it belonged all to them, just as if it always had. We didnt need so much land. We were not kulaks. There was nobody left to work on that land. Not only

were the peasants saying so, but also the authorities, mentioning the ideals of brotherhood and solidarity quite often.

They robbed all we had ever had. Even now, in 2000, they still own our properties they robbed 58 years ago. I found some of my stuff at my neighbours and brought them back home. They couldn't refuse to return other people's belongings now that war is finally over. They just would never come to the idea of initiating the process - you have to come personally and get back what's yours.

A lot of Ustasa remained in Motike long after the war, until 1947. They kept attacking little groups of the Serbs that had survived the war and decided to come back. They wouldn't let me rest either. I had to watch out myself carefully all day long, and during nights - to go to sleep in woods.

For 55 years, since the war was terminated, we've still managed to gain a lot. But still, not many Serbs have stayed down in Motike. Many families have been completely uprooted, like my brother Stanoje's family (8 children, none survived). The same happened to families of Nikola Stijakovic (6 members), Nikola Stijakovic (6), Cvija Stijakovic (of 7 members, only Danica survived). Entire families were killed in Todica valley. There aren't many young people left. The village keeps dying.

Mirko Stijakovic (1932)

Veliki Stijakovici is a small village (a hamlet), part of Gornje Motike. It is situated on the left side of the road going from the School of Gornje Motike direction of Majdanska Cesta, near Rijeka. It is about 3km away from the school. Out of Djordje Stijakovic's 36 people household only Mirko(10) and Radenka(8) have survived. Mirko is now a pensioner living in Banja Luka.

"I was born in 1932. My father's name was Djordje and my mother's was Dosta. On the day of the massacre, 7 February 1942, there were 36 of us in our house. We were the most numerous family in the surroundings. Several families living together:

Djordje's family (9 members), together with his brothers' families - Mladjen's family(8), Djuro's family(6) and Mile's family(7), and Djordje's son Mihajlo's family(5), as well as my father's and my uncles' mother - grandmother Deva. 36 people in all. My father Djordje was head of the family.

The day before the massacre, on Friday, 6 February 1942, an Ustasha came to our house to inform Djordje that the following day an inspection would be carried out at our house and ordered that everybody should be home. He said that if any of us were absent then all of us would be slaughtered. On the eve of the massacre a group of 5 to 6 Ustasha came to our house accompanied by the captain of the village. They stayed late into the night eating, drinking and talking, a thing which had already happened before. They assured my father that there was nothing to be afraid of, that they knew that we were calm and honest people, that none of us were guilty or a rebel. That is how the Ustasha have deceived us.

They came in front of our house on Saturday, 7th February 1942, at midday. When we spotted them approaching the house, father ordered us not to move. He said:

-Let the dog pass by!

He was calm. He hoped for the best.

My brother Mihajlo, Djordjo's son, married, father of 3 children, a young and a very strong man, wanted to go down to the stable, 200-300m away from the house, to feed the cattle, as he had always used to do, but our father Djordjo prevented him from going. He just wanted the Ustasas to go away after convincing them that all of us were there, as it had been ordered to us the day before. When the captain orders something, there must be no objection.

The Ustasas arrived in front of the house. There were 9 of them, and 36 of us. Djordje, Mladjen, Mihajlo and Mile got out of the house. The Ustasas were standing, talking to them. The rest of us also got out, one by one. The snow was high and the path through it was narrow. Women got out as well. We were frightened. They would calm us down. They were afraid of us even though they had guns. In front of themselves there stood people as strong and sturdy as lynxes. Young, 20 to 40 years of age. They were all bigger than I am now, and I am 183cm tall now. Pure strength. The closest relatives. There wasn't a man among ustasas as big and strong as any of our grown-ups. It would have been easy to overpower them. If we had decided to attack them, they even wouldn't have had enough time to take their guns off their shoulders and point them at us. There were no other soldiers nearby. That handful of Ustasas posed no threat to our men. Ustasas said that we weren't in danger, but that their orders were that all the adults were to be tied up during the inspection. Just for a check. They would have been set free after the inspection. Our men calmed down. I stuck to my father Djordjo. There were eight of us, Djordjo's children, there. The Ustasas tied their hands behind their backs with a rope!

When the men were tied up the ustasas became arrogant and rude. They pointed their guns at us, with bayonets fixed at the top of the barrels. Our men were aligned at the snow and were ordered not to move. They obeyed the orders without protesting. The men of the family followed Djordje's example. All the others were ordered to get back into the house, including me. 2 Ustasha entered behind us and forced us out again, pushing us with their guns and rushing us. They shouted:

-Go to that house over there!

They were pointing at my cousin Stanoje Stijakovic's house, 20-30m away. We got out and started walking towards the house. They weren't so rude now. There were 29 of us, and we were having difficulties walking down the narrow path trodden through the snow. The grown-ups carried smaller children. Nobody was speaking. We entered Stanoje's house. Two Ustasha entered behind us, the other two remained in front of the house. Our men were still standing in front of our house guarded by 5 Ustasha. No violence had yet been committed.

When we entered Stanoje's house we found there Stanoje's wife and 3 of their children - Dusan (18), Milja(16), and Novo(14). Stanoje had escaped earlier.

We were all in one room now - 33 of us. The room was small, with a bed taking up even more space. We were packed like sardines.

Suddenly, without saying a word, the 2 Ustasha started stabbing the people in the room with their bayonets. At the same instant the 5 Ustasha in front of our house started killing our men. They weren't cutting their throats, but stabbing them with knives. I discovered it later. I didn't hear a sound coming from them, not a scream or a cry. It was all over in a second.

I was standing in the middle of the room when the 2 Ustasha started stabbing and slaughtering people near the door. We started squeezing and pressing each other against the walls in a desperate effort to get as far from the death, leaving a passage through the middle. I saw the Ustasha stabbing my grandmother Deva, Djordje's mother, over 60 years old. As she moved slowly, she was among the first who got killed. They hit her on the head with a small pickaxe. There was absolute chaos in the room. Only 2 Ustasha were in the room, killing people like they were chickens, with little axes, hitting them on their heads.

I heard the blows. The Ustasha didn't speak. Only cries and groans could be heard. Women pushed their children closer to the walls, shielding them with their bodies. Nobody tried to defend himself.

I hid under the bed. Other children started hiding under the bed, too. After a few moments there were 5 or 6 of us hidden there. We were pushing each others. I got stuck to the wall.

In only a few minutes the Ustasha had killed all the people in the room. The only thing I could see, being hidden under the bed among other children, were Ustasha boots moving around the room, and bodies falling down one over another. I could see the blood squirt, and flow down the clothes. Screams, moans, and pain. I heard the people wheeze. The Ustasha kept hitting them with axes. Everyone was twitching. Some people could still move, or turn; others would only make slight movements with arms or legs. The clothes kept getting more and more red, as the blood kept pouring out of the wounds. The floor was almost completely covered with blood. Almost 30 people were bleeding. Blood started to get under the bed. I saw their boots stomping around the room covered with blood and bodies of women and children. They killed those who were squeezing themselves in the corners, still alive. Bodies just kept falling down like wisps of wheat. The room was small, and the people in it numerous.

Women would cry before being stabbed, children would scream and stretch their arms towards those still alive. I don't remember the words they were saying. Just cries and moans. It was all mixed up. I was impossible to understand a word. The Ustasha weren't speaking.

I saw the four legs getting near the bed. Both Ustasha bent. They were watching us. They started stabbing the children. I could see their heads now. Their faces were rosy. They would just push their bayonets into the bodies, as if they were pumpkins. Then they would pull them out, and then stab again. It was like checking whether the meat is roasted well. Bayonets were

completely covered with blood. The blood was sliding down the blade. They kept stabbing the children. One of them stabbed first, and the other one stabbed the same bodies the first one had already stabbed. Children wheezed and screamed.

Suddenly, I felt blood on the lower right part of my chest. I was lying on my left flank. Blade of the bayonet transfixed the child lying in front of me and reached my chest, but didn't penetrate deep. I felt the blood pouring down my chest. But I didn't move. I stayed silent. I didn't feel any pain from the wound.

The Ustashas finally left the room.

Here, I still have the scar. It still hasn't healed over. Not even after 58 years, although the wound wasn't deep. Strange!

I continued to lie under the bed. I could hear groans, cries, soughs and few words coming from those still alive. The children around me were also moaning and trying to move. Bodies are scattered around the room in every possible position. Some of them seemed to sit with their heads bent forward, and arms leaning on those beside them, because there was no enough space for everyone to stretch completely on the floor in such a small room. Mingled together, bodies and limbs were moving, bending, twisting, rising a little and then falling down again. They were dying with spasms. I could see it all from under the bed, but I could barely recognize anyone in that mess. Dear Lord, how much blood! Like in a slaughterhouse! As they were moving everything around them was getting more and more covered with blood. And the bleeding wasn't stopping. I watched them die.

The Ustasha believed they had killed, or deadly wounded all the people in the room, and that no one would survive. A guard was left in front of the house to watch over the bodies, and to kill any possible survivors. The others went towards the houses of my cousins Niko (his house was about 100m away), Ilija (300m), and Luka Stijakovic (500m). They killed everyone they found there also - 5 members of Luka's family, 4 members of Ilija's family, and 15 members of Niko's family. Nobody survived. 62 people were killed in 5 of our houses in less than half an hour. Most of them died immediately, but some of them died in agony and pain. Only me and my cousin Radenka (8) survived. We fled towards Donji Todici, on the other side of Rijeka.

When I reached Donji Todici I discovered that everybody had already been killed there. There were about 40 people lying dead in the snow in front of those 3 houses. I didn't count them at the time, but I know that there were 40 of them there, and that they were all killed. Bodies were scattered around the small yard, lying in various positions. There were people with their heads stuck in the snow, like they were drinking water from a well. There were wounds and cuts on all the bodies. Some heads were crashed. Some heads were bent upwards, some of them downwards. Children seemed to be frozen in a moment of play at the snow. There were no signs of life visible. Nobody was moving. My cousin Savo, a boy of my age I had been herding the cattle with, was lying about 15m away from the other. He had probably tried to escape, but had been overtook and killed. There were a lot of cattle

in the yard. It had been let out of the stables, but it was fenced, so the animals couldn't get near the bodies.

The following day the killing was forbidden. Our Croat and Muslim neighbours conducted Radenka and me to the school in Motike, where a camp for survivors had been established. There were lots of people in the school and around it - all kinds of soldiers and unarmed civilians. They were all happy, like people who had just done a good action.

Petko, Nikola (1) and I were assigned to Franjo Martinovic, a Catholic from Motike. We were valuable for them, because they hoped that having us accepted they would become owners of our properties. While I was living at Franjo Martinovic's house I was ordered to learn Catholic customs in order to be converted to Catholicism. When they judged my knowledge adequate they took me to the church. I was converted to the Catholicism in 1943. in the Catholic church in Petricevac, Near Motike (Miroslav Filipovic has been a priest in this church before the war. It was he who organized the massacre in Motike. He was also the head of Jasenovac concentration camp. He was called "The Satan".)

All the members of my family and my relatives were buried a few days after the massacre in the orchard, right there where they had been killed. After the war their remains were taken to the common grave in Drakulic."

Petko Stijakovic (1932)

(One of few children who had survived the massacre in Motike on February 7, 1942 was a ten years old Petko Stijakovic. He is still alive, in good health and vigorous. He is a pensioner and lives in Banja Luka, 352 Karadjordje Street. There, in his house, he told us about his memories of the massacre, which are recorded here).

Petko told me the following:

I was born in 1932 in Motike of father Rade and mother Mara. There were seven of us in my family. Beside my father and mother, there were the children: Stoja (in 1942 she was 18 years old), Petko (me, aged 10), Mladjen (7), Gospa (5) and Mirko (1 year old, still breast fed). My fathers brother and my uncle Savo (25), who was single, also lived with us. He worked in Rakovac mine near Banja Luka. He was killed there on the same day when the massacre in Motike was carried out. The coalmine Rakovac was few kilometers away from our house. So, there were eight people in our house. All, except me, were slaughtered on February 7, 1942. As far as I remember, it was like this:

That morning, 7 February 1942, we got up, got dressed and washed ourselves about seven o'clock, as usual. It was a winter day and it dawned late. That was the time when we got up in winter. Uncle Savo got up earlier and went to the mine Rakovac, near our village. He worked in the first shift. The rest of us, except my sister Stoja, were in the house, i.e. in the room.

Our parents were doing something around the house and the three of us (me, Mladjen and Gospa) were sitting next to the stove. We were waiting for our breakfast. Our brother Mirko was in his cradle beside us. We took care of him. My sister, Stoja went to get some water. That was her job. She went every morning with brema (wooden small tub containing 12-25 l underlined by L. L.) to the well, which was about 200 m far from our house, to get water. The Ustasha caught her first. They met her on the way between the well and the house and brought her home. They entered the house with her. I saw them only after they had entered the house. I had not seen them before. I think that our parents had also not seen them.

Only two Ustasha entered the room. They stopped at the door. They held guns in their hands, with bayonets. They were wearing uniforms, of green and yellowish colour. On their heads they had caps with U letter. Young men, ruddy cheeked because of the cold. I could see it well, I was near them, only a few steps away. I was standing by the window when they entered the room and looked around a bit. They said nothing, as if they were mute. One of them said:

Get out!

Our parents also said nothing. They were just looking. Mother took the child from the cradle and went towards the door. In front of her my father Rade was going out. The three of us followed them. I was scared even then. One Ustasha went out, and the other stayed behind us. He looked round the room to check if we had all gone out.

When I got out, I saw many Ustasha in front of the house. I counted them while I was getting out and stood in the snow. They stood there and were silent. My sister Stoja stood in front of them. She was also silent and was looking at us, who were getting out of the house. All the Ustasha had guns on their shoulders with bayonets. They had on the new Ustasha uniforms. They looked nice in contrast with the snow. They were starched. Long bayonets on their guns were shining as if they had been polished.

I dont know who showed those Ustasha to our house. I later heard that our Croat neighbours showed the Ustasha where Serbian houses were and Serbian people during the massacre.

They placed us one beside the other in front of the house. My parents and sister Stoja drew us closer to themselves. We were shivering. We were scared and we were cold. The Ustasha made a circle around us. One Ustasha said:

We will do them here!

The others said:

All right!

We, stoned, just stood and waited. I didnt think they would kill us. I didnt even know what it was. Suddenly, my mother Mara, with her child Mirko in

her arms, started running. She was a strong woman. She was about 40 then. As soon as she had run out of the circle, between those two Ustasha, one Ustasha ran after her and hit her with a rifle butt on the head.

Mother just cried:

Aaaa! Yeeow!

She fell at once on the snow. And the child next to her. She didnt move. The Ustasha stabbed her with their knives. Blood was welling up. How could she bleed like that? As if she were a large ham getting ready for roasting. So much blood. The child fell out from her arms and went to one side, into the snow, not into the path through the snow. It fell into the snow and only his small bare arms and legs moving up and down could be seen. The child was crying. One Ustasha crossed over childs mother and stabbed the child in the snow. He stabbed him only once. Mirko quieted at once. The crying stopped. Little arms and legs stopped moving and disappeared in the snow. How long it would take him to die! He would have died in the snow even if he had not been stabbed. That was how the Ustasha killed my mother Mara and my brother Mirko before my eyes, a few meters away from me. We only stood and looked at mother.

I was the first to move. I looked to see if my father and my sister Stoja would try to run away. They stood, stoned, and just looked at mother Mara. I suddenly jumped and ran fast between two Ustasha. I bent down towards the snow path, and as fast as lightning ran through their legs. The hell with it, I cannot remember what I had for lunch yesterday but I remember it as vividly as if it were happening now! The Ustasha shouted as loudly as they could:

Stop! Well kill you!

I was not thinking of stopping. I lost my opanak(Balkan peasant footwear) while I was running. I was barefoot in the snow. I ran fast. Nobody could catch me down the slope below the house. They didnt even shoot at me. I ran past my house and continued down the path in the snow to our fields. I reached Bozo Stijakovics house, which was 200 meters far from ours. I entered Bozos house. I sat down and got myself warm.

After I had rested for a while, I went out of the house and went down towards the stream. About 100 meters farther from the house I saw Bozos slaughtered family in the snow. There were also seven of them in the house. I knew them all. Members of Bozos family were lying stabbed and slaughtered, and the snow around them was red. I cant be described. They took them out of the house and killed them outside, on the small slope at about 100 meters from the stream. Auuu! They killed them, too!

I returned to my house then. A child! Doesnt know anything. I went there where I had seen them slaughtering. I went to their knives instead of hiding somewhere in the attic or in some barn or running far from evil. Foolish! I came to my house.

When I entered the room, my brother Mladjen (7) and my sister Gospa (5) were lying in bed. They were covered with a rug. Blood could be seen on the wooden sides of the bed, left by the wounded children as they were climbing up to bed. There was blood on the rugs. They came by themselves, climbed into bed and covered themselves. They were lying and were silent. Both were alive. Mladjen was the first to speak. He asked me where I had been, where I had hidden. I told him. My sister was quiet. She couldn't speak. How would I know? She didn't open her mouth. She was just looking and breathing. They stayed there all day and I was outside.

I went out to the yard. I was feeding the cattle horses, sheep, cows, pigs. From time to time I would enter the house and lit some fire. The children were lying. Under them everything was soaked with blood. Mladjen was telling me how they were killing. They ordered them to lie down with their stomachs down and to stretch their arms and legs. Then they stabbed them, from behind and hit with an axe and with their feet on the head.

I went there, above the house, where my family stayed after I had run away. They were all lying on their stomachs father, mother, sister Stoja. Mirko, thrown away on the heap of snow. Child taken out of its cradle. Mother was lying there as well. My parents did not show any signs of life. They did not even twitch. I looked at them and then left. Dead. I didn't touch them or move them. I couldn't do anything for them!

I went to the room to see the children. While their wounds were fresh they could walk. Those were cuts not wounds! Now they couldn't move. They were crying that their wounds hurt. I couldn't help them. They suffered and that was it!

Then I lit the fire. I looked through the window. I saw people coming my Catholic neighbours and two gendarmes. They were our first neighbours Catholics Mile and Tomo Mejdandzic and Miles son Ivo, a boy aged 18. Mile and Tomo were carrying pick axes and Ivo was carrying a spade. There were two doors in the house on both sides. I hid there behind a tree about 15 meters away from them. I saw one gendarme enter the house, and the others stayed outside. He came back from the house to tell them that there were two children inside, alive. He asked:

What shall we do with them?

The other one he must have been a senior - asked if they were wounded. The first answered:

Half-dead.

The other one said:

Then kill them!

After that the gendarme entered the room and shot only once. He might have slaughtered the other child or suffocated him. Some time before, they were alive. They were alive when I left the house.

While the gendarmes were talking about what to do with the children, the civilians started digging the grave in the orchard, near my dead parents and sister. I watched them while they were digging. When they had finished, two of them took my mother first and threw her into the grave, like a sack. They did the same with my father. Finally, one grabbed the baby for his arm and threw it into the hole, like some bag. Mile and Toma Mejdandzic threw them. Miles son Ivo was digging with them but he didnt touch the bodies. He was young.

Then Tomo and that gendarme, who had killed the children went to the house and carried something out in that same blanket children had been covering with. I couldnt see what it was. They took it to the grave and then overturned the blanket. Then I saw what it was my brother Mladjen (7) and sister Gospa (5). They threw the blanket in the snow. They didnt want to put it over them before they buried them. They covered the grave with earth and left.

As soon as they had left I returned to the house. I hardly survived the cold. When I got up in the morning, the home guards found me and took me to school. There, in school and everywhere around it, the Ustasha, home guards, gendarmes, civilians, all of them. They were walking around the school, singing, eating, drinking, enjoying it like stallions. I met several Serbian children in school and one woman. There were six Serbs in school altogether. They were all wounded except me and Mirko. At noon, the two of us were taken to the houses of Catholics Pejo and Franjo Martinovic, our neighbours. Then I went to Petricevac as a wage laborer. I was a wage laborer at one Ustasha whose name was Petar Glavas. That is how I stayed alive.

I was present in 1963 when the bones of my family were dug out. People came and dug out the grave in the plum orchard above our house, in which my father Rade (who was 40 years old when he was killed), mother Mara (40), sisters Stoja (18) and Gospa (5), my brothers Mladjen (7) and Mirko(1) were buried. All my dearest and closest were buried there.

None of us asked for revenge. Neither are we now. We, the old have finished with our lives. We just dread the new massacre, for the childrens sake.

Ljubica Vucic (1930)

(She was 12 years old when she was stabbed by the Ustasha seven times, because she did not know to say the rosary like Catholic children. The Ustasha concluded that she was Serbian and immediately started stabbing her with bayonets. Even today she seven visible scars of those wounds on different parts of her body.)

Ljubica Vucic was born in Donje Motike, at hamlet Vasici in 1929. She is one of few witnesses of the massacre in Motike on 7 February 1942. She told me about her memories of the massacre in her home in Motike. Her recollections have not been written down until now. And 58 years have passed since the massacre. Still, she remembers it as clearly as if it had happened yesterday. At the time of the massacre she was a 13-year-old girl. It is simply unbelievable how she stayed alive. By pure luck!

Here is her recollection:

I was born in 1929 in Vasici. Vasici is near the road leading from Banja Luka to the school in Motike. Our hamlets were mixed, and somewhere even the houses in the same hamlet. Serbian hamlets in Donje Motike are Vasici, Malesevici, Todici, Brkovici, Kovacevici and Sesici. They were mixed with Catholic hamlets Josipovici, Kovacevici, Martinovici, Ljevvari and Batkovici. Fields, forests, paths, people and cattle were all mixed. It was only before the war when we started being uncomfortable with one another. But, I don't remember it very well. I just remember that it wasn't as funny and open as it used to be. I mainly remember my family and other families in Vasici. In February 1942, before the massacre, there were 9 houses in Vasici. They were: our (Milans) house, houses of my uncles Cvijo and Ilija, and the houses of Mikajlo, Lazar, Ilija, Stanko, Djoko and Risto Vasic. The Ustasha slaughtered 77 members of Vasic family on February 7, 1942.

I was the only one in Vasici who survived the massacre.

There were six members in my family. They were: father Milan (then 42 years old), mother Danica (32), brothers Mladjen (9), Stojic(7) and Miroslav (5) and me who was then 13 years old. My father Milan worked as a road-mender before the war. After NDH had been proclaimed he started working in the mine Rakovac near our village. There he was killed on the same day when we were massacred in our house on February 7, 1942. So, my father was not at home when the Ustasha were slaughtering us.

In fact, when the Ustasha came to our house, only my mother Danica and brothers Mladjen, Stojic and Miroslav were there. That morning I was in the neighbourhood and I was stabbed there, in my neighbour's house. While I was approaching Mihajlo's house, I saw old Mihajlo, who was about 60 years old, climbing up to the roof of his house and taking off the snow.

At that moment three Ustasha came in front of the house. They were carrying guns with bayonets. They had helmets on their heads. I didn't know them. They were not from our village. All were young and dressed in new uniforms. We were looking through the window when they ordered old Mihajlo to get down from the roof. He descended. They asked him: Have you got any money? Where are your horses?

He said:

I have no money and the horses are in the stable.

The Ustasha told him:

Take off your coat!

Mihajlo was wearing a short coat. The old people wore that sort of a coat, the young ones wore long coats. He took it off and put it beside himself in the snow. One Ustasha took his gun off his shoulder and stabbed him on the back with that knife at the end of the gun. Mihajlo fell down. He twitched and rattled like a lamb being slaughtered. While he was lying the Ustasha was stabbing him. Only one of them was stabbing him, and the other two were just looking at him, motionless.

We, in the room gathered near the window and looked at it, scared and confused. The one who was stabbing Mihajlo, cleaned the blood off the bayonet with his finger and licked it. Old Vaja, Mihajlos wife, was ill. She was lying on the floor, in a straw-bed. When she heard that they were stabbing Mihajlo she got up and went to the window to see it. Then she returned to her straw-bed, got pale and - died. She showed no signs of life. She was lying on her back, quiet. Dead. She didnt say a word.

Except dead Vaja there were 7 of us in the room. They were: Mihajlos daughter-in-law Draginja, Mihajlos son Djordjes wife, she was about 35 years old then, her children Bosko (15), Ljubica (12), Danica (9), Petar (8) and the youngest child whose name I had forgotten, and me.

When I came to Mihajlos house, Draginja was bathing her child. She was the oldest but she said nothing, she didnt comfort us. She just walked up and sown the house, out of herself. Bosko was looking through the window and wanted to get out somehow. But there was no escape. The Ustasha were standing beside the window.

The Ustasha who had stabbed Mihajlo entered the room. His bayonet was bloody. He ordered us to go outside all together. Draginja went out first with the child in her arms. Bosko, Petar and Ljubica followed. Yonger Draginjas daughter Danica was sleeping all the morning in the room in her bed when I came, when the Ustasha came and even now. The Ustasha didnt look at her or Vaja on the floor. He just stared at me. He saw that I didnt move. I didnt follow the others. He ordered me to go out. I didnt want to. He didnt turn to me, but just left the room. He saw that I stayed in the room. Three of us remained in the room: me, Danica in her bed, who was still sleeping, and dead Vaja on the floor. I waited for the Ustasha to return and get me out of the house. He didnt come. I stood by the window to see what they would do to those who were outside. The Ustasha stopped them at the same place where they had stabbed Mihajlo.

Draginja started running towards the road. She held the child tight in her arms. She ran four or five steps. Then the Ustasha caught her and stabbed her with the bayonet on her back. She fell down to the path in the snow and the child on the heap of snow. Naked child was crying and moving his arms and legs. It was only 6 months old and still breast-fed.

Ustasha approached the child and stabbed him, too and threw it on the path. It stopped crying.

While the first Ustasha was stabbing Draginja and the baby, Bosko and Ljubica tried to escape behind the house. But, the other Ustasha caught them and killed them.

After that all three of them entered the house. Two went into the room, and one stayed at the door. He didnt come in. One of the two swung the gun and cut old Vajas throat. She lie with her head backwards, so that her throat was fully open. Her head rolled from the pillow below the bed. Vaja was lying in the straw-bed on the floor beside the bed with her head on the pillow. Not even a drop of blood poured out of the cut throat. Just the veins stood out. She had just died. She hadnt even been cold.

Other Ustasha came to the bed. In it Danica was still sleeping. I was two or three steps away from her. It was all happening before my eyes.

Ustasha lifted his gun with a bayonet and the bayonet cut Danicas head over the forehead. The blood spread over her face and the pillow. Danica didnt even move, or uttered a word.

I was dumbfounded. I just walked up and down the room trying to get farther from the two. I jumped over Vaja and now having anywhere to go, shriveled up in the corner behind the stove. I stared at the Ustasha. They both stood in front of me. One said:

You are not from this house. I know. Where are you from? Who are you?

Our neighbours, Catholics, as I found out later, knew well how many people there were in each Serbian house, their age and sex and what we usually did at seven o'clock in the morning. The Ustasha who slaughtered us were not from Motike, so that the neighbours told them that I was not from that house. That confused them.

I told them:

I dont know who I am or where I am from when you are doing this!

The nails on my both hands were full of blood because of fear and were blue and black. They said to me:

Say the rosary!

I cant speak or read when I see what you are doing.

One Ustasha asked:

What are we going to do with her?

The one at the door said:

Stab her!

Ustasha in front of me stabbed me with his bayonet on the front, by the ribs.

I fell down and fainted.

Then the Ustasha stabbed me six more times while I was lying unconscious. Two times on the left side and three times on the right, over my body. Once they stabbed me in my left underarm.

I have scars of all seven wounds all over my body. They are still clearly visible, although 58 years have passed. One scar on the left side is 5 cm long and the others are smaller. Look at this one on my hand. It is quite visible. It reminds me most of the massacre because it is on my hand and I look at it all the time.

I came to during the night. I regained consciousness. I drank a lot of water from the kettle. When it dawned I saw that the windows and the door were open. I felt no fear. I thought I would die. Granny Vaja was lying on the floor but without head. There, her head was under the bed.

Later, I got up slowly, leaning against the wall and the bed. In the bed was Danica (9) giving no signs of life. Her face was cut.

Then, it was Sunday, they came to plunder.

I knew both of them. One was bozo Josipovic and the other Mirko Josipovic, my school mate, both Croats from a neighbouring hamlet. Bozo put me on his back and carried me. He carried me towards the house of my uncle Ilija Vasic.

In front of Ilijas house the Ustasha brought the Todics and the Vasics and killed them there. There were many of them lying in the snow. I could see them all. Some were still moving, although 24 hours since the massacre had passed. They just twitch and calm again. I heard someone growling. About 150 people were there. In some houses in Vasici and Todici there were even ten or fifteen members. Two helmets were gathered there and killed Todici and Vasici. The snow was trodden and red. They had killed them there. Some tried to escape. Nobody succeeded. They got them all.

Bozo carried me to Pejos house. He an Mirko said that they had found Milans Ljuba alive. Pejo, aged 70, and his two daughters-in-law Janja and Jela were at home. They gave me a bath. # I dont remember it. As soon as they had poured lukewarm water over me, I lost consciousness.

I lay in Pejos house for two months. I lay on my knees and forehead until the wounds healed. I couldnt lie on any side. The wounds hurt. During the day they would put me in a sitting position to sit as long as I could. Whenever they were bandaging my wounds I would faint. Pejos daughters-in-law Janja and Jela bandaged me. I began to eat. For a month I drank only milk, three glasses of milk a day. I couldnt eat anything else. They were offering food all the time but how could I eat!

On Sunday, On St. Peters Day, 12 July 1942, my aunt Vida, my fathers sister took me to her house in Macanovici, in the neighbouring village Cokore. I lived there until the end of the war and some time after it. After the war I married a young man, Gojko Vucic from helmet Vucici, also in Cokor. I returned to Motike, to my fathers house, with him, got children and

grandchildren. Today, I also live in my fathers house in Donje Motike, house number 128.

Later I heard about my aunt Dosta Todic. She was just about to give birth to her child. The Ustasha turned her on her back, and put a board over her stomach and moved up and down and watched Dosta giving birth until the baby popped out. They didnt stab her or slaughter her, they just tortured her like that. Then they killed her with an axe.

Immediately after the war one policeman came to me and asked me few questions.

He ordered me not to say a word.

Dont talk about the massacre. And dont say to anybody that I asked you anything. What happened had happened. Dont say a word to anyone!

And I told nobody about the massacre of my family. I am telling it to you for the first time. I was afraid. I am afraid even now that the Ustasha and the Turks will slaughter us. What do you think, will it happen? Heaven forbid!

Radomir Glamocanin (1927)

I was born in village Drakulic in 1927, which is situated in the immediate vicinity of Banja Luka, where Ustasha criminals committed a massacre over the whole population of Orthodox religion, as well as in the villages Sargovac and Motike and in Rakovac mine.

On that occasion Ustasha soldiers, led by the captain from Petricevac monastery, Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, killed in the most brutal way about 2,300 inhabitants of the above mentioned villages, and among them 550 children aged from 1 to 9 years. Only those who were not at home avoided the massacre.

In this massacre the Ustasha killed my mother, my four brothers, three sisters and 45 more members of my family, among whom there were 24 children. The Ustasha closed my family in my cousins stable and then took one by one person out and then slaughtered them with knives, axes and bars. When he took out my brother Milan, he grabbed the axe from the Ustasha and cut him with it. As far as I know, it was the only case of physical resistance of a victim facing Ustasha curved knife during the massacre in our three villages. The other one took his gun and killed Milan. So, my brother was the only one who was shot. all other members of my family were brutally killed with knives and axes.

My mother and sister, a eight-year-old child, after they had realized what tragic destiny was awaiting them, tried to escape through the back door but

they were spotted. Ustasha hit my mother with an axe on her head. My sister fell over my mother, covered with blood and told her to keep running. The Ustasha killed her as well and left them there in the snow for a couple of days.

Except my family, in this massacre, families of my friends, godfathers and neighbours were killed: Stolic, Stankovic, Todorovic, Amidzic, Peric, Vukobrat, Djuric, Kamber, Kuruzovic, Plavsic, Piljagic, Radinovic, Savanovic, Smiljanic, Sevo, Stijakovic, Torbica, Tunic, Cusic and many others. The Ustasha killed about 1,500 people in Drakulic and Sargovac on 7 February 1942 of whom 343 children up to 14 years old, in Motike; 207 children up to 14 years old and 52 miners in Rakovac mine.

Our neighbours, Croats, Ivo Juric, Stipe Golub, Simun Pletikosa and others led the Ustasha to Serbian houses and helped them to find and kill every person in them because, being their neighbours, they knew every single person in every house.

Radomir Glmocaninc named 45 members of his family who were killed and slaughtered by the Ustasha on 7 February 1942. Their names are cited in the book Friars and Ustasha slaughter.

Peaceful Kozara village Piskavica is situated almost half way between Banja Luka and Prijedor, mostly on the left side of the railroad from Banja Luka but there are many hamlets on the right side towards Kozara. Railroad station in Piskavica is on the 37th km from Banja Luka. If you take the shortcut beside Duboki, Banja Luka is much nearer. There Piskavica stretches all the way to Motike. Village Ivanjska is situated next to Piskavica towards Banja Luka on both sides of the railroad. Railroad station in Ivanjska is 25 km far from Banja Luka and 10 km from Piskavica station. Before the Second World War only the Serbs lived in Piskavica and in Ivanjska there were approximately half Serbs, half Croats. Both villages were part of NDH.

Since the beginning of the war, the Ustasha took away the distinguished Serbs but there were no massacres until the beginning of 1942 despite the rising in Kozara. The partisans and other Serbs destroyed the railroad between Piskavica and Prijedor so that trains could get only to Piskavica. At the beginning of 1942, the Serbs from Piskavica and Ivanjska started destroying the railroad from Piskavica to Banja Luka. Most likely, it was because of that the Ustasha killed Serbian population in several hamlets in Piskavica and Ivanjska on 5 and 12 February 1942. First, on February 5 a few individuals and families were killed, probably to warn and threat. Since the Serbs continued destroying the railroad, the Ustasha took even greater reprisal a week later. In both massacres over 200 Serbs were killed in Milosevici, Knezevic, Kevici, Popovici, Susnjari, Sutilovici, Djudjici, Milakovici and in some other hamlets. The exact number of the killed had never been determined or will ever be determined. Hardly anything was written down about that massacre.

According to witnesses testimonies, the most active in massacring and plundering were the Croats from Ivanjska.

Draza Milakovic

The Milakovics were not slaughtered by Ustasha from Zagorje, Slavonija or Medjumurje but by our neighbours from Ivanjska, Pezici, Tomici, Idzani, Kovacevici, Klecine etc. with whom we had lived in harmony and peace before the war... Our first neighbours, the Croats, kept telling us that they knew we were peaceful and loyal to their country, that they would protect us if necessary. 187

Here are some short extracts from the elaborate book Friars and Ustasha slaughter in which more detailed testimonies of a great number of people were recorded. Here we have the testimonies of only four of them.

Dusan Milakovic (1924)

Our houses here in Milakovici are about 2.5 km far from the station in Ivanjska. We are less than 1.5 km away from the railroad.

Since the beginning of the war the Ustasha came to Milakovici from Ivanjska. Some were wearing uniform, some civilian clothes. At the beginning of August in 1943 they took away several men from Milakovici Glisa, Sima, Sava and Rade Milakovic, father of my neighbour Draza Milakovic. Rade was about 45 years old then. He was a healthy and strong man. Neighbours from Ivanjska took them away. Their houses are here, across the road. Zdravko Klecina called Krpa (Cloth), Ivo Klecina and Ivo Pipin took Rade away. I know them all very well. All three of them were about 50 or 60 years old. Glisa was taken away by Marko Zutica (Ivos son). In the evening, I was driving the cattle home and then I saw Rade and our neighbour Zdravko Klecina. I was in Zdravkos house so many times. And he passed by me, returned and said:

Why are you smiling?

I got scared. I wasnt smiling. He hit me with a riffle butt and I fell down. I got up and he grabbed me, lifted me and then hit me again on the shoulder and I fell down again. Then again for the third time. He swore at me. He tied Drazas father. When he hit him with the riffle butt he started turning over. When he hit me other Ustasha said:

Why are you doing it to a child?

I was 16 or 17 at that time. Zdravko said to Rade:

Sing a song about King Peter!

Rade had to sing. He was singing and rolling down the slope.

Several days after the railroad had been destroyed, the Ustasha went to every house and told us not to go anywhere, not to try to escape. Then they came on Thursday, February 12, and slaughtered.

They came to our house. There were 11 of us living in that house: my father Nikola (47), mother Sava (45), we - Nikolas sons, Momcilo (21), me (17), Nenad (12) and Milan (1.5), uncle Dragic, aunt Mrza and their three children Radovan (16), Radenko (12) and Sava (10). Uncle Dragic was younger than my father. We all lived together in one household.

Soldiers came to our house at about 9 a.m. They surrounded the house. They put machine-guns in the windows, and said:
Get out everyone!

My father was the first who got out. Uncle Dragic followed him, then mother Sava with my brother Milan in her arms. Then me, Radenko and Nenad. We all stood in a line, and the Ustasha were around the house and facing us. I knew only Zdravko Klecin and Djuro Idzan. They asked:

Who destroyed the railroad?

My father said:

Soldiers, I dont know who destroyed it. It is far from us.

There were more soldiers on the road by a cherry tree, among them Ante Pijevic called Sepo from Ivanjska. The one in front of us asked him:

What shall we do?

Sepo said:

- Strike all of them!

One soldier took out his gun. U letters were all over him. That was our neighbour from Ivanjska, Zdravko Klecina. He killed my father. My father yowled with pain and fell down.

I immediately run away from that line. I saw when they killed my father and my mother. They were shooting at me but, luckily, didnt get me. I hid in the snow, there were the sheep where fed. Later I went to Novak Popovics house. That was one small house, below by the stream.

Two or three days later we returned to our house in Milakovici to bury the dead. We buried them. Then we escaped to Djujici and then to Verici under Kozara.

Veljko Milakovic (1924)

We talked on June 20 1999 in front of Veljko Milakovics house in Ivanjska, which is now called Potkozarje

I was born here in Milakovici in 1924. I am now 75 years old.
My house used to be here.

At the beginning of the war, my two brothers Cedo (1892) and Gojko (1910) with their families and myself lived here. My brothers had children. I was not married. I was 16-17 years old then.

My two brothers, two sisters-in-law and their children were killed in the massacre. Cedos wifes name was Petra (1893) and their two children were Pava (1927) and Milovan (1929). Milka (1911) was a wife of my brother Gojko. Their children were Predrag (1939) and Radmila (1941). Eight of them were killed on Three Kings Day in 1942 beside our house. I was the only who survived.

The Ustasha came that day from Ivanjska. Those who came from Ivanjska over the hill killed my family and three families in the house of Mladjen Milakovic. There were three families in that house: family of Mladjen Milakovic, Valdo Milakovic and Stojan Milakovic. They were shooting. People were running away and that was it.

I was in the stream for about 3-4 hours. I was cold. I said:

I'll go there to my house to see what is going on.

When I came I saw that the house was open. Pigs came into the house and chickens. I got them out. There was nobody in the house. I looked into the rooms as well. There was nobody. I went out...

Then I saw a dog and nine of them, all dead. They were lying. The dog sat beside them. It didnt even sniff them. It was a big dog. Our domestic dog. They fell into the snow. They cut my brother Cedos ear with a knife or... I dont know. He must have suffered. They also cut two fingers off his hand. I saw that he was hit over his face and tortured. Nothing else was cut off. I suppose they were killed with guns. They were not cut. One girl was. She wasnt even one year old. It was Radmila, Gojkos daughter. She had two or three cuts. Only her. They might not have killed her straight away and then stabbed her with a knife. Her hand was in her mothers hand.

There I found nine of them, all dead. The snow around them was covered with blood.

I dragged them to the house. By myself. All nine of them. I was dragging them. I carried the smaller kids inside. I couldnt carry the older ones. I was dragging them. I went to the stream to ask that man to help me. That Jovo Milakovic. And Vlado. They said:

We are scared. We cant go.

And none came. I told them what had happened. Then I returned, took them by the hands and dragged them over the snow. And dragged them into the house. And then I closed it. Then I looked down and saw one woman coming, Sena Milakovic.

-Veljko, what is it like?

I said:

They are all killed.

What are you saying? There, down in the house there are 12-13 dead. two people survived. Danka Milakovic, who stayed in those two houses. She is still alive. she was a child then. Now she is married to Dusan Milakovics brother.

And what could I do? I carried those nine in the house, and thought what to do. I had to take care of my own life. Run away. We ran down to Piskavica. They stayed in the house. Nothing else could be done. They were killed on Three Kings Day, on Thursday, 12 February. But I wrote 10 February on their tomb, I was wrong. When I was erecting the tombstone I didnt know then and I put 10 February. And they were killed on 12 February.

And then, after 4-5 days, I dont remember, some of us gathered, some young men, some older people, partisans and came here to these houses to see. There was nobody around. The dead were inside. Winter was cold and there was no smell. Then we started digging. It couldnt be done properly, to bury your own parents the way there should be buried. Dig out the hole, put them inside and cover it up and go away! Try to save yourself! Yes! First we buried our families here. We dug a big hole. Here, right here, they were buried together.

Then we went down, to those families there Mladjen Milakovic, Vlado and Stojan. We buried them. We found their families in the house. They were killed there. They were all inside. They were not slaughtered. They were killed who could tell, with a gun, rifle... They remained there where we buried them until this very day. Now, we dont know exactly where they grave is. I erected a tombstone.

Danka Milakovic (1934)

When there was the massacre in 1942, I was in the house with my grandmother Jovanka and mother Todora and two brothers, Bogoljub (6) and Milenko (1). My mother was 35 years old then. My father Stojan hid himself. Grandfather Jovanka said that men should run away and that they wouldnt hurt women and children. Grandmother said that we should go to Mladjen Milakovics house. Mladjen was in Germany in prison and his wife Petra had a letter from him from Germany so we thought we would be safe there. In Mladjens house there were five children and his wife Petra. The third was Vlados family, his wife Vukosava and their two children Mrza and Rajko. Their daughter-in-law, Rosa, who was Catholic, was in their house, too. She thought she could stop the Ustasha. I remember everything. The Ustasha came to our house. They shouted at us:

Come, come to the house!

There were many of them. Who could say how many? They were helmeted. We entered Petras house. When they pushed us into the room, they asked the women:

Where are your men, shit on your King Peter!

Petra then took out a letter hidden in her bosom and said:

Here is where mine is!

Back off, screw your King Peter!

I remember everything. She went back into the room and then fell down. As soon as she had turned away from him. What happened I dont know. Just the woman fell down. There was a shot: trrr. She fell. I saw it. The child fell from her arms. Smoke was everywhere and nothing could be seen.

When the smoke got out, I saw nobody was moving. We all fell down. He thought he had killed everyone. There were, wait, how many: six of us grandmother Jovanka, my mother and four children, then three from Vlados family, it makes nine, Roza ten, and then four Mladjens children and his wife. So, fifteen people. Fourteen were in the room. Roza was outside, in front of the house.

It was about twelve o'clock. I remember that lunch was ready about eleven. They came and lunch was left uneaten. We left at about twelve. (Dusan Milakovic adds: Yes! After they had finished killing in our house.) Mladjens son Vitimir hid under the bed and there he was shot. And we were not shot, me and my two brothers Bogoljub and Milenko. Vlados daughter Mrza survived then but she died later. She was also there next to her mother. She wasnt even wounded. Mladjens daughter Ljubica was wounded. She died. Nada from Dragocaj was also wounded. She came to Mladjens children that morning. She died a day or two after that. When I got up she was alive. She started crying there under the table. She couldnt move. She was shot over her knees. In the middle of the room, under the window there was a table. Nada was hiding under that table. Ljubica as well. She was shot at her shoulder. And that Mrza, she wasnt shot.

They didnt check if there was anyone alive. They left immediately. Four of us stayed alive, me, my two brothers, Bogoljub (6) and Milenko (7 months) and Mladjens Mrza (8). After the war, Mrza and Milenko died. Milenko died when he was 7, in 1949. Mrza got ill after the war and died at the same time as my brother.

When the smoke got out I was the first who regained consciousness and got up. I took my brother Milenko. The baby was alive. I called my mother. I said: Get up, mother! Breastfeed the baby! He is crying!

Mother was dead. What could I do? The baby was crying and she was not getting up. I unbuttoned my mother and put the child on her breasts. I didnt know she was dead. Brother was suckling and was quiet for a while. Then he started crying again.

Then I heard someone talking and peeped out. There they were again. I just thought if the baby continued crying... And then I lay down between the dead. They came twice. They looked and said:

- It is over!

It was over and the baby was flailing about with his arms and legs. He started crying again as if he was going to die... It lasted until dusk. It was cold. There was no fire and everything was open. The blood coagulated. Yes! It was quivering like liver.

Snow was deep and everything was white and shining in the sun. And they were going towards my house. They were going up the path in the snow with wedding flags as if they were in a wedding procession. They were singing that : o-ooo, o-ooo, o-ooo! Mocking our wedding processions. Then they threw the flags onto the snow.

What was I to do?

I took that child and covered it and carried it up and down the room. I had to stay inside. I was hoping he would fall asleep. But he wouldnt. He was crying and screaming. He was cold and hungry.

There was nobody around. The sun was setting down. Two other children were older. I was 8 and they were about 6 years old. They were with me. Our feet were all in blood. I was all wet and sticky with blood. My skirt was soaked in blood because I was lying among them...

The sun had already set down when somebody cried out:

Ooooh! Yeeow!

I got frightened again. What was it? I looked and realized that it was Sena, Vaso Milakovics wife. Their house was near Mladjens and ours. Vaso had run away. They had two daughters and they had also run away. Sena hid herself behind a pigsty and hid her brothers two sons also from Dragocaj. Oh, how horrible that was!

When they started killing in Dragocaj her brother ran away. People from Dragocaj were coming here, as far as they could from Banja Luka. They were slaughtering there. Some came to their relatives here in Piskavica. Her brother ran away with his oxen and sledges and he put his three children in those sledges, Nada and these two boys.

Those two boys stayed with their aunt Sena behind the pigsty. Nada was with us in the room. There she was shot.

(One of the boys Danka was talking about is Milan Bozic, from Dragocaj who now lives in Belgrade as a military pensioner. After he had read the book Friars and Ustasha slaughter, he said:

Very vivid and colourful testimony of Danka Milakovic took me 58 years back into the past. As if I was still watching that 7 year-old girl, (I was 8) with bloody clothes and with a baby crying in her arms. Five more wounded children Danka was talking about were in one room in Vaso Milakovics house where Sena had taken them all. The room was warm and covered with straw on which the children lay. Sena brought me and my brother Milorad (6) to that room to get ourselves warm and to eat something. We spent all day under the stables roof at the temperature of about 10 C and snow more than a meter high. we were half frozen.

So, it is unquestionable that there was the massacre in Milakovici on February 12, 1942 (on Three Kings Day). My grandfather, volunteer at Soluns front, drove me, my brother Milorad and sister Nada to Vaso Milakovics house. His sister Stana was married to Vaso Milakovic. He thought that it was safer there than in Dragocaj, which was much nearer to Banja Luka. Grandmother Sena hid me and my brother and that is how we survived but Nada was killed.)

Sena was coming and yelling:

Yeeow, yeeow, is there anybody?

And the pig was eating Roza, who was Catholic. It was biting her over her breasts. Sena hardly managed to get her into the house.

We slept in her house that night. Then, my father heard that women were dead and that we, the children were alive. Then he came to us. Our neighbour Vlado also came with him, whose daughter Mrza had also survived. Both of them came. Those three who had survived, Mrza, Ljubica and Nada they took them away. Nada died three days after that and we buried her in the common grave by Mladjens house.

Dara Milosevic (1918)

Dara Milosevic is the oldest of all the witnesses in Piskavica and Ivanjska. Still, she best remembers the details related to the massacre and especially dates and years. She showed me the place where their old house had been (house of Simo Milosevic in the plum orchard below the road) and the place where fifteen people were burned (in Jovans house)

Of course, we were scared. They slaughtered one part of the village on February 5. They were after us, too. We ran away to Kevici, to the house of Rade Kevic. It could be about 1 km away. On the hill. Then, on the second Thursday, the Ustasha came to us.

There were five houses: my father-in-laws, Simo Milosevic and his brother Milan in our plum orchard, and Jovans, Kostas and Svetkos there above the road, about 30 meters away from the road. Three of us, Simos daughters-in-law with children were in Milans house: me, Boskos wife, Ruza, Vlados wife and Zdravka, Zarkos wife. Zdravka had a daughter Stanka. She was named after her grandmother Stanka, Simos wife. She turned 1 on January 14. She was killed on February 12. Zdravka was pregnant. Ruza had three children: Zora (5), Dosta (3) and Stojna (not even one year old). She was born in March 1941, and was killed in February 1942. I had a son, Radivoje. He was five and a half years old. I also had a daughter Slavka, aged 3. I gave birth to my son Slavko on September 3, 1941. He was 6 months old when he was killed.

Eleven of them were killed: Zdravkas child, Ruzas three children, my three children and Milan, the one who was lying paralyzed in bed, and three women Milans wife Djuja, Ruza and Zdravka.

Four women, Milan and children were in Milans house. That was a small house, there was hardly enough space for all of us. We were in the room. Old Djuja had allegedly locked the house. There was shooting around. We knew nothing, we just waited. Zdravka saw a soldier through the window. We thought he was our soldier. Ruza said:

No, he has a helmet on.

He entered the house and came to the door of the room. He pointed the rifle at us. He didnt enter the room. He told us to get out.

Uncle Milan stayed in bed, lying. He couldnt get up and go. My little baby stayed there in the room in its crib. They just stabbed him. Uncle was shot in his mouth. We got out. Children went by themselves. They were crying. Women were silent. When we got out he put us in a line. I asked him not to hurt the children. I asked him if he had anyone dear to him. He should think of them. He said he had nobody but God. Only he was in front of me. There was nobody else. He said:

Fire!

And they started shooting. I dont know. How could I know how many of them there were. The one who had lined us up called them. He ordered us to turn away from him. He started shooting. There were more of them. We all fell down. I fell down too. Or was pushed. I dont know. I didnt know even then. My mouth was full of snow or gunpowder. I dont know what it was. I thought I was dead, or wounded. I dont know what they were firing from rifle or

machine gun. We turned back. They ordered us to. We were all standing in line. I dont know how many of them fired. I heard them firing. That lasted just a moment. I fell down. My mouth was full of snow. I was all covered with snow. I fainted. I didnt know if I was dead, wounded, whether I could get up or not. I knew nothing. They were falling over me. Somebody pushed me or I fell down myself. I lay down for some time as if dead, about half an hour. Nobody around me showed any signs of life. Nobody even let out a cry. Or I couldnt hear it. I remember that they drove us out.

I moved my hand it moved. I moved my leg it moved. I lifted up my head I could do that. I looked around. Everything was covered with blood. Me as well. Snow was covered with blood, too. I could hardly see it. I couldnt look at that horrible scene. I was sick and I was scared. It was all mixed up. I hardly managed to survive it all. It would have been better if I had died with them, too. Then I got up. I was not wounded.

There was firing around the houses a bit farther. My neighbour Jovans house was on fire. I wasnt afraid. I wanted to go there and get killed. What was I to do, my God! It was cold. Night was coming. Where could I go? I went to the stable. I was hiding there for a while. They were everywhere. They were coming back. Driving the cattle and singing.

When they had left I set off. I knew in which direction my husband had gone, there over the railroad to Kozara.

In this here, Jovans house, there were fifteen of them. They killed them all and then set the house on fire.

The killing in our Milosevici was over at about 2 p. m. I escaped over the railroad to Radulje during the night. Who buried the dead? Well, people. On the day of the massacre, nobody came. They didnt dare to. (It is hard for her to talk. She said that and I could see it, too. Her voice was trembling and her eyes were wet. Then she calmed down. She continues. comment by L.L.) The next day, on Friday 13, one partisan came. He was Momcilo Milosevic. On Saturday, other people came and buried them. I wasnt there then.

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Supplement 8
ZIVOTIJE DJORDJEVIC

**WHY AND HOW WAS IT IMPOSSIBLE TO DISCOVER THE TRUTH
ABOUT THE CRIMES OF GENOCIDE COMMITTED OVER SERBIAN
PEOPLE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

I would not talk about why and how it was done in Croatia. They simply did everything to present victims as criminals and vice versa. But the fact is, regardless of what was happening in Croatia that Serbia does not know even today, 60 years after the horrors it had experienced during the Second World War, how many people it had lost during the bombing in 1941, when Hitler attacked Serbia to clean the table there, to destroy once and for all that criminal and conspiratorial Serbian hotbed - Belgrade, as it is called even today by some of Hitlers followers, who, obviously, outclassed their teacher.

Dr. Vladimir Dedijer mentions the number of 4,891 buried men from Belgrade. (V. Dedijer: *Istorija Jugoslavije (History of Yugoslavia)*, Prosveta, Beograd, 1992, 469). Those who remained under the ruins were never buried.

A well-known German historian Gerlic, states that in April 1941. Fifteen to twenty thousand people met their horrible death in the ruins and flames of Belgrade.

Mala enciklopedija Prosveta (Short Encyclopedia Prosveta), p. 131, as well as general Velimir Terzic (V. Terzic: *Jugoslavija u aprilskom ratu, Yugoslavia in April War, Titograd, 1963, p. 424*) say that twenty thousand people were killed in Belgrade then.

Serbia does not know to this very day how many people were killed in Belgrade by Anglo-American aviation. Belgrade as well as other towns in Serbia were bombarded on several occasions, on demand of Josip Broz, under the pretext that in these areas there were strong loyal (Chetnics KJVUO Z. Dj.) forces but, in fact, to demoralize pro-Mihajlovic oriented people, states Michael Lees, head of one of the British military mission who was in Yugoslavia during the war, (Michael Lees: *Silovanje Srbije Britanska uloga u Titovom grabljenju vlasti 1943-1944, (The Rape of Serbia The British Role in Titos Grab for Power 1943-1944)*, BIGZ, Beograd, 1991, 307).

Serbia does not know how many of its mobilized children, aged from 16 to 22 (The youth made 75% of all the soldiers and officers in JNA *Vojna enciklopedija, Military Encyclopedia, second edition, book 4, Belgrade, 1972, p. 139*) lost their lives in Srem. We had the figure of 35,000 for years, today

we talk about 13,000 and Milovan Djilas, a few years before his death, stated that Sumadija lost 80,000 of its children on Srem front.

The occupiers built one concentration camp in the center of Belgrade, at Banjica in which (in Jajinci), according to some authors, 80,000 people were killed. According to others, that figure is half as many. Even an approximate number is NOT KNOWN.

Only a few hundreds meters away from the very center of Belgrade, the occupiers built another concentration camp at Staro sajmište. According to some about 20,000 people were sent to death, according to others about 80,000 and some think that number was significantly smaller. How many? It is NOT KNOWN.

Dr. Nikola Nikolic, who himself, despite being a Croat, was an inmate of Jasenovac, in his book *Jasenovacki logor smrti* (Jasenovac camps of death), NIPS Oslobođenje, Redakcija vanskolske izdavačke delatnosti, Sarajevo, p. 191, writes: Data that during a four-year period of the existence of Jasenovac camp over 700,000 people were killed, is not in the least an arbitrary claim.

As to the total number of the killed in Jasenovac camp and the number of killed people of different nationalities, there have been different calculations, from tendentious exaggerations to malicious reductions. It suited only to the nazi ideologists who made the problem so complicated that, of course, it is not possible even to consider it correctly because almost all documentation related to the number of the people killed in those camps (Dr. Nikola Nikolic, *Jasenovacki logor smrti* (Jasenovac Camps of Death), NIPS Oslobođenje, Redakcija vanskolske izdavačke delatnosti, Sarajevo, pp. 191, 192).

It is not certain that the precise number of the victims would have been determined even if all the lists made by Croatian authorities of the period had been saved. The only way we could come to the exact (at least approximate, with reasonable deviations) number was subsequent individual registration of the killed. However, after the war had finished any counting was forbidden to us. When dr. Nikola Nikolic contacted Rodoljub Colakovic with the project for the Memorial complex Jasenovac, Colakovic confided to him that the project would not be realized because we do not want to educate our children on Ustasha crimes (V. Dedijer: *Vatikan i Jasenovac Dokumenti*, Rad, Beograd, 1987, 667).

Tens of thousands of innocent children from Kozara were driven to Jasenovac and Donja Gradina and even before they took their gold coins they had killed them and buried them in the moors of Donja Gradina. And those who had survived later danced in Kozaracko kolo at Terazije, swore to Josip Broz that they would not abandon his course, and only twenty years after the war they had enough courage to go to the execution site, only a couple of kilometers away from their homes, at which their dearest had been

killed, to light the candles for the first time. Only then did they remember to start an action and build a monument to the hundreds of thousands of the killed. Finally, on July 4, 1966. the monument was unveiled, and the way it looks, it would have been better it was not. Flower petals distinctly emphasized the symbol of the slaughterers of those who had been buried in Gradina. It was quite obvious, but there was no protest. The only one who protested was Ivan Krajacic, who attended the unveiling ceremony as a high official of the Communist Party of Croatia, and objected: We did not kill enough of you here! And he was not the only one who had the same opinion. The most recent past confirmed that.

The roots were deep. And that indicates how it was possible that not a single bullet was fired for the liberation of Jasenovac. The slaughterers mined and burned the buildings and killed all the remaining inmates, who did not succeed to escape in the last storm (of 1,200 inmates who were in the camp on the last day 87 escaped), and on April 22, 1945. they retreated from Jasenovac. The twenty first Serbian division entered deserted Jasenovac five days later, without having to fight. And we were so strong that the enemy had to engage about thirty divisions to fight us. Serbia had been liberated for more than six months, we had our aviation and our parachute units. At the end of 1944. we had 57 divisions (Vojna enciklopedija /Military Encyclopedia/, II, knjiga 4 /book 4/, Redakcija Vojne enciklopedije, Beograd, 1972, 138) but we did not have enough strength to liberate Jasenovac.

According to the statements of Sepaher and Mungosa to State Commission, every day, at least four cattle wagons (with the prisoners from Serbia) were added to the fast trains and they were transported to Jasenovac. We did not succeed to stop any of those trains during the war and liberate the inmates. Could we not, if we were so good at attacking the moving trains from our so-called corn planes and managed to put out of action about three quarters of them in Serbia, send our aviation to machine-gun the watch-towers and thus help the inmates to escape to the opposite bank of the Sava and reach Bosnian mountains. In the last days of the camps existence we could bomb the camp and thus leave less to destroy for the murderers. Was it accidental? Then we ourselves even killed 26 inmates.

The documentation was destroyed. The corpses of the inmates were burned, everything was done never to reach the truth, and what were we doing in the meantime? Too much was done for the truth never to be revealed. Instead of looking for the truth we repeated like parrots Brozs theory that this suffering of Serbian people during the Second World War was Croatian revenge for the Greater Serbian hegemonism, revenge for all the killings of Croats in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Kingdom of SHS and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia existed for 22 years. Summarizing accusations against Serbian authorities for numerous murders of the Croats and first of all their leaders, Ustashi newspapers Hrvatski narod (Croatian people) in its issue from July 20, 1941, published the list of all Croats and Muslims killed in the Kingdom

of Yugoslavia and the Kingdom of SHS. There were 236 of them according to that paper and for all of them the reasons and ways of killing were given. Of all people allegedly killed by a Serbian hand, it was cited, seven were killed by Chetnics, two by Sokols and three by Punisa Racic, (dr. Dragoslav Stanojkovic: *Najveci zlocinci sadasnjice /The greatest criminals of the contemporary world/, Djecije novine, G. Milanovac, 1991, 565-666). The others, according to the claims of the Ustasha newspapers died in accidents mechanical breakdown on a boat, or as victims of mutual attacks and law breaking, 63 as smugglers, 8 during illegal crossings of the border, 4 killed in an ambush by unknown persons, 6 sentenced to death by regular courts, 14 Ustasha killed in fights with the police, and 10 were killed by unknown persons. But, in spite of all this, Josip Broz intentionally, but unfoundedly, kept repeating the phraseology of the Comintern, which thus justified the extortion annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908.) In the new circumstances the Greater Serbian ideology was proclaimed to be the cause of Yugoslavias dismemberment and Serbia, although innocent, was the scapegoat. Josip Broz was persistent in the policy he used to have during the war.*

On July 2, 1943, Josip Broz ordered the legal representatives of the Headquarters in negotiations with Croatian homeguards and other Croatian units, what is some sort of a code for Ustasha units, to:

Guarantee to all Croat soldiers the right to life and personal possessions,

Guarantee to all Croatian soldiers who join National Liberation Movement the ranks they had until then (and many deserved them by killing Serbs and everything that was Serbian Z. Dj.),

Guarantee to all Croatian soldiers further promotion according to their abilities,

Use all new forces and Partisan units enforced by Croat homeguards and other soldiers in the fight against Chetnics in Eastern Bosnia (D. Lucic: o.c.), p. 259.

Some more details:

The Partisans in Teslic captured 2,000 Ustasha and allowed them to join their units or let them go home.

On January 1, 1944. they captured the former Minister of Traffic Himlija Beslagic and his brother Hakija, the president of Ustashi Banja Luka community and let them go home whereas on the same day they captured student Vidovic, a Serb, and killed him.

Partisan radio (from USSR) Free Yugoslavia reported in the middle of April 1944. that 5,000 Ustasha joined the National Liberation Army The Tenth Zagreb Corps

The Soviet radio informed on April 6, 1944. that 80,000 of ex Pavelics officers and soldiers had already joined the partisans. (D. Lucic: o.c, p. 251)

While accepting Croatian cooperation Tito did not make any distinction. He allowed all Croats to join them including those who had actively collaborated with the enemy and those who took part in the massacres of Serbs, said Konstantin Fotic, former ambassador in the USA. (K. Fotic: Rat koji smo izgubili. Tragedija Jugoslavije i greska Zapada /The War We Had Lost. Tragedy of Yugoslavia and the Fault of the West/, Vajat, Beograd, 1995, 159).

Accepting the Croatian Ustasha and home guards into partisan units meant that their crime over the Serbs was forgiven as well as genocide, blood of hundreds of thousands of children, mothers and fathers, all the pits filled with Serbian corpses. Tito needed such soldiers because he wanted to use them against the Serbs again in the future. (D. Lucic: o.c, p. 51).

After the breakthrough to Central Serbia there were ten divisions:

- 1. and 6. Proleterska,
- 5. and 11. Krajiska,
- 16. and 36. Vojvodjanska,
- 27. Istocnobosanska,
- 37. Sandzadzka and
- 21. Srpska

The Serbians well remember their activities in Serbia. So well that for some, and they are numerous, they light the candles only in churches they do not know where their graves are.

We were silent, and those who were responsible for the souls of the deceased, on their behalf and on our behalf, without asking us, said to the killers that we, probably in the name of the killed, had forgiven their crimes, but we cannot forget them and even the Christianity knows of no forgiveness without confessing the sin and without repenting.

Those who were telling us about brotherhood and unity burnt at the stake everyone who had even tried to count the victims. On the contrary! They covered the grave pits with concrete, tons of Serbian bones and left them there to decay and they told us that there was no time for registration beurocracy.

However, we knew how many of us remained. Without consumers cards it was not possible to live and there were pits cards, and several kinds of R, and pregnant womens and childrens and the most simple ones G. It was not possible to survive without rations and nobody dared to take the other one. The authorities had these data so that Statistic institutes also had them. The

official registration was done four years after the end of the war which caused new problems for demographic calculations.

The crucial problem was that those who had their interest in it destroyed the evidences without obstacles. The whole complex of Jasenovac camps was turned into a golf course. Archive documentation was used as a raw material for producing paper (Antun Miletic: o.c, p. 63), and nobody cared.

In such a way it was forbidden and made impossible to search for the truth related to the loss of population in Yugoslavia. As regards the loss of population in the Second World War for the whole of Yugoslavia, due to scarce starting parameters for demographic research, we were always facing the possibility of making even more serious mistakes. However, as regards the System of Jasenovac camps, for the time being, we can obtain data mostly from the witnesses and we will not have even them for much longer. The participants are already 70 or 80 years old. Some of them have the data they have been keeping for years, fearing revenge of any side. It is high time we found such witnesses and collected their documentation. Expenses must not be the obstacle.

We have to continue our quest for the truth despite of the cost. There are many items on the priority list for Serbian people but this problem should be the first one. We can no longer tolerate that, for example, the Museum of Genocide in Belgrade has no means to pay for the postal services.

We are aware that the protectors of Ustasha policy were very powerful, even in Belgrade. If they had not been, Artukovic's extradition would not have been requested even seven years after the end of the war and Pavelic's extradition never. The organizer of the Ratlines Draganovic would not have spent his last years peacefully in Bosnia. Both Andrija Artukovic and Dinko Sakic should have been tried for serious crimes of genocide and not for the crimes against civilians. Should a couple of the survived old men from Jasenovac have been the only evidence at Sakic's trial?

After everything that had been said I support, with all my heart, the intentions of the Second International Conference Jasenovac system of Croatian genocide camps, without the word Ustasha because it is not true that only the Ustasha had committed those crimes. We must not allow malicious people to minimize the scope of crimes and the number of executors. The Ustashi burnt many Serbian villages and killed people in them with the closest collaboration of home guards and there is no difference in crime between the one who holds and the one who slaughters. At the exhibition we saw yesterday one of the exhibits showed that the Ministry of Home-guards had ordered the command in Slavonski Brod to organize 200 homeguards who would transport 400 Gypsies to Jasenovac camp.

So, let us not pay attention to the stories, of propagandistic character, telling us about 20,000 or 50,000 of the killed in Jasenovac and 1,000,000 killed in Yugoslavia. We should make an effort to have all dissertations, books,

monographies, articles, which could contribute the truth of the crimes of genocide committed over Serbian people in NDH to be known to the world, translated into different languages as soon as possible and presented to the world. That would help to understand the events from 1991-1995. better. That would help many people to understand where the roots of the evil are and why Serbian people had to organize and defend themselves in 1991.

We must not forget that, even during the war, Sergio Krizman published, in Washington in 1943, an article: Massacre of innocent Serbian people in which he gave a topographic review of execution sites in NDH with the number of victims classified by their murderers. It can be noticed that the Germans killed only 78,000 people and the Croats 600,000.

Borba, on May 8, 1945, cited the claim of Ivan Potrc that 800,000 inmates were killed in Jasenovac.

Politika, on May 28, 1945, cited that Josip Broz stated at Ljubljana University that there were 1,700,000 victims in Yugoslavia during the Second World War.

Reparation Commission to the Government of DFJ submitted the Report and the Memorandum for International Conference for Reparations in Paris was based on it. The commission claimed that the real loss in Yugoslavia was 1,706,000. The same figure was given to the International Military Court in Nurnberg 1947.

The remarks of prof. V. Vuckovic, dealt with by our well-known historian A. Miletic, are unfounded. At the time when Vuckovic was working on some calculations on the loss in Yugoslavia during the Second World War, he was just a second year student. He made those calculations in 1947. and the figures of 1,700,000 real victims in Yugoslavia were written and talked about already in 1945.

Franjo Tudjman also wrote about 1,700,000 victims in World War II (Stvaranje socijalisticke Jugoslavije, /Creation of Socialist Yugoslavia/, Naprijed, Zagreb, 1960, p. 127), although in the 90s he very clumsily tried to distance himself from his claims in that book.

General V. Terzic, also gives data of 1,706,000 victims, clearly stating that the number is about 2,00,000. (V. Terzic: Slom Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941. / Fall of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia/, knjiga 1, Narodna knjiga, Beograd, 1982, p. 611; D. br. 2697/45, 26. decembar 1945.

Milan Duzemlic claimed that until his imprisonment on December 21, 1943, as the secretary of Jasenovac municipality, he held in his own hands the lists of 900,000 killed.

The State Commission in its report, page 10, assumed, based on collected statements, that 1,400,000 were killed in Jasenovac. (AH ZKRZ GUZ 22 35/5a 45, K 10; Milan Bulajic: Ustaski zlocinin genocida i sudjenje Andriji Artukovicu 1986 /Ustasha crimes of genocide and trial to Andrija Artukovic in 1986./, IV, Rad, Beograd, 1989, p. 32).

We must not allow political passion to diverge us from our course. Political passion has always been bringing us to the point where we did not evaluate what we were told and where we rejected the claims of some authors who,

together with their work, were proscribed. And we are aware that such attitude should not be part of serious research. The enemy took revenge on everyone, they killed and that is why we consider them enemies, but why not believe the report by General A. Lero, commander of the South-east (whom we sentenced to death and killed) in which he wrote that by February 1943, according to Ustashi reports already 400,000 people had been killed. Or, why not believe Ens Fick, Major General, who informed Heinrich Hillmer on March 16, 1944, that 600,000-700,000 people were slaughtered in concentration camps in NDH: (V. Dedijer: *Vatikan i Jasenovac dokumenti /The Vatican and Jasenovac Documents/*, Rad, Beograd, 1984, 646).

Why not trust dr. Herman Neubacher that the Croats slaughtered about 750,000 Serbs according to the reports he had received, and he was the authorized person of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Southeast, and he received all the reports, which had to be checked and German-like pedantically done. He gave his statement under such circumstances which allowed him to say what he had impartially, after he had spent seven years in Serbian prisons. Why should Neubachers statement not be truthful? He said that Maks Lubardic admitted to him that he had killed 225,000 Serbs.

General Edmund Glaz von Horstenau, a German authorized general in NDH also wrote about 750,000 killed Serbs at the end of 1944.

Ustashi liaison officer to authorized German general and commander in Serbia, the captain of the war ship Andric sent a message to Zagreb that the commander in chief of the gendarmerie colonel Masenbach criticized the bloodlust of the Ustashi towards the Orthodox people claiming that 700,000 people have been killed in Croatia so far (September 15, 1942.).

Why should we not trust the survived inmates who stated in front of the commissions that the number of victims in Jasenovac reaches:

Julije Bing: But I believe that number may reach even 1,500,000.
 Jovan Zivkovic, in the last few months of his life (he died in 1999.), entrusted his fellow inmate Josip Erlih with a message that in Jasenovac:
 707,000 Serbs,
 40,000 Orthodox Gypsies,
 25,000 Jews,
 1,733 Croats and Muslims,
 230 Romas, Catholics from Perusic
 112 Montenegrins and
 6 Slovenian priests were killed.

Mihajlo Maric says: 1,400,000 inmates were murdered in different ways or died of diseases or hunger.

Risto Stjepanovic: According to approximate data... it is estimated that up to 1,000,000 people were killed in the camp.

Lazar Jankov: I found out that 840,000 killed men, women and children were registered through the books. Jankov was the last inmate who survived. (A. Miletic: Prilog utvrdjivanju imenom... pp. 54-55)

In an effort to find out the truth the old should help the young with their experience and authority, if they have it, and the young have to be much more agile. Time is not working for us and we hope that the young will be better at spotting and eliminating speculators and brakes-men from their surroundings.

May 09, 2000.
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Supplement 9
Veselin Djuretic

TITOISTS DECEPTIONS OF WAR ALLIES AND AFTER-WAR INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC THAT HID THE GENOCIDE OVER SERBIAN PEOPLE AND PREPARED THE NEW CIVIL CONFLICT IN THE 90S

My approach is of introductory character in relation to the main subject and it deals with its international-political aspect. I will try to answer the following question: a) Which are the basic causes of genocide over Serbian people, especially the genocide committed in Jasenovac; b) Why and how was the genocide over Serbian people and the Romas, although in global sense, the greatest in terms of percentage, repressed for decades, minimized or concealed from the world, and c) Why was it kept aside even during the new civil and religious war in Yugoslavia 1991-1995 although the Serbs were then oppressed by the sons and grandsons of their old enemies, and were therefore forced to put up armed resistance.

The root causes of genocide over the Jews are mainly well known they are part of pathological phenomenology of Hitlers anti-Semitism policy. Yugoslav specific phenomenon is Serbian protection of the Jews in all aspects of Serbian policy.

Genocide over the Serbs had been prepared for several hundreds of years as part of different projects of Greater Croatian policy. The causes of such policy can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century, to the time when it was suppressed by autonomist Croatian aspirations within Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Since the beginning of the 20th century Croatian policy

had been in accordance with the proselytizing strategy of Catholic multi-nationals, and its main aim was Croatization of Catholic Serbs, who made about one half of the population of the last Croatian Banovina and state unit. Then such policy fitted into both Austro-Hungarian and German strategy, which dreaded the advent of Serbian Piedmont. Triumphant Serbian victories in the Balkan Wars alerted everyone, and everything was done to diminish them by provoking Serbia after Sarajevo Assassination, i.e. starting the World War I.

Serbian victory in World War I, it seemed, defeated all anti-Serbian plans, especially after the establishment of The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (from 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), but it did not happen, because the new South-Slav state was heartedly accepted only by the Serbs, putting it before the two internationally recognized states (Serbia and Montenegro), as well as the possibility of uniting all Serbian countries, which their great victories and the allies guaranteed them. Contrary to the Serbs, Austro-Hungarian Slavs, and under their influence even non-Slav minorities, of the defeated Ottoman Empire, accepted Yugoslavia reluctantly, as their existential refuge shelter, as a temporary solution, and immediately sprung into action to dismember it. Driven by the resentment of the former state and Catholic action, Zagreb immediately brought to public attention the old platitude on Greater Serbian hegemony, whereas they presented the new state as Serbian and Versailles tyrannical formation. Serbian victors in the war, dedicated to the new unity through Bismarcks model and Rissorgimento, were declared to be occupiers of other nations. Not only small, trouble-oppressed non-Serbian peoples but also Stalins doctrinaires and some Western circles believed in it. And the peoples united in this community were culturally, historically, ethnologically and linguistically more kindred, even more united than the peoples that formed united Germany and Italy. The trouble was that neither Serbia nor the Serbs had Bismarcks power or Bismarcks visions, so that by retreating from the challenges of the separators they diluted their national body. Rivals thus had an opportunity to expand and to constitute to their detriment.

The most fatal for the Serbs was the fact that the enemies of different colours and their old opponents (the Vatican and some German circles) as well as the new ones (Stalins and Cominterns, who used KPJ as their anti-Greater Serbian transmission) joined the anti-Serbian side and the side of the opponents of the new state. For Stalins doctrinaires Yugoslavia was the object of utmost antagonism due to the fact that its king Alexander had given refuge to about 170,000 Russian White guards, who were even given the opportunity for military organization against the communist creation. Anti-Serbian choir was formed in which as refrain one could hear incriminations about Greater Serbian hegemony, about Serbian economical and political oppressing of ethnical minorities, about Serbian great crimes over the Albanians. Nothing of it was true. It is enough to cite that Serbia between two World Wars did not even reach Yugoslav average in its economical growth. Croatia, for example, developed 1.9 times more rapidly than the

most developed Serbian region, Vojvodina and Slovenia 2.8% more rapidly than Serbia. Deceptions on Serbian crimes over the Albanians were presented to Stalin's Soviet Union. Its publicist Ivan Levin wrote about pogroms and killings of hundreds of thousands of Albanians, about deportations, and there were not any. About 45,000 Albanians moved to Turkey although this state was willing to accept about 200,000 of them. The greatest number moved for sentimental and economic reasons, with compensation. The agrarian reform encompassed all: only 35% of the land was given to the newcomers, whereas the rest was given to local population, among them were the Shiptars as well. There was no political discrimination; all Shiptars were members of its Džamijet party.

At the international political scene the lies about the Serbs followed one another; the Serbs had allies neither in the West nor in the East. Great Britain and France had forgot them, although before that they had admitted that the World War I had been terminated earlier due to Serbian heroism. The platitudes on Greater Serbia hegemony were used not only in Yugoslavia but also worldwide.

Under their influence Croatian nationalism of converts intolerance acquired pathological dimension. It lived on myths and legends, which together with the socialist ideology imported from Stalin's Soviet Union was injected into workers and peasants movement. There they received their special power fuel, over a small proletarian and peasant, who was given ideology that explained all his problems by Greater Serbian hegemony. Croatian clericalist HSS and communist players engaged all non-Serbian minorities; before the war they managed to constitute Shiptar south front against the Serbs, which started working at its full steam during the war. In this anti-Serbian campaign on behalf of internationalism homogenization of Catholic Serbs was carried out, as Croats, and Croatization of other gray zones of Serbian ethnicity. Through the platform of the Comintern the Macedonians were also driven apart from the Serbs and they also tried to separate the Montenegrins.

Before the Second World War, all anti-Yugoslav circles had all been in a state of full anti-Serbian, pathological mobility. With the appearance of the Nazi-fascist factor they had obtained the support and were secretly preparing the terrain for the mutual war action. Western democracies were deluged with the lies about Serbian monarch-fascist dictatorship of king Aleksandar that they did not even register the fact that this ruler had been the first victim of fascism in Europe (in 1934).

The outcry against the Serbs was deafening the whole Western world. German representative in Belgrade was the only one who had understood Croatian policy of dismemberment. When the Serbs, pushed hard by Croatian blackmails (especially the ones that they would take the side of Mussolini and Hitler), succumbed and allowed the formation of Banovina Croatia, in August 1939, they were applauded by both, the Soviets and Europe. They did not even register the fact that one third of the territory of

Banovina was populated by Orthodox Serbs, and other third by Catholic Serbs and Muslims, and especially not the fact that the first decisions of new Banovina were against the Serbs (harassment, imprisonments, dismissal from work) and that they were basically pro-fascistic; that Croatian Ministers ardently required of Yugoslavia to join Hitlers Tripartite Pact. When Serbian people offered resistance to this dictatorship on March 27, 1941 and overthrew its Government, the West, and the Soviets, were applauding again, less to the Serbs, more to Yugoslavia. Great Britain was very satisfied but it did nothing when, soon after that (April 6) Hitler launched a terrible reprisal against Yugoslavia. Everyone was satisfied with the upheaval: a) Yugoslav Royal Government, on its arrival to London even started boasting with this fighting capital, even its Croatian ministers, glorifying the exploit to the extent of suppressing the first news on genocide against the Serbs, Jews and Romas; b) Serbian resistance to Hitlers dictatorship was not only Yugoslavized but also adopted as the expression of peoples solidarity with the USSR led by KPJ.

The overthrow in Belgrade was the obvious indicator of that Serbian reality, which was in total discrepancy with all propaganda conceptions; but the complete demystification had never occurred: International community was not familiar with Croatian and other pro-fascistic activities which had preceded the event, whereas Serbian anti-fascistic mass movements in the late 30s were declared to be Yugoslav oriented (under communist leadership). The first days of war passed by in this propaganda confusion so that no special consideration was given to the fact that Hitlers forces had received triumphant welcome in Zagreb.

Nobody noticed the first Croatian Ustasha genocidal activities, those happening at the back of occupiers columns. And they were massive even in the first half of May 1941.

Synthesized general view on inter wars events shows that the deceits of Greater Serbian hegemony were in the center of national and political relations, and that they had survived even the first days of war, although the deployment of domestic and foreign military formations, showed the groundlessness of all former notions of Serbian position in Yugoslavia. They were even revived in Pavelic-Croatian and Tito-communist propaganda; in the former case as revenge for hegemony and in the latter through the first presentations of Serbian existential ingratiation with the occupiers and left the impression that some cooperation of reactionary forces was at work here.

There is a question to be asked: How could such a great genocidal crime be concealed from the public at this dramatic crossroads? What impact did the prewar propaganda conceptions have?

We could trace the reasons of this lack of information and deceptions in the clouded relations within Yugoslav Royal Government in exile, which,

recognized by the allies, acquired the function of legitimate source of information about Yugoslav reality. This government, in accordance with Yugoslav policy, was eliminating everything that was against that Yugoslav orientation. Thus, the first report of the Serbian Orthodox Church that had reached London was pushed aside. It was brought by dr. Milos Sekulic, and it reported on several hundred thousands of the killed Serbs, during only first three or four months of the war.

The report inflamed feeling in the Government but even more in Serbian Diaspora in America; to such an extent that it even disturbed the American Administration of President Rousevelt. The alarm was reinforced by the occupiers sources that expressed their resignation at the bestiality of their allies.

Emotions partially died down after the first significant allies victories, but mostly due to the report of liberation victories of Serbian forces led by colonel Mihailovic. At that time, the Croats from the borders, huddled from all sides, led by their ministers and some Catholic circles, accepted to lean on the Chetnics leader, relying on his Yugoslav-oriented statements, and they even reported that the Croats and the Muslims were fighting under his rule. General Mihailovic found himself in the gap between the great policies and became directly dependent on their dispositions. He was in the gap between the existential reasoning of his Serbian army and Yugoslav symmetries of his Government and the King who was unable to rise to the situation. Leaning on Mihailovic, Croatian ministers to the Government were becoming part of the personification of Yugoslav resistance movement, and at the same time obstructed the activities of the Government thus preventing any standpoint to be taken related to genocide and Yugoslav future. The attempts of Serbian colleagues to find a radical way of renewing a tripartite, ethnically based, federation, were awaited with the strong disagreements similar to the ones from the interwar period. Extorted Banovina of Croatia was something that was not to be questioned.

The first attacks on Mihailovic forced Croatian ministers in Yugoslav Government to take the new course. Now they were relying upon the propaganda spread in America through the centers inspired by the Comintern. But the turnover could not be so fast because of the still strong Churchills support to the Chetnics. It, however, cold not quiet the emigrants emotions in the USA, so that President Rousvelt suspected the possibility of the Croats and the Serbs living in the same state. He asked for the United Nations supervision of the Croats (because of the crimes they had committed and are still committing).

Churchill was then more concerned about the peace in his own yard than about the genocide, whose size was beyond his comprehension. He wanted, first of all to remove all the obstacles to his Yugoslav oriented policy relying on General Mihailovic.

The allies followed the events in Yugoslavia through the relations within its Government but every word about genocide was considered as retro Greater Serbia behaviour. When the Croatian Ministers, well coordinating their activities with the activities of Pavelics Government, and especially with the activities of dr. Vlatko Macek, had realized where General Mihailovics policy was heading to (renewal of Yugoslavia) they soon abandoned this Serbian ace and found his equal in dr. Macek, presenting him to be a real fighter (green cadre), like a victim of Ustasha extremism; inventing his non-existing squads. It was fundamental to find the support that would enable the renewal of Yugoslav state and unable Serbian reprisal for genocide.

While the Yugoslav plans were being made in Royal Government, its Croatian ministers were making only Croatian plans; since the second half of 1942 they coordinated their activities with different clerical circles both at home and abroad, in collusion with the Vatican. First, they were based on anti-communism, over Macek, and when the Soviet army had reached Balkan borders over Tito, the third line of Croatian policy. Titos policy was becoming the most realistic because in the name of new Russia he had already won over Serbian partisans, who were more and more Yugoslavized due to Stalins centers deceptions, and later ever Croatinized (through geographic and other regional names of partisan units fighting out of Serbia). Since the major battlefield was NDH (half of it consisted of Serbian territories), these units were becoming Croatian. Later, in the name of brotherhood and unity, Serbian partisan units were given Croatian and Muslim names.

In official Allies war relations, the genocide was hardly mentioned. This was motivated by great policy although it was its central determining fact, the factor of existential importance. The Allies were still making judgments based on the happenings in the Royal Government, and only from 1943, with the acceptance of the militancy principle as the main criterion, they elevated the new Yugoslav player Josip Broz Tito, as the counter balance to both Greater Serbian and Greater Croatian policies. Thus, the formerly established artificial symmetry of Croatian-Serbian war positions - Pavelic equaled Nedic and Ljotic, was even more disturbed to Serbian detriment; general Mihailovic was included. The perpetrator of the genocide against the Serbs, Jews and Romas became equivalent to the leader of the struggle against that genocide! Tito was becoming a new Robin Hood, the exponent of the new Yugoslav policy, without the allies even being aware that his concept of Yugoslavianism was just a frame in which some old Greater Croatian plans could be preserved until some new opportunity.

The genocide against the Serbs, Jews and Romas had been suppressed on the Soviet East, by the so-called revolutionary propaganda, which treated alike all contra-revolutionaries, and they were all Titos rivals. Mostly General Mihailovics Chetnics came under attack, because he was the only strong Titos opponent, and he was to be defamed by all means. In Brozs (Valters) reports to the Comintern (Grandfather) he was: firstly, exponent of old

Greater Serbian policy fighting against the only real patriots, the partisans, then, he was a partner of occupiers servants Nedic and Ljotic, then pro-fascistic collaborator, and even an associate of Pavelic Ustasha. All his actions against the partisans as provokers of German repressions against Serbian people, had been presented as ideological collusion with the occupiers. His response to Croatian-Ustasha and Muslim-Ustasha pogroms of the Serbs had been presented as Genocidal actions, ethnical cleansing. In Titos secret correspondence with Stalin the causes and the consequences were mixed up, as well as the perpetrators and the victims, but old notions of the Greater Serbian danger were still in its center and were so infamous that their equalizing with Croatian-Ustasha notions becomes fully adequate. In these reports Yugoslav reality is twisted to the point of absurdity:

Since the very beginning, he presented the movement he was the leader of, as a Yugoslav one although it was Serbian almost until the end of the war; until the capitulation of Italy Tito, ingratiating himself with Stalin, presented his followers as revolutionaries, although they accepted the partisan option because of its uncompromising strategy (in the western Serbian territories), in the areas where Serbian people were subjected to genocide, or because of new Russia and the promise of the new socialist heaven. They welcomed Titos policy until it showed its Croatian side, until it became the basis for Croatian regrouping on the side of the winners.

When the conflict arose between Titos movement and General Mihailovic Chetnics, it was presented in Moscow as the battle against the renewed Greater Serbian hegemony. And it was the conflict between communist doctrines, where the aim justified the means, against national policy, which endeavoured to avoid all risks and reprisals. As the war was coming to an end the Allies acknowledged the first reasons, disregarding all Serbian existential reasons, even those of genocidal nature. As a result of the controversies about the situation in the country, the special form of Titos class policy was concealed from the Allied world, for example: murders of not only real but also potential opponents; so drastic that they mainly resembled the ones committed at the same time over the Serbs by Pavelic. By purging Serbian partisans he was preparing the terrain for total Croatian control of this movement. It was obvious that he would prepare it for the final realization of Greater Croatian aims at the end of the war.

Titos deceptions of the Moscow center, from where they were propagated to the western public contributed most to the oblivion of the genocide against the Serbs, Jews and Romas. Even though such propaganda was absurd it was more and more believed in not only by Stalins ideologists but also by western political centers, especially Churchills that received information from Soviet sources.

In Titos deceptions mass sufferings of people were regularly mentioned; sometimes they referred to the Serbs, sometimes to the Croats. The criminals were always nationally symmetrical. General impression was: they all had an equal share of sufferings from the occupiers and domestic traitors.

He was the only one who followed the direction of freedom and the Allies course!!! He never talked about the size of genocide in Croatia, although the factories of death, especially those in Jasenovac, were operating in high gear until the end of the war, although thousands of lifeless bodies were flowing down the Sava, although the wagons full of Serbian childrens bodies were dispatched to Belgrade for Jovans market! It is also symptomatic that these factories of death were not hampered by Allies bombers, despite the fact that they, guided by Tito, were killing across many Serbian towns. It is symptomatic that they were not hampered by Titos partisans, in spite of the fact that some Serbian commanders strongly requested an attack on Jasenovac. Tito refused everything because of high risk, whereas, in some other places, he subjected Serbian bare-handed children to the confrontation with German military units.

In Moscow, only those reports referring to war victories of his partisans, in which German and quislings losses were increased two or three times, entered the central orbit. Before the war, in these reports Serbian partisans were hardly mentioned, because they were hidden behind territorial and other determinants; Yugoslav and Croatian partisans were mostly referred to; even to that extent that Churchill, in the middle of 1944, on the occasion of his meeting with Tito, expressed his satisfaction at the fact that there were many Serbs in partisan forces. And even then national composition of partisan forces was 85% Serbian. The deception was so convincing that it is not surprising that the Allies, adopting the formula of compromise in Yugoslavia, accepted Tito as the first Yugoslav reformer and AVNOJs federal concept as the only realistic approach, rejecting Mihailovics tripartite federation as being Greater Serbian, although it was founded on true cultural, historical and ethnic basis. It did not even occur to the Allies that AVNOJs model was in fact a dynamite built in the foundations of this anti-Serbian creation.

The war finished victoriously for Titos partisans, with the Western and Eastern Allies help. The Western Allies accepted Tito at the end of 1943, as the principal support of their activities in Yugoslavia, without having any special ideological reasons; the Soviets received an ideologically motivated invitation from Tito in the middle of 1944 and they were used in order to defeat his opponents and to forestall potential Anglo-American plans. Both sides were working to his advantage. After liberation of Belgrade the Soviets were directed towards the North (and many of them got killed at Batina) instead of moving towards Zagreb and isolating almost defeated Hitlers formations. It was obvious that Tito did not want them to encounter with his Croatian compatriots, who hated the Russians for traditional reasons. On their way to Zagreb Tito set athwart his Srem front, which took the lives of tens of thousands of Serbian youth, without obstructing German plans. Partisan attacks followed Hitlers retreating south-formations all the way to Austria. But there were no partisan attacks on Zagreb because of Titos amnesty, which absolved many tens of thousands of genocide perpetrators

from responsibility, and Titos order that Croatian units enter the city, instead of Serbian ones, which had already cleared the way.

The war ended with great fanfare of primary social ideology; characterized by the accomplishment of community of equal nations and nationalities and the new policy of brotherhood and unity. It was ended with causes and consequences mixed up. Genocide was not even mentioned. Jasenovac was liberated after its Serbian, Jewish and Romas inmates had been killed. At international conferences the only culprits were Hitlers followers and next to them Serbian collaborators Nedic, Ljotic and Mihailovic. Pavelic and his slaughterers had not even been mentioned in Titos incriminations; they freely fled to democratic West helped by the Holy See, whereas Serbian resistance leaders found themselves facing Titos firing squads.

The third act of Titos play of concealing genocide from the world was being played after the war. He was concealing it by fierce propaganda against contra-revolutionary forces, bourgeois reactionaries, Chetnic and Ustasha elements; by the national symmetry equalizing Serbian and Croatian war positions. After the dictatorship had been established, the symmetry was disturbed to Serbian detriment. Genocide was spoken of in fear and only by relatives; everything that disturbed the brotherhood and unity was publicly criticized. A political system had been established after the war in which propaganda egalitarianism and platitudes became pioneers of totalitarianism and bloody regime. Federal borders, determined by fraud, were absolutely on anti-Serbian basis. Spiritual and secular converts were used against the Serbs. A campaign was raised against their nationalism, hiding impertinent anti-Serbian activities in federal Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina; especially in Kosovo and Metohia, perfidious or impertinent policy of persecuting hundreds of thousands Serbs from their ancient hearths. While Tito was playing with his role of the leader of the non-aligned countries, the protagonist of socialism with humane face, in his country, it was systematically being worked on preparing the ground for its undermining and dismemberment. The state founded on the party basis was disintegrating on the same (communist) basis. It was vanishing in front of the international public, informed for decades by Titoist propagandist sources, and was confused. Therefore, this world understood Serbian rebellious wave from the end of the 80s and the war from the first half of the 90s as the revival of old Greater Serbian bugbear. And the fact is that the Serbs, facing new challenges, which heralded new fears and horrors, were simply forced to defend themselves to defend themselves from those who saw Yugoslavia only as a temporary solution and who, taking advantage of the new circumstances, set off to disintegrate it. The Serbs were especially perturbed when the Ustasha pits, until then covered with concrete, were opened and when they saw heaps of skeletons of their martyrs, among them even childrens; then, in defiance, the Serbian dead spoke, they spoke in front of the sons and grandsons of their slaughterers in 1941-1945.

The world seemed not to be willing to see either the horrible testimonies or the causes of the new Serbian rebellion. They allowed the slaughterers descendants to make new anti-Serbian coalitions with the aim to form independent states based on Titos artificial borders; they allowed their new provocations the symbols, police and military provocations, pointing that new Serbian slaughtering was being prepared. When thus provoked people offered resistance and in the short period of time liberated their ethnical territories, the deceived Western politicians considered it as Serbian aggression and Serbian policy of ethnic cleansing. Russian domestic foreigners with no traditional emotions, anti-Stalin Stalinists joined them. Those who knew what was happening, some Vatican, German, Austrian and other circles, had free hands to implement their plans, using ideologized Yugoslavianism of Belgrade, hacks, who did not recognize the right moment to distance themselves from the whole Titoist heritage and were still celebrating AVNOJs anniversaries, and their political beliefs held to the old stereotypes. The greatest victims of this single-mindedness were the ones already fighting for freedom who expected national leadership of Belgrade. While Franjo Tudjman, leader of Croatian chauvinists and separatists, was opening the old Serbian wounds, and Jewish as well, reducing the number of Jasenovac victims to several tens of thousands, it did not even occur to Serbian liberators of these execution sites to count the bones of their dead ones.

The end of Yugoslav civil war 1991-1995 was a triumph of deceptions about the Serbs; the deceptions lasting through the 20th century. Once again, the causes and the consequences were mixed up as well as the murderers and their victims; once again the leaders of Serbian resistance were punished and instead of being taken to Nurnberg they were taken to the Hague. Once again, just like during the Second World War, hundreds of thousands of Serbian refugees were driven away from their homes, from Western Serbian countries. Great Yugoslavia was dismembered and instead Bosnian-Herzegovinian Yugoslavia in miniature was imposed. The civilized West imposed uncivilized middle-age solutions, ignoring cultural and historical reasons; and it was in a position to initiate ethnic reconstruction of the whole South-Slavic region, to organize it on its own state and legal principles; and to include thus reconstructed whole into European Union.

Jasenovac victims, victims of many other camps, pits and execution sites still did not get any satisfaction. Petty politicians and manipulators are taking advantage of their sufferings. The sons and the grandsons of the murderers rejoice at the new Yugoslav destiny, the destiny of an orphan with no one around. Will this Conference speak in the right way, will it enable the counting of the victims, will it help their souls to rest in peace?

Will the International community finally realize that it is also responsible for the war, because it allowed it to end in the wrong way? Will they understand that they are making the same mistake for the second time that not even in 1995 the correct moves were made? That it has imposed compromises of

extremely uncivilized character, which are inevitably leading to new misunderstandings and conflicts? Perhaps Jasenovac martyrs and their fellow-sufferers, whose skeletons are lying in many bottomless pits, in known and unknown mass graves, will warn them.

If our Conference answers the questions why Serbian, and together with them Romas victims have not been counted to this very day, why the bones of the martyrs were not buried in a dignified manner, we will discover the real causes of the civil and religious war 1991-1995; the International community will become aware of their delusions which are still present and are still determining their policy in these parts. They will return the dignity to Europe.

THIS WORK IS THE RESULT OF RESEARCHES PRESENTED IN BOOKS

Razaranja Srpstva u 20. vijeku, /Destruction of Serbianism/ Beograd 1992.
Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama, /The Allies and Yugoslav war drama/ I-II, peto dopunjeno izdanje, Beograd 1992.
Upotreba Rusije i Zapada, /Use of Russia and the West/, Beograd 1997.

Supplement 10
MILAN DJUKIC

NEGATION OF THE CRIMES OF GENOCIDE THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS IN JASENOVAC CAMPS

In the past ten years in the Republic of Croatia, since the nationalistic authorities led by Tudjman have come to power there have many truths about the crimes of genocide i.e. the number of victims in Jasenovac camps.

This issue had been particularly dealt with by the State commission at Parliament of the Republic of Croatia which determined war and after-war victims since its establishment on 11 February 1992. until September 1999.

It is not possible to talk about the work of this Commission, about the attempts of creating new historical relations in accordance with anti-fascism and fascism, without stating that some ghosts of the past are back in Croatia.

It happened during the dictatorship of Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, a nationalist whose policy was supposed to, by reconciling the criminals and the victims, become and stay the inaccessible tribune of Croatian people.

This ideology of his was well understood by those whose nationalistic hatred over-powered every reason and he was fully supported by them. That was the nucleus from which the Law determining war and after-war victims of the Second World War was born and the Commission for determining war and after-war victims was formed. It should examine:

real number of the dead in the Second World War and after it,
circumstances of those sufferings,
determine execution sites,
restoration of the graves and their maintenance and eventual transport of the mortal remains to other places.

The Commission defined the subject and the methods of their research on February 11, 1992. In the very beginning we should state that the following sources were used by the Commission:

Written documentation, kept in museums, archives and other institutions and organizations. So, it refers to war victims who were killed by the occupiers and their collaborators during the period from 1941-1945. The victims of the Second World War were elaborately studied at different levels from SAB to Institute for history of workers movement. It means that the Commission had at its disposal significant number of data for such victims.

The Commission also used verbal sources, - acquiring them from the citizens who had survived that period, - and according to their reminiscence 50 years later. This was used when examining the war victims of partisans - civilians or members of Ustasha and home guard formations - and after-war victims of the communist regime.

It is quite obvious that the Commission, with its methodology and the very approach to determining the truth, did everything to make a confusion regarding the veracity of the documents, in a very perfidious way.

The Commission, for example, gave their own judgment, comparing them with the so-called review of registered victims: by districts, republics of former Yugoslavia, the country of birth, the membership to different military units.

The victims were classified in terms of their national affiliation, religious affiliation, marital status, sex, age, perpetrators responsible for the death of victims and the cause of death.

From such approach of the State Commission we can see the attempt of deliberate discrimination over the Second World War, attempt of destroying the traces of genocidal politics of NDH but not only that. This idea of the necessity and the very passing of the Law determining the war and after-war victims of the Second World War originates from the same time in which new, obviously long prepared, systematic ethnical cleansing of the Serbs in the Republic of Croatia is being carried out. Before this Law and after it, the

whole set of discriminating laws was passed. These laws are even more restrictive as regards prosecution and basic rights of the Serbs than those passed by NDH. Some even have the same name and the number of articles. These laws even have the same terminology.

Attitude of the governing authorities towards Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia during military operations, their attitude towards the citizens who had stayed in their homes as well as their attitude towards Serbian property leads us to conclude that the national project, separation of the Republic of Croatia from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, also meant the Republic of Croatia without Serbian people.

In accordance with such attitude they started determining the so-called facts regarding war and after-war victims of the Second World War but in such a way that rehabilitates: Ustasha movement, genocide and unaccomplished NDH project as well as their political, moral and spiritual values which were equal to the values of the anti-fascist movement, through reconciling a victim and a criminal. For such an act it was necessary to alter the truth, to find a temporary solution, legalize it and get new historical facts.

Allegedly, they started discovering the graves but only of the victims of the Liberation movement as well as the after-war victims of the communist regime.

For this Commission the testimonies and stories of the ones who in the period from 1941-1945. were mainly fascist collaborators.

So, they got the number of victims according to their wishes but, unfortunately, they did not investigate the victims of fascism and its collaborators equally fast although all the documentation was available.

The Commission determines the facts in such a way that it states that until the day the report was submitted, and that was almost ten years long period, there were 79,318 Croat victims, 18,410 Serbs, and 53,768 victims of unknown national identity. These data refer to the whole territory of Croatia.

The fact was determined that on the so-called Crossroads (Krizni put) 13,300 people had disappeared, and that of 7,000 people 35 persons died in prisons and camps and only 2,238 persons died in Jasenovac.

To the regret of the whole anti-fascistic and civilized world, in the name of truth and the future generations we have to defend the truth and condemn the policy which calls the concentration camp Jasenovac, a working camp and determines the truth in such a way it would have been done by the commanders of the then existing camp Jasenovac.

International Community and the home countries of victims have to stand up and protect the truth and they must not allow falsification, lies and hypocrisy

and rehabilitation of fascistic ideology. The truth about the horrors of Jasenovac concentration camp must not be replaced with one civilization, historical and even cultural falsification.

The number determined by the Parliament Commission, and which refers to the victims of Jasenovac is absolutely cynical, only a twisted mind could have uttered such a notorious lie that 2,238 citizens were killed in Jasenovac camp. One co-author of the written report states that if the Republic of Croatia was in Europe such reports would not appear because the German Law states that only a person who glorifies Hitler's power and does not give accurate data of the holocaust victims, can be sentenced to five years in prison.

We do not have such a law, so it is quite clear that we can falsify historical facts. It is the defiling of the victims of fascism no matter whether they are the Serbs, Jews, Croats and the others.

The Commission further develops the falsification of sufferings in Jasenovac based on the national origin and determines that 2,093 Jews were killed because of their national affiliation and 331 because of their religious affiliation.

The Commission also states that 726 persons of Orthodox religion were killed in Croatia and that during the Second World War on the territory of the Republic of Croatia 6 Muslims were also killed. According to the Commission, during the Second World War on the territory of Croatia, the total number of victims was 153,700.

Political background of the work of this Commission should be acknowledged, which means that about twenty members of the Croatian Parliament were working in this Commission.

This report was interwoven with revenge on the truth, over the weakest ones and they are the victims of ideological division. It is clear from the report of the Commission that special attention was given to the sites where people were killed, and then we can see that the greatest number of murders was attributed to partisan movement which means that the aim of the Commission was to disown the anti-fascist movement. Dinko Sakics trial was the balance of international expectations with historical falsification of this report to domestic public.

Banja Luka, May 2000.

Leader of the Serbian Peoples Party in the Republic of Croatia

Milan Djukic

SUPPLEMENTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

THEME 3

The application of remote sensing and IT in research of mass graves in the system of Jasenovac ustasha camps

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Abstract

Remote sensing enables a large amount of qualitative new data about the Earth's surface to be obtained. It also creates precise geodetic bases in a new, efficient and economic way. It can also be applied to the discovery of mass graves in the system of Croatian ustasha genocide camps. This research demands an interdisciplinary approach and a methodology by which we can find the precise location and make a detailed analysis of any individual grave. The data obtained from remote sensing are checked by georadar image acquisition, after which excavation and anthropological research are begun. A thematic information system that puts together all given and existing data along with a definition of their mutual position and connection, gives full meaning to the whole project. By this method, historical science gets a powerful research tool while data search, comparative analysis and conclusion making are accelerated and simplified.

Key words: Geographical Information System (GIS), Remote Sensing, georadar, research methodology, traces of mass graves.

1. Introduction

The horror of the total extermination of some ethnic groups because of the "prosperity" of others became reality during the Second World War. Bad inheritance from the past and plans of devastation grew rapidly in that environment. In the newly created Independent State of Croatia, the most deplorable methods of inquisition began to appear insignificant when compared to the cruel deeds being done to Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in the Croatian ustasha genocide camps.

Unfortunately, when the war finished, injustice, concealment of the truth and consequent acceptance of crime, has continued. Along with the passage of time and natural exogenous influences, graves have been cemented and levelled, documentation and records have disappeared, books have been forbidden and those who should have bowed to shadows of the dead, have never been held accountable.

There has been a rapid development of photogrammetry, the technique and discipline of data collection and the study of the Earth and its surface. This initiated the hypothesis that with the help of photogrammetry, graphic bases for the whole area of the Jasenovac ustasha camp can be made, and with the help of remote sensing, places where there may be mass graves, can be discovered. In this way, the frames for further searches by Ground Penetration Radar - GPR can be set, and by archaeological and anthropological methods a geographic information system can be built. In this way, historical science becomes more meaningful and data search, comparative analysis and conclusions making are accelerated and simplified. The final result is an efficient learning process and an increased volume of information, drawn out from the darkness of past and present.

2. Remote sensing

According to Maxwell, electromagnetic radiation is: a "dynamic form of energy that manifests only in interaction with matter" (Reevers, 1975). Electromagnetic radiation is changeable in space and time, and it alternately connects electric and magnetic fields spreading in space. It spreads itself in the cosmos and in the atmosphere of the Earth, approximately by the speed of light in a vacuum. Man has only partial knowledge of this energy. Based on the fact that emitted or reflected electromagnetic radiation contains information about qualitative and quantitative characteristics of an object, it is possible to obtain this information indirectly, not by destructive methods. Because of this, the "method of collecting information by the systems that are not in direct contact with the object or appearance which ought to be examined" (Markovic 1987, from Esters and Singer, 1974) is called remote sensing.

The development of most scientific and technical disciplines demands financial investment. Initially, remote sensing was used only for military purposes, but nowadays it is used in many areas. The wide range of remote sensing applications is also reflected in research of mass graves.

Objects, in this case mass graves that are being sought, emit and reflect electromagnetic energy. Electromagnetic energy is registered by a sensor positioned on a suitable portable platform. Electromagnetic energy converts itself into a visible registration/image, that is analysed and interpreted from the perspective - and according to the needs - of the search methodology. The final result of processing is new data about potential location, shape and size of mass graves, which represents a starting-point for further georadar and anthropological research. (Scheme 1).

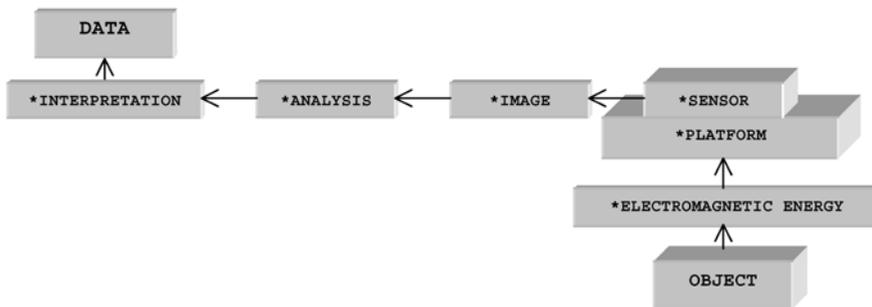
*electromagnetic energy own or reflected, solar energy and/or artificial energy

*platform sensor carrier: man, vehicle, aircraft, spaceship, satellite

*sensor energy registration device: camera, TV camera, scanner, radar etc.

*analysis image research: visual or instrumental

*interpretation image interpretation



Scheme 1. The principle of the remote sensing method (Markovic, 1987)

Electromagnetic radiation covers a wide range of wavelengths. Remote sensing is interested only in the parts of the electromagnetic spectrum for which atmosphere is leaky to a great extent (visible, near infrared, thermal infrared and microwave).

With the help of satellite images of high spatial resolution, it is today possible to collect the most varied data. IKONOS images are an example of commercial space imaging, with its panchromatic images having a spatial resolution of one metre and its multispectral images having a resolution of four metres (Picture 1). In combination with radar images containing information about characteristics of terrain beneath the Earth's surface, it is possible, with a certain probability, to collect data about the potential location, shape and size of mass graves, by classification methods.

High spatial resolution allows the formation of geodetic bases of a scale of up to 1:2500, with previously precise setting of the co-ordinates of orientated points (using the Global Positioning System - GPS) and also the generation of a digital elevation model (DEM).



Picture 1. Part of multispectral IKONOS satellite image of Donja Gradina
Left - RGB colour composite; Right - visible and near infrared colour composite

3. Geographical position and general geological and geomorphological characteristics of experimental area

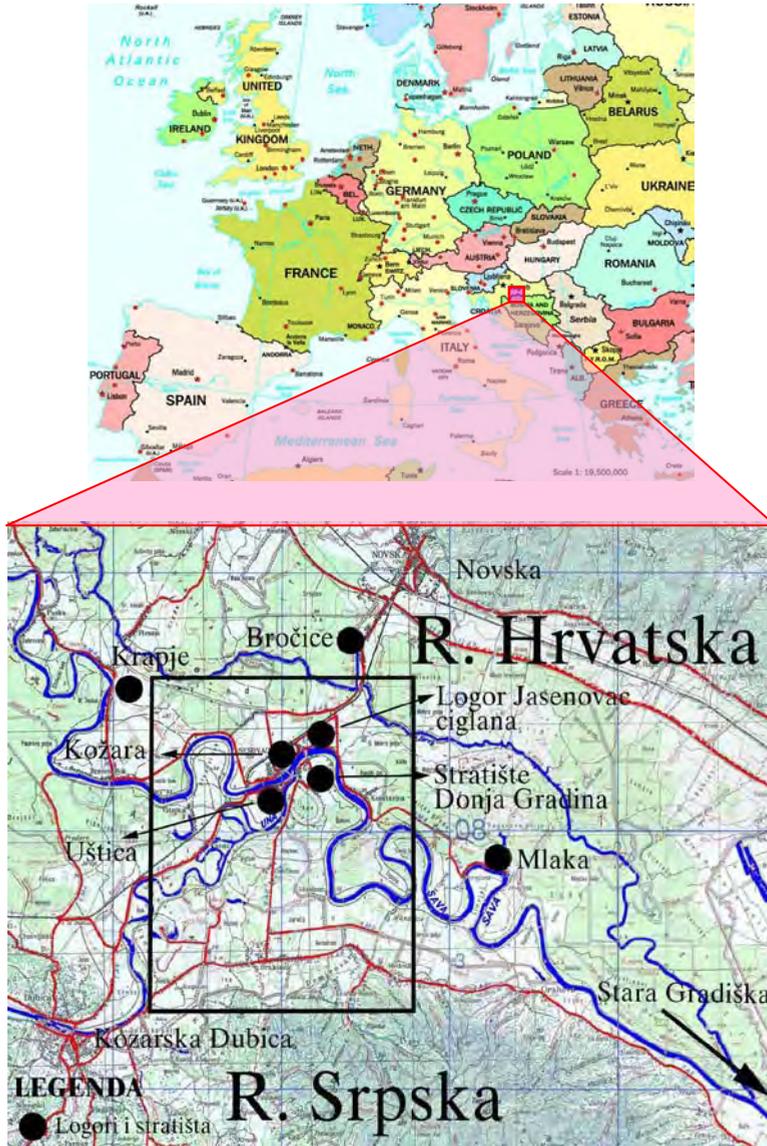
The Jasenovac camp and one of its main execution areas, Donja Gradina, is located at the mouth of the rivers Una and Sava. The area of Jasenovac, like the areas of other camps from the system of Ustasha genocide camps, is today within the borders of the Republic of Croatia. Donja Gradina, which is bordered by the right banks of both rivers at three sides, is in the Republic of Srpska. In this way, the Memorial Complex of Jasenovac is divided and therefore inaccessible to direct research as a whole.

As an experiment the area 10×12 km with the following angles, is taken:

. NW . = 45° 18' 2.75", λ = 16° 51' 8.18"

. SE . = 45° 11' 38.38", λ = 16° 58' 54.15"

The area includes the northern slopes of the Prosara mountain, Draksenic village and the following camps: Jasenovac (brick plant), Kozara (tannery), Ustica and Donja Gradina (Picture2).



Picture 2. Geographical position of camps from Croatian ustasha camps of genocide and selected area of research

3.1. Description of general geological structure

Within the examined area, rocks from the Mesozoic and the Quaternary ages were extracted (Picture 3).

Sediments of Mesozoic are represented by different metamorphic rocks. They were discovered at the southern part of the terrain and they are not diffusive.

Desultory sediments of Mesozoic Quaternary age compose almost the entire examined area. As the oldest sediments of the Quaternary period, redeposited loess sediments of Pleistocene were extracted; they are represented by clayey, yellow-brown, fine grained sand. Sediments of terrestrial loess are mostly developed north of the river Sava and on the large area of Ustica. These sediments are up to tens of metres or more in depth. Sediments of the earlier Quaternary period, the Holocene, belong to different genetic types of sediments. The following units can be extracted:

Proluvial sediments developed in the area of Demirovac and in the south. They are represented by unclassified and mostly angular material. As for the macroscopic field, these sediments respond to applied clayey alevrolites filled with limonite and gravel. Organogenic swamp sediments are extracted in the area of Kosutarice, north-east of Jasenovac, and also in small, isolated parts of the areas of Bar, Daman and the west of Cuklinac. They are represented by fine grained silt with the remains of organic components (plants) and with tiny grained sand.

Sediments of oxbow lakes, genetically, belong to flood features and they are characteristic of the area of deserted meanders of the river Sava and partially the Una. They are made of sand, fine sand and silt.

As a special unit within flood facies, the extensions of the alluvial plains of the rivers Sava and Una, were extracted. They consist of muddy and sandy sediments and gravel. They are up to 5m or more in depth, but this decreases going further across the riverbeds. The sediments of floods are consistent with the regimes of the rivers Sava and Una. This can be seen by the presence of unconsolidated, desultory sediments of various spread, depending on the morphology of the terrain.

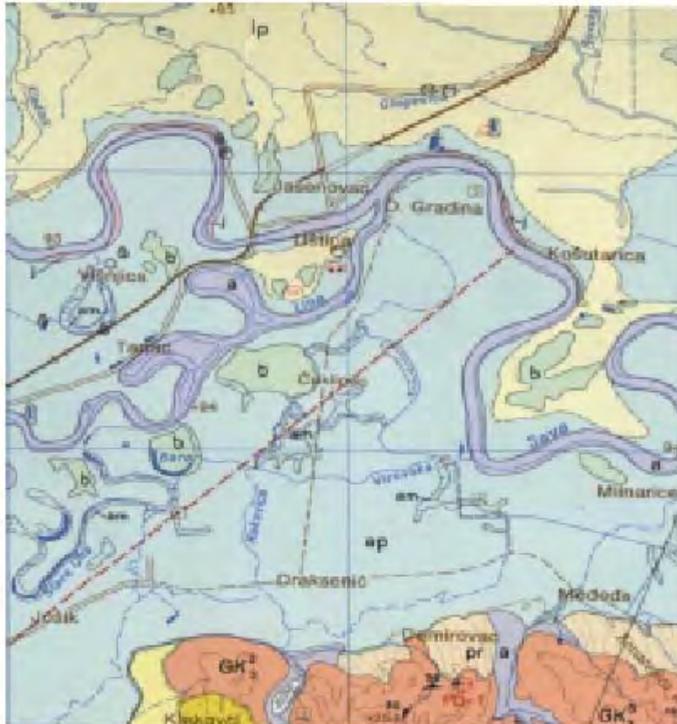
The biggest part of the examined area is occupied by alluvial plains, which are genetically similar with riverbed facies. The alluvium of the rivers Sava and Una is made of gravel, sands and alevrolites. The depth of the alluvium in some places, is up to a few tens of metres. In the broader sense, in its western parts, the examined area belongs to the Pannonian depression as tectonic unit of a higher order. But the origin and development of this area is connected with the existence of the river Sava's graben. The river Sava's graben was formed by strong activity in the upper Miocene period when the terrain started descending along the north-west/south-east fault. His long and multiple descent resulted in the formation and development of the river Sava valley after the end of the last great ice age at the end of Pleistocene. The wide initial depression enabled the river's intense activity and this was conducive to the development of very deep and varied layers of the Quaternary age.

3. 2. Geomorphological characteristics

The examined area has significantly plain morphology. The current topography is the result of various geomorphological processes of which fluvial and tectonogenic processes are the most important. The main event in the origin of the topography of the examined area is the morphostructure of the Sava rift. It represents the "initial topography" which was the origin of the river Sava. This led to the fluvial processes and other geomorphological processes.

The fluvial geomorphological process plays a dominant role in the contemporary formation of the examined area. The development of the fluvial type of relief is determined, above all, by the valleys of the rivers Sava and Una. These rivers have very low and widely developed valley sides which may be at the level of their riverbeds. The bottom of their riverbeds represents the space at which intense accumulation of various material occurs.

From among the geomorphological forms, flood plains and alluvial plains of the rivers Sava and Una, meanders and riverbeds can be extracted. The origin of flood plains is related to the periods of floods. They have no clearly defined border and they are connected with the morphology of the surrounding area. Generally speaking, differing from sediments of alluvial plains, they are composed of coarse grained material. On the existing flood plains there are contemporary meanders of the river Sava (Klenov bok) and many other meanders of the river Una. Their origin is related to the existence of wide and narrow bottoms of river valleys. Because of these bottoms there are appearances of swerves of the river's flute and intense migration of riverbeds. The wide alluvial plains of the rivers Sava and Una are, in fact, dominant accumulation forms of contemporary bottoms of river valleys. Alluvions are tens of kilometres long, a hectometre wide and tens of metres thick.



Picture 3. Geological map of the examined area
(General Geological Map 1:100000, sheet Kostajnica)

On the examined area there are also geomorphological forms of swamp type of relief, originated on occasionally flooded area. These forms are connected with the activity of fluvial process. The migration of river courses causes the formation of meanders, after the alignment of the river courses those meanders convert into oxbow lakes. In them, swamp sedimentation of the finest material occurs with important participation of organic components. Backwaters of the river Una and occasionally swamp parts of the terrain, remained on the bottom of river valleys especially expressed in the central part of the examined area, also belong to the forms of swamp relief.

At the southern edge of the terrain, there is a hilly hinterland that is part of the northern slopes of the Prosara mountain (365m). On its slopes there are geomorphological forms belonging to the slope type of relief, notably small coombs. They are erozoic forms of Mesozoic, cut into friable metamorphic rocks.

They are a hectometre long, but the width and depth do not exceed a few metres. Material drifted by occasional flows, is deposited on the bottom of

slopes forming lobes tens of metres long, tens of metres wide and metres deep.

Man certainly plays a great part in the morphological formation of the examined area. Intense human activity exists, consisting of agricultural activities, construction of communications and urbanisation.

Human activity has produced geomorphological forms such as artificial channels and orderly coombs built for irrigation, as well as slashes built for infrastructure and other objects. But the most important forms made by human activity are certainly embankments situated along the banks of the rivers Sava and Una, built to protect settlements and cultivated areas from floods.

By multi-temporal analysis of available air images it can be confirmed that extension of the area of embankment is possible, especially on the larger area of Donja Gradina. An obvious result of man's activity are the weakly expressed positive forms in relief in the area of Donja Gradina by the right bank of the river Sava (artificial mounds ?) with various dimensions.

4. Research and air images to date

In the period after the Second World War there have been many anthropological studies and within them trial excavations of whole graves.

In 1945, the first panoramic image was taken. But only one part is saved: that which the authors Kosta Halvaty and Gustav Gavrin included in the documentary "Jasenovac" as an introductory sequence, and which is kept in the Yugoslav Film Library (Jugoslovenska Kinoteka) under the ordinal number 3083.

In 1946, the Yugoslav Military Air-Force carried out air image acquisition of the course of the river Sava and this covered the area from Krapje to Stara Gradiska. The image acquisition was carried out by a reconnaissance camera with changeable overlap and sidelay. Today the photographic negatives are kept in the archives of the Military Geographical Institute (VGI) in Belgrade.

In 1957, the first photogrammetric panoramic image acquisition of the larger area of Jasenovac, was carried out by the Institute for Photogrammetry in Belgrade (*Zavod za fotogrametriju*). Until the beginning of the war in the region of the former Yugoslavia, photographic material was kept in the Institute for Urban Planning of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo (Urbanistički zavod BiH).

In 1976, infrared imaging of the area of Donja Gradina and Jasenovac was carried out by the Geodetic Institute of Slovenia in Ljubljana (*Geodetski zavod Slovenije*). Until the beginning of the war in the region of the former Yugoslavia, this material was kept in the Institute for Urban Planning of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Between 1960 and 1990, image acquisition of the area which had once included a system of ustasha genocide camps was carried out by VGI, with

the intention of complementing the content of topographic maps of 1:25000 scale.

In 1983 photogrammetric colour image acquisition of the area of 206km² including the intake of the river Sava upstream from Krapije to S tarogradiska, was carried out by VGI, and it was organised by the Memorial Complex Jasenovac and Ina - Project from Zagreb. Photographic negatives are kept in the archives of VGI.

Through analysis and interpretation of the infrared images from 1976 and through comparison with the locations of mass graves that had already been discovered, the locations of existing, new, and until then undiscovered graves, could be established with varying degrees of probability. The places with a higher probability of graves existing covered 13425km² and the places with a lower probability of graves existing covered 2734km² (Bulajic, 1999).

After colour photogrammetric image acquisition in 1983, at a meeting held on April 21st 1984, Mr Olujić introduced his study and gave results of his searches based on image interpretation. He used colour images from 1983, panchromatic images from 1957 and infrared images from 1976.

Here is a quotation from his study: "The possibility of the registration of mass graves of concentration camp victims, are supposed on the fact that those graves are mostly dug a few tenths of metre square underground and that they have regular geometric contours, differing to natural depression. Besides, it could reasonably be supposed that the locations of graves are the places which were dug up, filled with new corpses and again covered with a thin layer of earth. This allows the supposition that those places have a different rigidity than the surrounding area, different degree of humidity and different species and intensity of vegetation. Besides, it was expected that the covering layer the graves would subside a lot due to the putrefaction of corpses, this should delineate in air images as depressions of regular contours...

... On April 6th, 1984, six locations marked on a photo sketch, were checked. These locations are situated in the region of the former camp and in its neighbourhood. The examination was done by iron bars of 150 cm and after that there was excavation. The pits (tested in order to show the presence of osteological remains) with dimensions of 40 × 40 cm and up to a hundred centimetres in depth, were dug up.

The result of examination was the following: human bones and skulls and many different objects such as spoons, toothbrushes, wallets, women's necklaces (scattered), women's shoes, were found at four locations. All those objects were found at a depth of 80 to 100 cm. At one of these locations remains of lime were found.

At the locations situated near the indicated graveyard in the former concentration camp, cow bones were found. According to the report of R. Trivunčić, at the time of camp's existence there were kitchens and butcher shop at that place, so animal bones were being thrown in the grave.

At two locations, outside the former camp, by terrain examination, remains indicating the existence of graves, weren't found." (Olujić, 1984).

5. Input data

With its rich resource of various images from different periods, the archives of VGI enables the research to take place. The images shown in Table 1 were taken from the archives of VGI.

Table 1. Air-images, from the archives of VGI, used in the study

Year of image acquiring		Image scale	Ordinal number in the archives	Number of flight line	Direction of flight W - west E - east SE - south-east NW - north-west	Number of image
black-white	colour					
1946		7500	284	475/19	NW-SE	702
1961		32 500	1573	10	W-E	0107, 0109, 0111
			1572	11	E-W	0154, 0153, 0151
			1571	12	E-W	0073, 0072, 0070
1975		26 000	4301	700	W-E	1956, 1958, 1960
			4302	701	E-W	2008, 2006, 2004
1977		26 000	4719	104	E-W	2468, 2466, 2464
	1983	9 000	5334/1	498	SE-NW	9644, 9643, 9642
			5334/1	499	SE-NW	9695, 9694, 9693
			5334/1	500	NW-SE	9616, 9617, 9618

The images have been chosen to cover different time intervals in order to facilitate multi-temporal analysis of changes to the terrain. Colour images from 1983 were taken in order to try to classify and extract areas of water, vegetation and the possible locations of mass graves, with the help of digital processing.

Bearing in mind the image acquisition of 1946, which included the areas of the Jasenovac camp and Donja Gradina, film negatives were searched within the archives of VGI. Image acquisition was carried out on October 3rd 1946, eighteen months after the release of the prisoners from the Jasenovac camp on April 22nd 1945. It would be expected that the evidence of crimes carried out in Donja Gradina would be fresh and objects destroyed within the camp and Jasenovac village would still be present. Image acquisition was carried out by focal lens camera $f=200.69\text{mm}$ from a height of 1500m and with a scale of approximately 1:7500.

According to the existing evidence, the negatives including the aforementioned areas, should have been in the cases 281, 282, 283 and 284. Unfortunately, after a detailed search, the cases containing negatives which included the areas of Jasenovac and a large part of Donja Gradina, were not found.

Negative case 283 (688, 690, 692, 694, 696 and 698) and case 284 (702, 704 and 706) were scanned and so protected from further ageing and possible loss. Even after the completion of this study, the location of cases 281 and 282 has not yet been discovered.

In order to enrich the potential of input data, the Yugoslav Film Library (Jugoslovenska Kinoteka) was contacted. This was also done with the aim of using the introductory sequence of the documentary made by Kosta Halvaty and Gustav Gavrin in 1945, in which the Jasenovac camp and the northern

edge of Donja Gradina are covered by an oblique, panoramic air image (Picture 4).

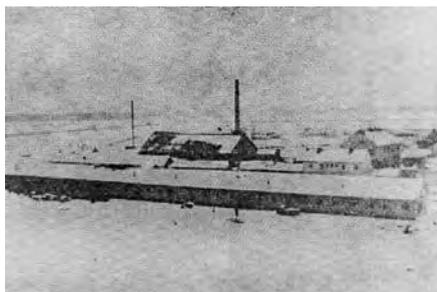
By reviewing the material from the Yugoslav Film Library, it was discovered that the area of Donja Gradina was not included in the introductory sequence of the documentary. It is therefore not useful for collation of data which included the location of mass graves and the analysis of relief changes occurring under the influence of exogenous processes and by human activity. Additionally it was confirmed that besides the introductory sequence of the "Jasenovac" documentary, the Yugoslav Film Library has no separate aerial photography.

Along with panchromatic colour images, it is also necessary to acquire images which include infrared and microwave spectral areas.

As geodetic bases, the following sheets of 1: 25000 topographic map (TK25) are taken:

- Bosanska Dubica 2-3 (372-2-3),
- Bosanska Dubica 2-4 (372-2-4),
- Bosanska Dubica 4-1 (372-4-1),
- Bosanska Dubica 4-2 (372-4-2) and

Coordinates of the State Trigonometric Network (Državna trigonometrijska mreža, DTM).



Picture 4. Panoramic air image of the Jasenovac camp, cadres from the "Jasenovac" documentary "Jasenovac" (the Yugoslav Film Library, No. 3083) (Bulajic, 1999)

6. Display, analysis and interpretation of images

The application of remote sensing methods includes analysis and interpretation of collected material and the formation of new bases. Stereoscopic analysis of the searched area was done with the help of

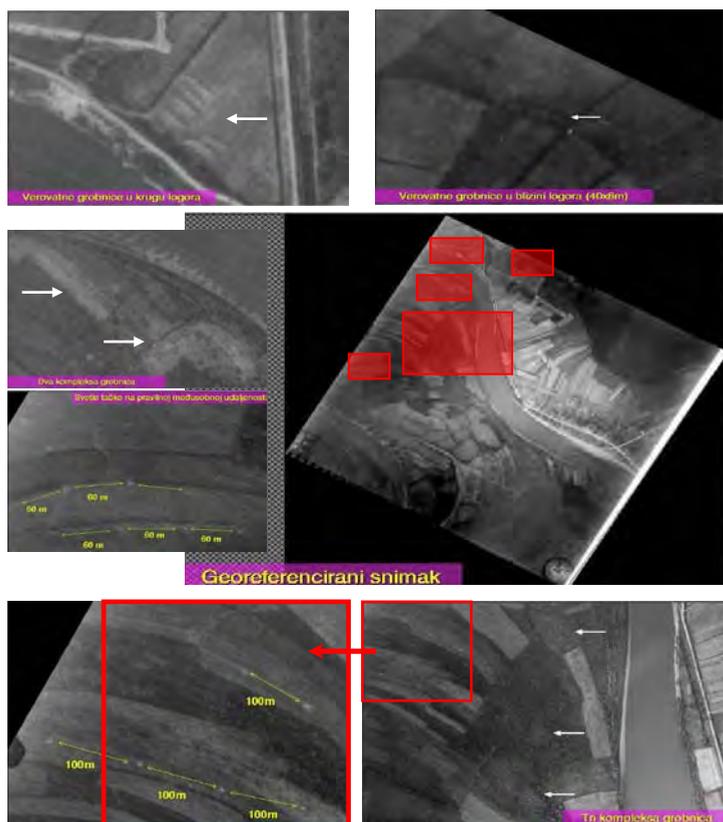
multiparametral analysis in order to extract areas with differing characteristics.

A special place in the study was given to image processing, an integral part of remote sensing. The application of computer science includes the following:

- preprocessing - preliminary material review, with the aim of indicating possible defects and removing deformations that appeared during the conversion of air images and topographic maps into digital format;
- georeferencing needed for the introduction of bases into selected cartographic projection - state co-ordinate system;
- making mosaics for review and efficient manipulation of the examined area;
- image enhancement using a large number of procedures;
- classification of image content in order to extract the area of definite content;
- orthorectification of air images and their usage as a high accuracy control bases for entering data and updating topographic maps;
- establishing the link between different data sets in order to qualitatively collect new data by performing analyses and visualisations of the examined area;
- multi-temporal analysis with the aim of registering and reconstructing morphological changes, changes to vegetation and other changes of terrain;
- making high resolution DEM as a primary base necessary for comprehensive analysis, aerial photograph interpretation and data collection.

Application of the procedures of remote sensing, though limited by the quality and kind of accessible searching material, gives a great amount of a high-quality data for discovering mass graves and also making geotopographic bases for further specific historical research.

Aerial photograph number 702, taken in 1946, is very precious. The image is still applicable, despite the fact that it is 54 years old. Three obvious areas of mass graves were identified, as were further locations where their existence is possible. In addition, light spots with a regular mutual distance of 60m and 100m were noticed. These spots are assumed to be the places where corpses were burned during the destruction of criminal evidence at the end of the Second World War (Picture 5).



Picture 5. Panchromatic aerial photograph of the north-eastern part of Donja Gradina and the southeastern part of the camp brick-plant from 1946, and the results of its analysis and interpretation.

Mosaics of black-white images from 1961 and 1975/77 enabled a collection at the level of specification for TK25. Some limitations exist in the identification of dotted objects and areas with swamps due to the shortage of stereoscopic effects and insufficient spatial resolution of scanning. In the image from 1961, the area of the camp brick-plant was partially flattened, its fence and other structures were ruined and its building material had been removed. The remains of the structures' foundations still be seen. The Macabre Lake (Sablasno jezero) was divided into two large and two small ones. But in a mosaic of the air image from 1975/77, the area of the camp is flattened and the grounds of the structure is entirely unnoticeable. The largest lake is connected with the small south-western lake and so two big and one small lake were originated. The complex of structures within the museum, embankment, conic crypt and drainage pattern were built (Picture 6).

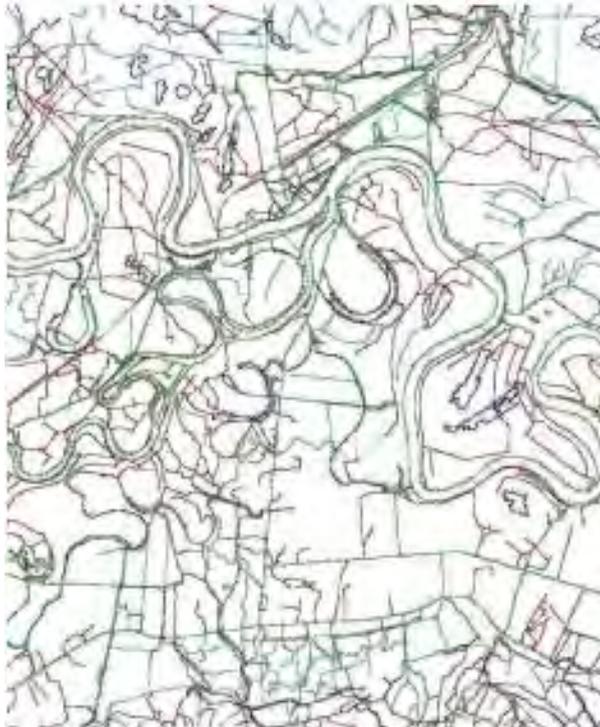


Picture 6. The area of brick-plant camp: 1961 -above and 1975 -bellow

By comparing the positions of the riverbeds of the Una and the Sava from 1961 until 1975, great changes were noticed, caused by meandering and human activity. By detailed multi-temporal analysis of accessible aerial

photographs, it can be confirmed that a accumulation of river deposits is prevailing over erosion.

At the same time there was no erosion of the banks of Donja Gradina, which could be expressed by the drastic removal of human ash.



Picture 7. Data based on mosaics images from 1961 and 1975/77 and collected by manual screen vectorization

7. Digital elevation model (DEM)

DEM is a particular presentation in which cells of raster image, grid, contain data about height of the terrain. One of the most common definitions introduced by Borrough in 1968 (Pavlovic and others, 1999):

DEM is a matrix with data about height, formed on a regular net representing continuous changes of relief in a space.

In the sphere of concrete research, DEM is important for:

- the setting of X, Y and Z coordinates;
- the extraction of contour lines and the setting of Z values;
- the computation of slope degree, confirmation of changes of terrain surface resulting from human activity and from endogenous and exogenous forces;
- the precise correction and processing of an image; and
- the measurement of distances and areas.

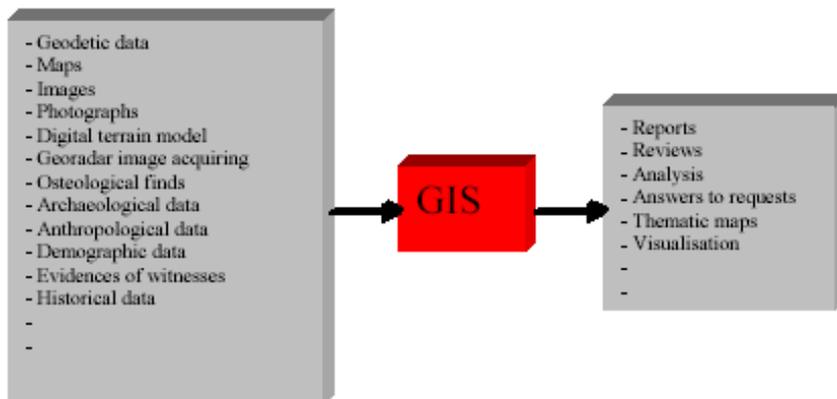
The data from which the DEM is generated are collected by manual head up vectorization. Regarding flat terrain, along with contour lines and Z points, edges of mounds, depressions, embankments, water channels and lines of slashes and plain's water courses are vectorized, by which precision of displays and visual presentation of given DEM is increased. All vectors have heights assigned, either given directly or by interpolation from TK25 (Picture 8).



Picture 8. Left - Data from which the DEM is generated; Right - DEM presented by hipsoscale

8. Geographical information system (GIS)

Comprehensive spatial and multi-temporal analysis after more than 50 years includes an enormous quantity of data, which needs to be collected and processed. The most efficient way is by using GIS technology which combines various spatial and alphanumeric data, its archiving, analysis, interpretation and display (Scheme 2).



Scheme 2. Input and output GIS data

Generating a GIS system of utasha genocide camps, can be done using the following phases:

- Generating GIS (identification of all processes and user's needs in order to find an optimal solution),
- data collection and conversion to digital form; creation of graphic and alphanumeric databases (this phase usually requires the greatest resources),
- integration of the various data into one system,
- making applications which facilitate the making of reports, reviews, thematic maps, analysis, data updates etc. and
- users' training

It is very important to emphasise that existing databases (ex. database with the victims of the Second World War) could be quickly integrated into the GIS of utasha genocide camps. By doing this, the GIS as a whole could be formed, grown and developed. Historical science could reconstruct the events which

took place in 1941 and 1945, precise confirmation of the numbers of victims, their identity, their ransacked real estate and property etc., could be simplified and accelerated.

Conclusion

In order to get high quality output data, adequate input data are required, comprising the following: panchromatic, multispectral and radar images of high spatial resolution.

Missing photo negatives of air image acquisition from 1946 and which cover the areas of Donja Gradina and Jasenovac camp, have to be found.

- Given data should be verified at terrain by georadar image acquisition, the results would represent the base for archaeological and anthropological research.
- All data collected by remote sensing, georadar image acquisition, archaeological and anthropological research should be linked with evidence of witnesses, osteological finds, demographic and historical data etc. into a system by the principles of GIS.

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Preliminary Project Donja Gradina

Belgrade, Jun 2000.

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1. Introduction

Dynamic development of techniques and disciplines which cover data acquisition and study of the Earth and its surface, initiated presumption that by the help of photogrammetry, graphic bases for the whole area of ustasha camp Jasenovac can be done, and by the help of remote sensing, the places on which there may be traces of mass graves can be discovered. In that way the frames for further searches by Ground Penetration Radar- GPR, can be set, and by archeological methods, initiatives for creation of geographical information system can be confirmed. GIS ought to unit all spatial and alphanumeric data.

Also, it ought to confirm mutual position and connection of those data. In that way the historical science gets a full meaning and accelerates and simplifies data search, comparative analysis and making conclusions. The final result is efficient learning process and more efficient search of number of victims.

1.1 The aim of research

The primary aim of this research is to set possible locations, shapes and size of mass graves. The aim is to be reached by classification, analysis and interpretation of images, and by creation of data bases and GIS.

1.2 Expected results

The results of research are to be realized by making of:

- orthophoto maps plans,
- digital model of terrain,
- GIS,
- simulated model of camp and
- presentation of attained results on Internet.

By some additional work, collected data and given results may be used to create spatial plan of this area.

1.2 Methodology of research

Digital processing of satellite and airimages by methods of remote sensing, with application of contemporary methods for precise setting of points in space, are to define possible locations of mass graves. Analysis of all spatial, and other important data, are to be done by GIS methodology.

2. Required data

In order to get valid results by method of remote sensing, it is necessary to possess high quality airimages and satellite images. Airimages have high spatial resolution necessary for making graphic bases of big scale and for sharpening of satellite images. For this purpose, it is necessary to have the latest airimages. But, in order to reconstruct circumstances appeared immediately after the Second World War, it is necessary to have old images. Satellite images which cover invisible part of electromagnetic spectrum (infrared and radar) enable collecting informations about mass graves. Those informations can not be attained by processing of classic airimages. In the case of shortage of new airimages and in order to create graphic

bases of big scale, it is necessary to get panhromatic satellite images of high spatial resolution.

Because of information about air images and satellite panhromatic images kept in Russian archives and because of contacts we had, it is supposed that the purchase of the images may be realized without charge. In that way, the total expense would be decreased.

For the need of precise images orientation in space and according to geodetic standards, it is necessary to measure coordinates of Ground Control Points (GCP) and to get geodetic plans, topographic maps (TK) and other spatial data containing researches done until now. The mentioned data are going to enable generating digital elevation model (DEM), necessary for making orthophoto plans and maps.

Other data, such as historical documents, reports of witnesses, anthropological data, photographs and etc., are needed to be linked with above mentioned spatial data by the principles of GIS. This would enable making parallel multitemporal and spatial analyses, search of all data, making thematic maps, reports and etc.

3. Activities

3.1. Making preliminary, detailed project;

3.2. Scanning, review and archiving all collected spatial data;

3.3. Collecting and converting all alphanumeric data into a digital form;

3.4. Vectorisation of scanned reproductive originals (RO) of TK scale relief 1: 25000 and geodetic plans as well as data preparation for DEM generating;

3.5. Measuring coordinates of GCP and coordinates of contiguous points of mass graves by contemporary Global Position System (GPS)

3.6 DEM generating;

3.6. Precise orientation of images in space (geocoding)

3.7. Making mosaics of images;

3.8. Classification, analysis and interpretation of satellite multispectral images;

3.9. Spatial analysis and analysis of images belonging to different periods (multitemporal analysis), and interpretation of air images and satellite images. Extraction possible locations of mass graves;

3.10. Making orthophoto plans of 1: 25000 scale of the area of D. Gradina and orthophoto maps of 1: 10000 and 1: 50000 scale of remaining area of research;

3.11. Database creation, integration all attained and collected data into GIS, and making applications;

3.12. Making simulated model of the area of camp;

3.13. Making presentation of attained results on Internet;

3.14. Users' training

4. The phases of research

Phase - identification and collection of all important data, preparation all available data for the need of digital processing and archiving In this phase it is necessary to define area of research and to contact all institutions, in our country and abroad, which may have data we need for the research. Also it

is necessary to supply these data. Along with these activities, the following activities are to be done:

- scanning and archiving reproductive originals of TK and cadastral plans,
- data vectorisation,
- data preparation for DEM generation,
- scanning and archiving airmages and satellite images,
- preliminary analysis and setting abilities of image classification and interpretation,
- collecting and converting alphanumeric non-spatial data into digital form,
- projecting database structure,
- purchase minimum of PC configuration.

II phase - digital image processing and making graphic bases for GIS

This phase is to start after getting panhromatic images with spatial resolution of 1 m because of identification of details and selection of orientated points which coordinates are needed to be measured. Then, the following activities are to be done:

- completion PC configuration and software purchase,
- images geocoding and making orthophoto and mosaics, - DEM generating,
- classification, analysis and interpretation of images,
- multitemporal and spatial analysis and interpretation of all images,
- making orthophoto plans of 1:2500 scale for the area of D. Gradina and orthophoto maps of 1:10000 and 1:5000 scales for the remaining area of research,
- database creation, integration all attained and collected data into GIS, and making applications.

Note: at the end of this phase it is possible to check attained results by georadar examinations and by trial boring.

III phase - transfer of technology and GIS exploiting

In this phase users are to be trained to do the following activities: updating and using GIS, making simulated model of the area of camp and making presentation of attained results on Internet.

Costs of phases in US dollars

PHASES I II III

Multispectral images (RGB + NIR) 1 8500

Panhromatic images 10500

Radar images 5000

Thermal IR images N/A

Images kept in archives in our country and abroad

(Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Russia, USA) N/A

Activities I

Scanning, vectorisation and archiving RO TK

Data preparation for DEM

Scanning and archiving images

Preliminary analysis

Collecting and converting alphanumeric data²
Structure databases projecting
10000

Minimal PC configuration 6000
Activities II
GPS measurement
Image geocoding
DEM generating
Classification, analysis and interpretation
Multitemporal analysis
Making orthophoto maps and plans
Database and GIS
20000

Remaining PC accessories 6000
Software 10000
Training 1500
Making simulation and Internet presentation 2000
Total 24500 51500 3500
Making preliminary and detailed project 2000
Total 81500

5. Accessories and software

It is necessary to get the following PC accessories:

- three computers of high performance (two of them for digital processing of spatial data and one of them for GIS and database creation),
- CD writer
- colour printer (minimum B2),
- scanner A3 with modul for transparent scanning,
- network equipment,
- UPS.

During measurement GCP it is necessary to hire:

- two GPS receivers and
- software for processing collected data.

For databases creation, GIS and DEM generating and standard of formates adjustment it is

1 Multispectral images have been already bought

2 Initial datainput necessary for research necessary to supply:

- software for image processing (TNT mips or ER Mapper) and
- software for GIS (Arc View).

7. Experts

The following experts are to be engaged:

- remote sensing specialists,
- engineers of geodesy (GPS measurement and data processing) and
- IT engineers.

6. Terms

I phase is to cover the period of six months and it is to start immediately after purchase material and advance payment. The result is to be global review of the problem and possibilities of research mass graves from system of Croatian ustasha camps of genocide by methods of remote sensing and GIS.

II phase is to cover the period of eighteen months and it is started immediately after settling all obligations from the first phase, satellite images supply, software supply and completion PC accessories. The result is to be the data about possible locations of mass graves and making graphic bases and GIS creation.

III phase is to cover the period of six months, and it is started immediately after settling all obligations remaining in the second phase. In this phase, users are to be taught how to use and update GIS. Also, simulated model of the area of camp and presentation on Internet are to be done.

Note: There may be exceeding of terms due to possible delay of purchase images, equipment and software.

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Georadar test examinations on the place of mass execution - Donja Gradina

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Translated by Gordana Babic

Introduction

Along with archeological searches, geophysical methods are used very often.. Geophysical methods are not destructive and because of this fact they are applied with the aim to define precisely the positions of archeological objects at which excavations were to be done. Georadar or Ground Penetration Radar (GPR) is modern geophysical apparatus that is applied in archeological searches for defining the position of archeological objects. GPR enables scanning under-surface terrain structure and extraction of objects (cultural, archeological, anthropological) which are compound part of examined complex. A great number of georadar examinations of archeological localities in the world can be specified, in our country georadar examinations are applied on archeological locality "Maskare" near Varvarin, there positions of various cultural objects were discovered.

The team of federal public institution the Geomagnetic Institute - Belgrade (*Geomagnetski zavod - Beograd*), in the period of 18th -22nd April, 2000, and in cooperation with the responsive ministry defined by the government of the Republic of Srpska and the Museum of Genocide from Belgrade, did georadar test examinations of mass graves on the area of Donja Gradina. The application of georadar examinations of soil occupied with mass graves on the location of the place of execution Donja Gradina, has the aim to define morphological and structural characteristics of soil at the positions of marked (discovered) and potential mass graves. By georadar test examinations of soil's constitution of grave fields, mass graves are defined and marked off as the objects with increased concentration of osteological material (organic matter, bones, skulls, ash etc). With these characteristics, they represent environments with various values of electromagnetic field parametres (dialectic constants and electric condutiveness, above all) in relation to the same parametres of the surrounding terrain (substratum).

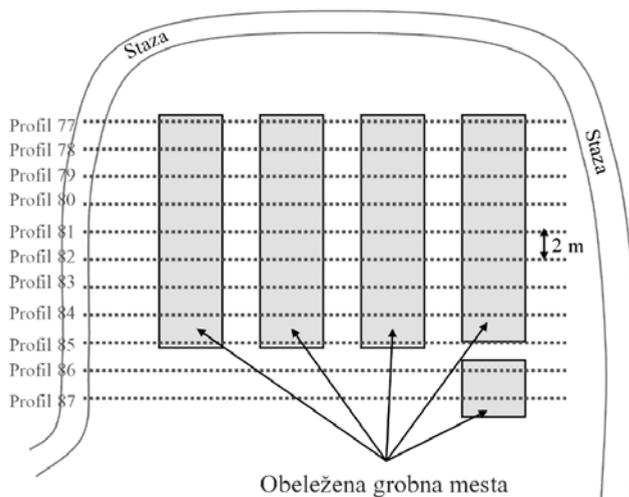
Georadar test examinations on the grave fields The examination of composition of grave fields' soil, on location of Donja Gradina, was done by application of georadar system SIR 8, made by American company GSSI. Test measurements were done with the antennas of 500 MHz, 300 MHz and

100 MHz along the profile with the total length of 4500 m. Scanning range of 500 MHz antenna was 40 ns and antennas with 300 MHz and 100 MHz had scanning range of 100 ns. The antennas were moved by hand with the speed of 0.5 m/s, that provided obtaining informations about examined semispace at each of 2 cm (since 25.6 impulses per second - 25.6 scan/s were emitted). During measurements, antennas were positioned directly on the surface of the examined terrain.

The processing and interpretation of measured data were done by application of software package RADAN, that enables digital filtering (FIR, IIR, space filtering, migration, deconvolution, abstract, filtering in domain of frequency, Hilbert's transformation ...), and various display of georadar scans, with the aim to emphasize important informations about composition of the terrain.

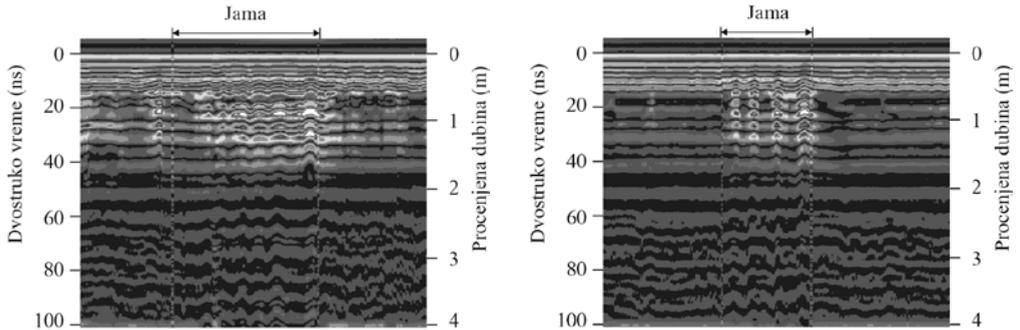
The results of examinations

The results of georadar examinations are shown on georadar profiles which are displayed on the sketches of the examined grave fields. At the vertical axis of georadar profile, on the left side, it is shown the value responding to the period during which electromagnetic wave should pass the way from emitter to some boundary plane (or object), reflects and reaches the emitter on the terrain surface (multiplied period, expressed in nanoseconds). The vertical axis on the right side of each profile represents estimated depth, expressed in meters. Horizontal axis responds to the distance that antenna covers and it is expressed in metres. In order to convert period scale into domain of depth, we should have data with values of speed of electromagnetic waves spreading for concrete, extracted environments. At this case, for average electromagnetic waves spreading it is given tabular value of 8 cm/ns. It is necessary to note that values of speed of electromagnetic waves spreading can be changed according to depth and side, depending on change of compound and saturation of soil by fluid (water or air). That is the reason why estimated depth must be taken with reserve, because it is necessary to do measurements over known objects of similar materials in order to get accurate value. Georadar test examinations were done at three grave fields: "Jasen", "Topole" and "Orlovace". The results of examination on the grave field "Jasen" The grave field "Jasen" is covered by the net of 10 parallel georadar profiles (situated at each of 2 m), made by antenna of 300 MHz (Scheme 1).



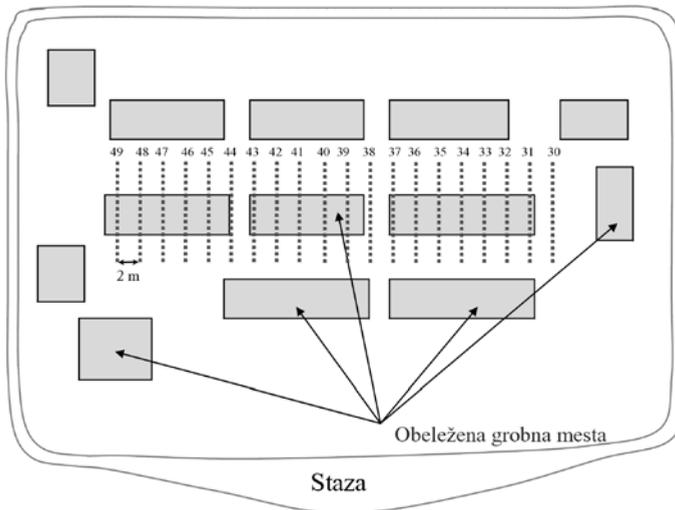
Scheme 1. Schedule of GPR profiles on the grave field "Jasen"

The antennas of 500 MHz and 100 MHz were also tested, but these results were not shown because their level of detectability was weaker at these terrain. On this grave field five graves were marked (their situation is shown at the scheme of grave field "Jasen", along with the situation of georadar profiles). Georadar profiles point at existing of anomaly of registered signal, in the most cases they coincide with content of graves. The density of registered appearances is not equal and it may be concluded that contents of graves are different. It should take into consideration that condition of decay of osteological material, substantially depends on given results. On georadar profiles under the number of 77 to 87, the zones of anomalies, which may respond to osteological material, are framed, so it can be followed their appearance in marked graves (Picture 1). Also it is shown momentary level of underground water.



The results of examination on the grave field "Topole"

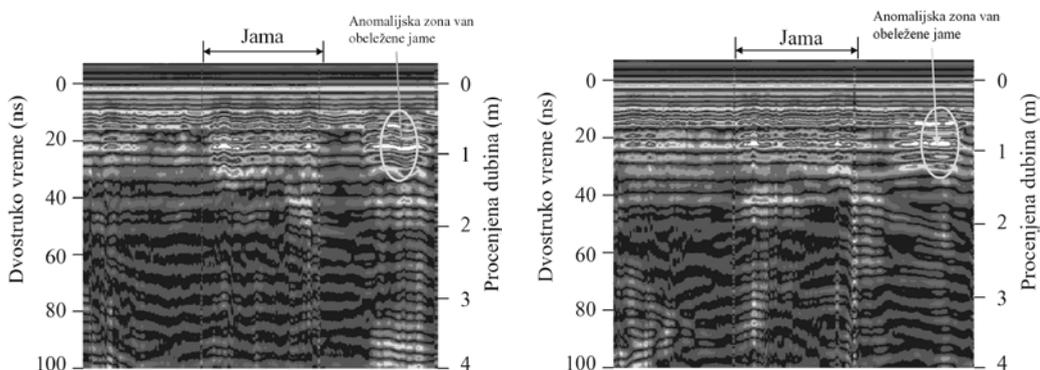
The grave field "Topole" is covered by the net of 20 parallel georadar profiles (also situated at each of 2m). It was used the antenna of 300 MHz. The processing and interpretation was done at similar way and georadar profiles concerning this grave field are under the number of 30 to 49 (shown at the scheme of grave field "Topola", Scheme2).



Scheme 2. Schedule of GPR profiles on the grave field "Topole"

Georadar profiles of 30 to 37, which cover first marked grave, show the absence of anomalies of high intensity, this is not the case with two other graves (Picture 2). Also, georadar profiles of 30 to 41, show anomaly out of marked grave (at the right side of grave), which should be certainly checked.

This zone of anomaly spreads along with marked graves which length is about 24 m.



Picture 2. Details on GPR profile 32 and 33

On the grave field "Orlovaca" test examinations were also done, all of three antennas were tested. The result of those tests show that given data can not be certainly interpreted, because the level of detectability of demanded objects is much lower then on the two former fields. It can be the consequence of decay of osteological material, nearness of embankment of the river Sava, small differences in parametres of condutiveness of surrounding area and demanded aims or extempore areas of terrain which ought to be examined. In this case, anomalies educed by moving of antenna over cockles and coarse sod, have similar intensity as the possible anomalies caused by the presence of osteological material.

Conclusion Georadar test examinations shown that this methodology is applicable to detection of osteological material. Regarding to the period that passed and variety of composition of the examined area's soil, there is no doubt that osteological material is in a condition of decay. That is the reason why georadar examinations sometimes are simple and sometimes are complex, that depends on previously extempority of terrain for scanning, then the season during which examinations are done (because of the level of underground water), and weather conditions.

Regarding complicacy of geological situation of this area and its different condition of decay, suggestion for further examinations is to do detailed geophysical examinations in combination with georadar methods and the methods of geoelectrical scanning. These two methods are compatible and their result recruit each other. Previous experiences in the world and in our country, show that the combination of mentioned methods give the best results when we solve such problems.

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SUPPLEMENTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

THEME 4

**Bosnia and Herzegovina
Republic of Srpska,
Government.
Prime Minister's Office
Banja Luka**

UNESCO
MrKoichiro Matsuura,
Director-General
7 Place de Fontenoy
PARIS

Banja Luka, March 29, 2000

Excellency,

Dr Milan Bulajic, Director of the Museum of Genocide Victims, after his talks with the Director of the World Heritage Center, Mr Bernd von Droste, in his letter of April 4, 1995, proposed ""to have Jasenovac Memorial Complex put on the list of World Heritage under international protection, as was the case with the Auschwitz Nazi Camp (No.80).

In the letter of 17 April 1995, forwarded to UNESCO Director General by the Foreign Affairs Minister of the Federal epublic of Yugoslavia, Mr Vladislav Jovanovic, this proposal was supported by the Government of the FRY on whose territory a number of the Jasenovac Camp victims lived.

His Holiness, the Serbian Patriarch Pavle turned to you with the same support proposal on behalf of the Serbian Orthodox Church (Syn.No 2713, 22 November 1995).

In the response of the Director of the World Heritage Center, Mr Bernd von Droste, the position has been taken that the Memorial Complex ""situated on the territory of Croatia, another State Party to the World Heritage Convention", "that the nomination of any site for inscription on the World Heritage List is the exclusive prerogative of the State Party on whose territory the property is located".

Given the fact that the system of the Ustacha genocide camps Jasenovac has been created by the Nazi Ustasha Independent State of Croatia, the application of this principle would mean that the German Nazi death camps, would be the exclusive prerogative of Germany which at the Nuremberg process was condemned for war crimes and the crimes of genocide (holocaust).

After disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the complex of the Ustacha genocide camps Jasenovac stretching over the area of 210 to 240 square kilometers has been split into two sovereignties -the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina -with Donja Gradina, one of the greatest

places of execution of the genocide victims of the Croatian Ustachas, left on the territory of Republic of Srpska (one of two entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Republic of Srpska finds it appropriate to support the idea and suggest that the whole Jasenovac Memorial Complex on both sides of the border be put under UNESCO's World Heritage protection.

Former President of the Republic of Croatia, dr Franjo Tudjman, at his annual address to the nation (1990) repeated the proposal "for the memorial complex of the victims of the fascist terror to become a memorial place of all the Croatian victims of war, "and especially of all the victims of the war for national liberation" waged in alliance with the Nazi Germany and fascist Italy during World War II. This morbid proposal has been condemned by the Serbian Orthodox Church, Jewish organizations in Yugoslavia and throughout the world.

Immediately upon submission of the proposal for putting the Memorial Complex Jasenovac under the UN protection, on May 1, 1995, the Republic of Croatia armed forces for the second time desecrated the Memorial complex, shelled the mass graves, dugged trenches and expelled the remaining Serb population of Jasenovac and surrounding.

At the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia held on 6 November 1991, the President of the Republic of Croatia, referring to the "new German documents" he never identified, claimed that the total number of victims of the Jasenovac Camps was 20.000. Dr Elie Rosenbaum, Director of the Office for Special Investigations of the US Department of Justice, reported that on the basis of German documents of 8 December 1943, around 200.000 people were killed in the Jasenovac Camps. The Croatian Parliament War and Post/war Crimes Commission reported in 1999 that the total number of victims of the Jasenovac Camps was 2.238 of which 293 were Jews. Investigations of the Museum of Genocide Victims fully identified by name the total of 78.163 victims of which 19.432 children aged from 1 day to 14 years. The investigations are being continued and new names added daily.

At the Second International Conference-Jasenovac, the System of Ustacha Camps of Genocide 1941-1945 that will take place in Banja Luka and Donja Gradina 8-10 May 2000, special topic of the agenda will be -point V "The international protection of the complete Memorial Complex Jasenovac" and point VI "Establishing of the International Team of Experts for truth about Jasenovac". As President of the Organizational Council, I would like to extend my kind invitation for the UNESCO ("World Heritage") representative to take part at this Conference.

Looking forward to Your estimable response.

Yours truly
Milorad Dodik

SUPPLEMENTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

THEME 5

Slobodan Mileusnic, MA, Belgrade

The loot of Serbian churches and monasteries in NDH during the Second World War was based on the law regulation number 77/507 from September 24, 1941 and the regulation by the Ministry of education No 24/325 from August 29/ September 16, 1941.

State Committee for Reconstruction was formed based on these regulations. This newly formed Croatian Institution took over all the property and all valuables of Serbian Orthodox Church in NDH.¹ Loot and destruction of Serbian assets during the Second World War were done in the following way:

1. Organized taking away of church valuables i.e. treasures
2. Selling i.e. giving away of objects used in religious service and other objects
3. Loot of the asset of churches, monasteries and Episcopal buildings
4. Converting of Orthodox churches into Catholic churches and
5. Usurpation of things used in liturgies and destruction of monastery, parochial, eparchial libraries and archives.

Organized taking away was done under the supervision of professor Vladimir Tkalcic, a well-known custos from Zagreb. The objects used in liturgies and other artistic valuables were packed into wooden boxes and together with registers transported to Zagreb.

During 1942. another team of custodes in Zagreb museums made a more detailed description i.e. catalogue description of each object. For example, according to the register from Krusedol monastery 1,243 artifacts were taken, 581 from Sisatovac monastery, 58 from Hopovo etc.²

NDH formed an institution called State treasury, which had the Department for nationalization of property. This Institution i.e. a certain Kosak, state treasurer, sent a circular letter to all districts, town councils and tax offices on June 15, 1942, for final sale of all assets of Jews and Serbs.

All valuable objects: carpets (article 1), crystal and china (article 2), fur coats, cloaks and other fur clothes (article 3), have to be given to the

¹ See: D. Davidov, *Violations*, Sabac, 1986; *Calendar Church* 1991, Belgrade 1990; *Serbian Orthodox Church Its past and present*, Belgrade 1992; S. Mileusnic, *Destruction of Serbian churches and monasteries, War crime and crime of genocide 1991-1992*, Belgrade 1993, 281-282

² S. Mileusnic, *Loot of church and artistic valuables from the monasteries in Fruska Gora during the Second World War and their after-war destruction*, *Calendar Church* 1991, Belgrade 1990, 60-63

Department for nationalization of property. Pianos and other musical instruments have to be sold, after they had been evaluated by experts, at their full value and paid for in cash. However, Ustashi Youth organizations are to be exempted from this regulation and musical instruments can be given to them as presents. Objects of historical value which were not overtaken by Croatian State Museum in Zagreb (article 7) should be sold, and what cannot be sold should be given to Help or ...should be given to those in need. It is also stated, which has already been mentioned, that it is necessary to finally complete this sale of real estate. All districts and especially tax offices are advised to give their full attention to this issue and to finish the sale as soon as possible, it is emphasized in article 8 in the letter of the Department for nationalization of property.³

The loot of assets (furniture, carpets, dishes...) from monastery dormitories, parochial houses, Episcopal treasuries and other objects, during the war, was merciless. Professor Stjepan Gotvald, envoy of the State Committee for Reconstruction who himself took part in the loot and made a report in which, among other things, he wrote, I quote: After Beocin, we were at Rakovac monastery from which all the objects and books were taken and sent to the Arts and Crafts Museum. While passing through Kamenica we also took all the valuables and objects from the parochial church. A beautiful chandelier remained in that church which could have been used as a decoration in some hall. Most of these artifacts were of great value for the Serbs as the evidence of their culture in these Croatian areas where those monasteries were cultural centers and fortresses from which Serbian ideas and Orthodox religion were systematically spread. In Krusedol we also took everything and sent to Zagreb, for the Museum. I took one chandelier from the church to go with the furniture I had sent from Hrvatski (Sremski) Karlovci and also one carpet.

Bishop ordiniat in Djakovo reported on June 8, 1942. to the Croatian state museum i.e. Commission for the receipt of objects used in Orthodox church that in this region 20 Serbian Orthodox parishes were converted into Roman Catholic ones. This report, which was signed by bishop Aksamovic, also states that the objects used in religious services from those churches, unless the churches were destroyed or looted previously, were to be overtaken by district offices.⁴

Unfortunately, the great part of the treasuries was destroyed before the arrival of custodes from Zagreb. Ustahi state of Croatia had both the program and the service - the so-called Office for destruction of Serbian churches and monasteries.⁵

³ Museum of SPC in Belgrade Legacy of R. Grujic, archives 1303. Dossier was entered in city office in Zagreb, Residential office, No. 7357-2-R.O. 1942. Dossier: Circular on the sale of movables. July 9, 1942.

⁴ Ibid. Bishop Ordiniat in Djakovo, No. 2733/42

⁵ M. Kostic, Crimes and sins, Belgrade 1990, 63

Croatian State Museum of Arts and Crafts sent the following circular telegram on August 23, 1943. to all large districts Zagreb, Varazdin, Karlovac, Ogulin, Senj, Gospic, Knin, Omis, Dubrovnik, Mostar, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Brod na Savi, Vukovar, Osjek, Nova Gradiska, Bjelovar, Bihac, Jajce, Travnik and Banja Luka, I quote: According to law regulation of the commander No 78/35 and the regulation of Ministry of education 24/323 order all the artifacts, iconostases, icons, and other church tools from all Orthodox churches and church buildings of your district before their destruction to be safe-kept. Envoys of the Ministry will take them over in the next few days.⁶Said and done.

According to these decisions one commission led by professor Zdenko Vojinovic started visiting some churches in the vicinity of Djakovo and Slavonski Brod on May 29, 1942.

In the village of Bracavci on June 6, 1942. they entered the following data into their minutes: In that village the Orthodox have been converted into the Catholics and their church has become the catholic parochial church. The same has been done with Orthodox parochial churches in Majar and Nabrdje.

When the members of that commission came to Slavonski Brod on June 12, 1942, the Serbian Orthodox church had already been completely destroyed, the following days they were in Novo Topolje and also stated that the Serbian Orthodox church was destroyed and as they wrote in the report: asset was overtaken, in accordance with the Ustashi regulation, by commissioner Palir Grizinovic and it disappeared.⁷

These two professors from Zagreb and members of the above mentioned commission also visited Trnjani, Klokocevik, Kobas and Slatina, all in the vicinity of Slavonski Brod. Serbian churches in all of these places had already been destroyed and in Kobas we found the ruins of a former Orthodox church, iconostasis was completely destroyed. Serbian church in Slavonska Pozega was also completely destroyed and the assets disappeared... when we asked about the church in Nova Gradiska we were told that it had been destroyed and its assets had disappeared.⁸ There are many similar examples. The same happened to the church of Ascension of the Holy Mother (1743-1750/51) in Osijek.

⁶ Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade - Legacy of R. Grujic, archives 1303/15.

⁷ Ibid. Trustee of the Head Ustasha Office issued on March 20, 1942. certification that Djuro Girzinovic is employed with the above mentioned Office as a construction worker and is permitted to finish destruction of the building in Novi Topolj as well as to sell the material according to the instructions given. All Institutions are asked to be at his service. See: S. Mileusnic, Destruction of Serbian churches and monasteries, War crime and crime of genocide 1991-1992, Belgrade 1993, 281-828

⁸ Ibid. All reports have been personally signed and certified by seal

Destruction of Holy Mothers church in Osijek started on Orthodox Christmas Eve on January 6, 1942. Metal objects used in the services (golden and silver liturgy objects) under the code treasure were packed into six boxes and given to towns Savings bank. Iconostasis was broken and burned and the remaining icons and church books were handed to Osijek town museum. Church bells were broken and bricks and other material was sold. The guardian of the church at the time of its destruction was Drgan Fijemberg, a technical clerk, and Marko Katanac, a builder from Daruvar, was in charge of the destruction it had been noted in the Annals of the church in Osijek.⁹

Old monastery and eparchial archives and libraries suffered greatest damage.

According to the Ustashi Governments plan this written treasure of Serbian people should have been looted in the second stage. However, because of the lack of time and funds, as it was stated in the official reports of Croatian government, the greatest number of the archives of that time was given to Ustashi officers, who took that treasure away or more often burned it.

The library of Sisatovac Monastery containing more than 6,000 books was almost completely destroyed. In Sisatovac library there were 92 manuscripts from 13th-18th century. There were 74 Serbian manuscripts, 12 Russian, 2 Bulgarian, 3 Latin and 1 Greek books there. Only three of ninety-two manuscripts survived the Second World War i.e. they exist today.

It was estimated that 80% of all Serbian literature in NDH during the Second World War was destroyed which is considered to be both cultural catastrophe and spiritual genocide.¹⁰

Professor Vladimir Tkalcic, who supervised the loot of Serbian churches and monasteries in NDH, at the hearing in front of the State commission for determining crimes of occupiers and their collaborators on October 15, 1941, being asked the question: Whom do you, in the first place, accuse of the crimes of destruction of historical and cultural monuments? he answered: Orders for destruction of Orthodox monuments were given exclusively by Ustasha authorities and their representatives, who were ideological initiators of those crimes. In this report, which was personally signed by professor Vladimir Tkalcic, two examples were given: Trustee of the Head Ustasha Office (a certain dr. Dujmovic, a dentist from Zagreb) issued permission for

⁹ M. Miskovic, Destruction of churches and assets in Osijek Archdiocese Office, Calendar Church 1991, Belgrade 1992, 64-75. Cited according to: Annals of the Serbian Orthodox Church of the Ascension of Holy Mother in Osijek, from 1945, pages 43, 44, 46, 60 and 61. Mark: NDH. City Council in Osijek received on May 25, 1941, No. 510.

¹⁰ S. Mileusnic, Loot of church and artistic valuables from the monasteries in Fruska Gora during the Second World War and their after-war destruction, Calendar Church 1991, Belgrade 1990, 60-63

the destruction of the church in Novi Topolj and authorization for the sale of the material. In Trnjani, a trustee sold out even the objects from the church.¹¹

Already on June 6, 1945. Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC) decided that dr. Radoslav Grujic, professor of Belgrade University and the director of the Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church, should travel to Zagreb, as a representative of the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and do everything to find cultural, artistic and historical valuables belonging to our churches and monasteries. Finally, SPC was given back its treasure which, during the Second World War was taken away from the territory of Serbia and its district (referring to Vojvodina) and the treasure belonging to the Serbian Orthodox Church from the territory of Croatia, according to the decision of the Committee for national culture to the Government of Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) from May 2, 1946, should remain in Zagreb.

The transfer of the church treasure was organized from May 13 to June 8, 1946.

Church-artistic and historical treasure from monasteries in Fruska Gora and the churches in Eastern Srem was transported to Belgrade in 11 wagons. Treasure from Serbian churches and monasteries, which were within the newly formed borders of the Republic of Croatia, remained in Zagreb until 1981. Expert commission of the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the period from 1981-1983. regularly went to Zagreb, even when the meetings were cancelled in the last minute. Finally in 1983. the remaining valuables were returned to eparchial centers. On the event of signing the Protocol during the transfer of the church-artistic valuables in 1946. and 1983, among other things, the following was stressed: All the valuables found later are to be handed over to the Serbian Orthodox Church. Unfortunately, the greatest part of the Serbian church treasure had been destroyed in the first days together with the churches and monasteries and other church buildings.

Commission for determining war damage of the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church determined, based on experts estimation, that cultural-historical treasure valued at 2,315,656,950 dinars i.e. 52,628,567 \$ was destroyed or looted in NDH during the Second World War.

Destruction or loot of Serbian churches and monasteries in NDH during the Second World War can be classified into several groups:

¹¹ S. Mileusnic, Destruction of Serbian churches and monasteries, War crime and crime of genocide 1991-1992, Belgrade 1993, 281-282

1. The major part, about 70% was taken by the custodes from Zagreb led by professor Vladimir Tkalcic. Their work was mostly correct and considering the wartime conditions, professional. A part of this treasure disappeared from Zagreb museums and institutions.

2. The second group liturgy objects, which were looted and sold by the Croats i.e. Ustashi officers before the arrival of the custodes from Zagreb museums, first of all the Museum of Arts and Craft.

3. The third group, a great number of objects used in religious services was destroyed during the burning or mining of the churches, monasteries and other buildings.

Library and archive holdings should be exempted from these groups. So, about 80% of the library and archive holdings were destroyed, mainly burned and looted at the beginning of the Second World War. The same was done with the furniture, chandeliers, carpets, dishes, which were taken away by Croatian officials or they were given to different institutions or individuals from Ustasha government. Many valuables were destroyed during burning down or mining of a certain church building.

Instead of a conclusion a statement: destruction of churches, monasteries and other church buildings of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and loot of church and monastery treasures was carried out in accordance with the law regulation and orders of the highest state authorities, the commander and certain ministries and local officials.

Professor Stjepan Gotvald, who as the envoy of the State Committee for reconstruction took part in the loot, gave reasons for such cultural catastrophe and spiritual genocide. I will repeat his words: Most of these artifacts were of great value for the Serbs as the evidences of their culture in these Croatian areas where those monasteries were cultural centers and fortresses from which Serbian ideas and Orthodox religion were systematically spread.

In the Protocol which was signed during the transfer of the church-artistic valuables in 1946. and 1983, among other things, the following was written: All the valuables found later are to be handed over to the Serbian Orthodox Church. These words oblige us to initiate that all remaining objects looted from the Serbian churches, monasteries and other institutions be returned to their legal owner.

This clause obliges the Croatian state, first to allow identification of the remaining looted valuables from the period of the Second World War and later their transfer. It is also obliged to compensate for the destroyed spiritual and cultural values of Serbian people, Serbian Orthodox Church as well as of the whole civilized world.

Kellyn Freisen

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF USTASHA ATROCITIES THE ROLE OF U.S. LITIGATION

I. INTRODUCTION

Thank you

Who is Zimmerman Reed and what do we do?

Web-site: homepage www.zimmreed.com

II. INVOLVEMENT OF AMERICAN LAWYERS AND COURTS IN CLAIMS ARISING FROM HOLOCAUST CRIMES

A. NATURE OF LITIGATION FOR HOLOCAUST CRIMES

Nazi Crimes against Jews Slave Labor Swiss and Austrian Banks; Insurance policies What's being done to redress these wrongs? Nature of claims: stolen property, payment for value of labor, etc.

B. SUCCESS OF LITIGATION

Progress to date.

1. Past treaties have impact in litigation, reparations in some countries may have already been made through some treaties. Not true for the Vatican, though
2. Brings attention to wrongs committed. New generation of people learning.
3. Lawsuits not always successful.
4. Documents could be either destroyed or classified.

C. OTHER PARALLEL EFFORTS

1. London and Washington Conferences on Nazi gold to pay war reparations to countries.
2. Creation of Historical Commissions.

D. WHAT HAS NOT BEEN ADDRESSED: USTASHA CRIMES AGAINST SERBS, ROMA AND JEWS

Brief discussion and acknowledgment of ALL potential defendants, victims and causes of action: American Banks, American-Ustasha Organizations, Vatican. Discovery will reveal more.

III. THE CASE WE FILED IN CALIFORNIA

A. PLAINTIFF AND THE CLASS

1. George Zivkovich: Who he is; his story.

2. Class definition.

The lawsuit we filed intends to return what was taken from victims of the Ustasha. The Class is defined as all United States persons "who suffered monetary and/or property losses due to the systematic and brutal extermination and looting by the Nazi puppet Regime, Ustasha."

B. DEFENDANTS

1. The Vatican Bank

2. Franciscan Order at the College of San Girolomo

3. Other unnamed international banks: Currently we are performing an enormous amount of research on the Central Bank of Argentina

C. THE COUNTS

1. Conversion

2. Unjust Enrichment

3. Restitution

4. Accounting

5. Violations of Customary International Law

D. OUR GOALS

1. revealing the truth about Jasenovac and Ustasha atrocities by providing some redress for wrongs;

2. To support parallel efforts by sharing information including the names of war criminals, disregarding their national and religious affiliation; sharing data and proofs of economic pillage of the genocide victims by perpetrators of the crimes;

3. Possible contribution to a memorial for permanent acknowledgment of what happened at Jasenovac and throughout the former Independent State of Croatia in the form of a "cy pres" settlement with defendants.

E. STATUS OF OUR CASE

After filing a complaint in federal court, a complicated procedure is undertaken to "serve" or formally give the complaint to defendants. International laws must be followed and translation of the text must occur.

1. Letters Rogatory to Vatican Bank Order signed by Court and Clerk

2. Hague Convention for Franciscan Order; Service effected on March 22, 2000

3. Additional discovery is required for unnamed defendants. We are preparing to serve a subpoena on the Central Bank of Argentina to find out more about any alleged involvement.

F. EVIDENCE

2 June 1998 Supplemental Eizenstat Report

I met with William Slany and Rita Baker of the State Department, and these were their primary findings:

Vatican maintained an "Apostolic visitor" in Zagreb from June 1941 until the end of the War and was aware of the killing campaign, which started with the internment of most of the 35,000 to 45,000 Croatian Jews in the spring and summer of 1941.

US intelligence experts concluded that after the War, Ustasha leaders had 350 million Swiss francs at their disposal, mostly in the form of gold coins.

In August 1944, 980 kgs of gold taken in 1941 by Croatian authorities from the Sarejevo branch of the central bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was deposited in the Swiss National Bank. The assets were frozen; despite Dr. Josip Cabas' requests for release, the Swiss used the funds to pay old debts. In 1945, 980 kgs of gold was returned to Yugoslavia under the Tripartite Gold Commission. Ustasha fled with gold to Austria, but estimates differ on the amount. Pavelic charges that the British then took all of it. The British do not account for any recovery of gold in meeting its "Inter-Allied Reparations Agreement" obligations. College of San Girolamo in Rome provided living quarters for Croatian priests and was a center of Ustasha covert activity. It served as a Croatian "underground" in order to help Ustasha refugees and war criminals. Dr. Krunoslav Stefanovic built an effective covert organization which operated an escape service for Croatian nationalists fleeing from the Yugoslav regime. Dragonovic was ordered to leave the College by the Vatican Secretary of State three days after the death of Pope Pius XII.

"(I)t seems clear from the available information that there was some quantity of gold at (the Ustasha leadership's) disposal in Rome, Austria, and Switzerland." "...this sum almost certainly included some quantity of victim gold."

The Bigelow Memo: October 1946 US Intelligence report to the Treasury Dept., which estimated that "200 million Swiss francs was originally held in the Vatican for safe-keeping. According to rumor, a considerable portion of this latter amount has been sent to Spain and Argentina through the Vatican's "pipeline", but it is quite possible this is merely a smokescreen to cover the fact that the treasure remains in its original repository."

Four key documents relied on by Slany/Eizenstat

1. Transfer of Croatian Gold to Argentina;

a. 12 cases of gold and jewels sent to Austria and concealed in a wall near Salzburg; In October, 1951 Ante Godina and Marcos Cavic transferred gold

to Pavelic in Argentina; through Juan Heinrich (a Zagreb Jew), 200 kgms of gold were offered for sale on the Buenos Aires market.

b. Jan. 1952, Pavelic transferred 5 million Swiss francs from Switzerland to Argentina through intervention of a Professor Ganta.

2. 2 Feb. 51, "Croatian Gold question", leaflet by Dr. Stjepan Peric, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Mandić Cabinet;

a. accuses Pavelic of stealing Croatian state gold and living in luxury;

b. estimates 250 kgs of gold in Pavelic possession

c. Tomljenović went to Brazil and met with a banker and deposited gold there.

3. 28 Sep. 51 Ustashi activities in Argentina;

a. Godina deposited a large sum of gold in Brazil for Pavelic

4. January 1947; conversation with Pavelic while in the "Vatican monastery" in Rome;

a. admits "guilt in regard to the massacre of the Serbs and I would be a very happy man if it had not happened."

b. When crossed over to Austria, bar gold was brought in two trunks and hidden in an Austrian monastery. 25,000 Croats were arrested by the British. The gold was given to the British to save themselves.

c. Also charges that Switzerland refused to hand over money from the Croatian State Bank.

d. Pavelic's statement cannot be reliable. Full of half truths.

Eisenstat concludes by acknowledging much more research needs to be completed and that we have an "imperfect understanding of the fate of the wartime Ustasha treasury..."

Eisenstat suggests additional places to look for more documents on the Ustasha Treasury:

1. Croatian State Archives;

2. Croat Foreign Ministry archives;

3. British Ministry and intelligence records;

4. Swiss Banking records;

5. Tito's war crimes trials of 1946 in Zagreb, including stories written in the newspaper Vjesnik:

6. College of San Girolamo, Italy; and

7. Vatican.

April 1999 report by Ron Neitzke;

Purpose of the research was to take a second, critical look at the June 1998 Eizenstat report on the Ustasha Treasury; the report is not endorsed by the State department.

Discussion of the Bigelow Memo

- o No corroborating evidence to support the Bigelow Memo
- o Zlato i Novac Nezavisne Drzave Hrvatske Izneseni u inozemstvo 1944 i 1945
- o (Gold and Money of the Independent State of Croatia Moved Abroad 1944 and 1945), by Jure Jareb, published by the Croatian History Institute, Zagreb, in 1997.

1. Based on extensive research in the Croatian State Archives by Croatian-American historian; a compilation of documents, mainly Croatian (NDH) State Bank, Treasury Ministry, and Foreign Ministry records.

2. Acknowledges that Zlato i Novac does not answer all questions about all gold the Ustashe ever held

3. Jareb estimates in Zlato i Novac that the Ustashe fled Croatia on May 6-7, 1945 with several hundred kgms of gold. Jareb's precise estimate of the total amount of gold (in bars and coins) on hand at that point is 287.710 kgms.

4. It is also known that 1,339 kgms of NDH gold was frozen in Switzerland in Dec. 1944, up to 60 kgms of gold coins were allegedly distributed to senior NDH officials on the eve of the Ustasha flight, and up to 1,000 kgms or 32 trunks of victim gold left hidden in a Franciscan monastery on Kaptol, Zagreb when the Ustashe fled. The trunks contained illiquid "victim gold," including dental gold.

5. Zlato i Novac acknowledges that Dragonovic kept some 45 kgms of gold in Rome. According to Jareb, 90% of the gold was later seized from Dragonovic at gunpoint.

6. Agrees that the evidence strongly suggests that 2-3 Ustashe took 100-200 kgs of gold with them when they fled by ship from Genoa to South America in late 1946.

7. Neitzke is openly critical of John Loftus and Mark Aarons' Unholy Trinity and describes their book as a "stunning display of thinly substantiated, tangled, conspiracy theorizing"

8. Neitzke concludes by acknowledging that the "amount, value, and fate of all gold and personal valuables looted from the victims of Ustasha terror" remains unanswered.

9. He suggests: "(l)ocating the 22-"list" inventory of the 32 trunks - of what may have been largely victim gold and valuables - unearthed on Kaptol in Zagreb in January 1946 and sent to Belgrade the following month; review of the anticipated publication of a 40-page inventory of some 1,065 kgms of valuables seized from Croatian Jews in 1941; and review of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's project to microfilm voluminous victim case files from the Croatian State Archives and archives in Belgrade.

10. Jareb believes that the bulk of the NDH MFA archives are in the Military Historical Institute archives in Belgrade.

11."In the end, however, it is probably impossible to establish a precise value for the gold and other valuables looted from the Ustashe's victims."

CEANA Reports (Commission of Enquiry into the Activities of Nazism in Argentina)

1. Professor Dennis Reinhartz

2.Mrs. Svetlana Adzic, Assistant to the Director of the Yugoslav State Archives

3.Dr. Josip Kolanovic, Head of the Croatian State Archives

4.Research is ongoing..,

5. I have included some of the Argentine Commission's discovery in my submission, including telegrams from the Vatican attempting to explain their behavior.

IV. THE PRIMARY CONSTRAINT OF OUR LITIGATION

Our goal is to achieve success in the United States on behalf of United States citizens. If we are successful, we will endeavor to seek the same success for foreign plaintiffs. Our strategy is to keep the case simple for the Court's understanding: this is a stolen property case. If this strategy works, we will do everything in our power to make sure the result has a snowball effect so that we can help ALL victims of the Ustasha.

A. THE COURT'S QUESTION: WHAT DO AMERICAN COURTS HAVE TO DO WITH USTASHA WRONGS?

* Foreign defendant

* Foreign victim

* Foreign site

* Foreign impact

B. JURISDICTIONAL LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY STATUTE

1. FSIA

* Sovereign's are immune from litigation in the United States;

*EXCEPT:

* Rights and Property taken in violation of international law;

*That property is in United States in connection with commercial activity in United States

2. ALIEN TORT CLAIMS ACT- When can a non-U.S. citizen sue in U.S. Courts?

Elements of Statute known as the "Torture Victims Protection Act"

a. Plaintiff is a non-U. S. citizen

- b. A wrongful act has been committed (e.g. murder or torture by defendants)
- c. Exhaustion of Remedies in home country Adequate and available remedies in the place where the Act occurred? 634 F.2d 318: Tortious conversion of property does not constitute violations of Alien Tort Claims Act

C. THE PUBLIC'S MISINFORMATION AND LACK OF INFORMATION

- b. limited awareness of Jasenovac
- c. limited awareness of Ustasha
- d. limited understanding of atrocities against orthodox Serbs, Jews and Roma

Even Slany/Eizenstat's report discusses the "Allied leaders" lack of awareness of the genocide committed at the Ustasha death camps during WWII. Eizenstat at 142 Americans do not have a knowledge or understanding of Ustasha acts. They can not comprehend forced religious conversions and the deliberate killing of Orthodox priests.

V. HOW THOSE OUTSIDE THE U.S CAN HELP

A. ASK QUESTIONS

If you do not understand our strategy, communicate with us and we can enter into discussion.

B. SHARE INFORMATION

Here is what we need to learn:

- Where did the looting occur?
- Who was involved in the looting?
- Where did the loot go first?
- Then where did it go?
- Did the loot leave Europe? How?
- Who was involved in converting the assets and How?
- Did the assets reach the U.S.? Argentina? How? With whose help?

VI. CONCLUSION

THANK YOU for inviting our participation. Also, special thanks to Dr. Milan Bulajic and Katalina Platzer. We repeat our commitment to successfully litigate this case and consider other cases. We encourage you to become involved - correspond with us - stay updated of the case progress. My email address is kmf@zimmreed.com

PAPERS OF THE PARTICIPANTS
WHO WERE INVITED BUT WERE NOT ABLE TO
ATTEND THE CONFERENCE

**DETERMINATION OF THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS AND THEIR
STRUCTURE IN DONJA GRADINA EXECUTION SITE OF THE
CONCENTRATION CAMP JASENOVAC**

I have been studying Jasenovac concentration camp with a special emphasis to Donja Gradina, liquidations center of that death factory for twenty years. The book about this two-decade long research was published in Sarajevo 1990.¹ The aim of the research was not to have the genocide repeated but it seems that genocide cannot be prevented only by writing about it. So it rests upon wider social community to not only study the phenomenon of genocide over certain nations, here when Jasenovac is in question, over: Serbs, Jews and Romas, but also find the ways of stopping its repetition. Some time passes and the crime is being forgotten either because of the deaths of the witnesses or perpetrators of the crime or social circumstances change and so the genocide permanently fades away and its repetition has no obstacles.

Not only that it is repeated in a global sense but also over the same nations and very often those nations are accused of being genocidal. That fact simply forced me to try to discover the atrocities committed by Croatian Ustasha in Jasenovac from 1941. to the beginning of May in 1945. Considerable means were necessary and the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina, after having rejected it for five times, finally passed the law on arranging the Donja Gradina site and thanks to that the area has been cleared from weeds, we have started to determine the number of mass graves and the park has been made in Donja Gradina. There was a bidding for arrangement of Donja Gradina site and the building of the monument which was stopped due to the latest war. Now the same issue has been raised and there is a tendency to involve international community into final verification not only of the number of victims but also of the people who perpetrated it, why and when.

Economical interests of the perpetrators of the crimes was the most important. In the book mentioned earlier it was proved by this German document: Table of income by every inmate in SS concentration camps.

¹ Radomir Bulatovic, Concentration camp Jasenovac with a special emphasis to Donja Gradina – Historical-sociological and anthropological study, "Svjetlost", Sarajevo 1990, pages 1-451.

Profitability calculation:

Average profit by an inmate	PM 6.00
Deduction for food	PM 0.60
Average length of life:	
9 months 270 days	PM 5.30 PM 1,431
Deduction for clothes	PM 0.10
Profit gained by rational usage of a corpse:	
gold in the mouth	
clothes	
valuables	
money	
Deduction for cremation expenses	PM 2.00
Average profit	PM 200.00
Total profit after nine months	PM 1,631

This calculation does not include profit gained from (selling) bones and ashes.²

Croatian Ustasha were at a much lower level of perfection of liquidation of victims, so they used gas less for killing of the inmates and much more blunt objects, knives etc. Fire weapon was rarely used because it was a waste to use ammunition, stressed the leaders of Jasenovac death factory. This proves how the Ustashi calculated profitability but it does not differ much from Nazi system. The Ustasha built a factory for producing soap in Donja Gradina which we proved as well as the transportation of boiled human bones by a small railroad leading to the Sava.³

In order to determine the exact number of victims we used: testimonies of the survived commanders of Jasenovac camp, grave-diggers, inmates and as the most important source ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCHES.⁴ This was published under the title Anthropological report on probing researches of mass graves in Gradina and the territory of the camp in Jasenovac. Later this work was widened by additional research which we published under the title Anthropological researches 1976.⁵

² Ibid, 30

³ Ibid, 221-243. In Gradina we found original cauldrons from that factory, ibid 241-243

⁴ Ibid, 244-266

⁵ Ibid, 267-285

Statements of the gravediggers, survived inmates and perpetrators of the crimes about genocide in Jasenovac fully confirmed scientifically indisputable evidence of genocide established during anthropological research in Donja Gradina, first of all.⁶

During the communist regime it was not allowed to study genocide based on the testimonies of survived inmates. There are no published scientific studies on Jasenovac until this book appeared in Sarajevo in 1990. Unfortunately, there was a tendency not to disturb national relations. It was not very appropriate to prove or find out whom, when and where had committed the crimes. Despite of it, mass graves in Donja Gradina indisputably prove that mostly Serbs, then Jews, Romas, and also Muslims and Croats who as anti-fascist were against genocide in general, were killed there. Jasenovac death factory really žswallowed more than 1,000,000 victims, mainly Serbs.⁷

To avoid any dilemmas as to which nationality suffered greatest losses in Jasenovac, we studied in detail only two municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and they are Bosanska Dubica and Travnik.⁸

Wherever there were Serbs there was genocide. So, of 103 municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in other žsmaller Jasenovacs from 1941-1945. there were: 1,023 killed Croats, 7,357 killed Jews, 7,958 Muslims, 70,110 Serbs.⁹

Jasenovac cannot be studied separately without other žsmaller Jasenovacs which we showed for all municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I am sorry that because of my health condition I cannot personally take part in this International Scientific Conference organized by Mr. Milorad Dodik, Prime Minister of Republic of Srpska in Banja Luka. I send you my whole-hearted regards hoping that my twenty-year-long work will be used for determining crimes committed in Jasenovac.

Thank you for your attention.

Radomir Bulatovic
Podgorica, May 5, 2000.

⁶ Ibid, 287-302

⁷ Ibid, 426

⁸ Ibid, 303-370 and Execution site in Smrike near Pucarevo, 371-401

⁹ Ibid, 79

**List of all killed during the Second World War and the problem of
number of the killed in Jasenovac**

I like Socrates but I prefer the truth /Aristotle/
The truth will save us. /the Bible/

It is a devastating truth that until this very day, even 55 years after the Second World War, not even the approximate number of the killed in that war on the territory of former Yugoslavia is known. The most drastic example of this lack of knowledge of the fundamental facts can be seen in the case of Jasenovac. The number of the killed in Jasenovac camp has been estimated, in Yugoslav historiography, at several thousands and several tens of thousands and even up to 1,000,000 and 1,100,000 killed.

Nowadays, after the tragic experience and the just finished War 1991-1995. we could clearly identify the creators of these small as well as those great estimates on the number of Jasenovac victims. The creators of such contradictory claims are both Croatian and Serbian ultra-nationalists who have been using this lack of knowledge for unbelievable mystifications and different manipulations.

If the estimate of 1,706,000 killed in the Second World War on the territory of former Yugoslavia is at least approximately reliable, it seems that then the estimate on the number of the killed in Jasenovac is somewhere between the smallest and the greatest estimates. The exact number of the killed in Jasenovac cannot be determined directly because all the lists and official archives as well as the camp itself were completely destroyed. Likewise, the great number of the killed was burnt in crematoriums or thrown into the Sava so that their material remains were not saved. Unfortunately, up to now, the mass graves in Donja Gradina were not exhumated or saved so that any speculations about the final number of the killed in Jasenovac are very hypothetical.

Regardless of how strange it might sound, it suited many in former Yugoslavia the truth about Jasenovac never to be revealed.

Croatian ultra-nationalists in the Second World War organized in Ustasha organization modeled after German fascists i.e. National-socialists, succeeded in concealing the truth about Jasenovac so it was presented to domestic and international public as an ordinary work camp for various prisoners of war and that only some of them were sentenced to death.

On the other hand, partisan revolutionaries did not have the strength or did not want to liberate Jasenovac so it suited them as well not to reveal the real truth about Jasenovac (although they exchanged captured Ustasha for their relatives in this camp). The allies had the same reasoning regarding the truth about Jasenovac. Even during the long period of peace after the Second World War, revealing the truth about Jasenovac camp was not convenient and the totalitarian regime of Titos communists completely destroyed the remains of the camp, already mined by the Ustasha, so that nothing would remind of the tragic events in the period of bright future, built on new basis of the ideology of Marxism and Leninism.

Thus the conditions for the present state related to Jasenovac were created and everybody was given the opportunity to manipulate with the number of the people killed in Jasenovac.

Only after complete exhumation of all mass graves, will it be possible to talk about some reliable and exact basis for further research on the total number of the people killed in Jasenovac camp.

And then we ask ourselves how to determine at least an approximate number of the people killed in Jasenovac because we strongly believe that it is the interest of every well-meaning man anywhere in the world (regardless of his age, position, sex, race, religion, nation or political affiliation) that the truth about this problem be found out. This seemingly unsolvable problem can be resolved in the following way:

Exhume all mass graves in Jasenovac in the same way as it is done with mass graves from the War 1991-1995.

Make complete lists of all the people killed in the Second World War on the territory of former Yugoslavia (or to begin with the territory of the Entity of the Republic of Srpska). It is necessary to do it with all precise data by inhabited places, i.e. cadastre municipality, by names and surnames, names of parents, years of birth and death, about victims status (civilian, chetnic, partisan...), data about the formation he was killed by, when and where etc.

This plan can be achieved by the full engagement of social community, or by additional questionnaire at a regular census, or by special action as it had already been done for some micro regions (for missing families or whole settlements it is necessary to take census from 1931. as a starting point or other methods).

An approximately exact number of the people killed in Jasenovac camp can be determined, therefore, only after final registration of all persons killed in the Second World War had been carried out. This complex and honourable project can still be successfully completed if the good will exists. Only after that further manipulation and mystification of this most tragic event in recent history will stop as it had already been done in the civilized world. This short text of methodological and theoretical character clearly points to the ways of overcoming probably, the greatest problem of recent Yugoslav history and in that sense it can have program character.

Ljubomir Kerovic Mirko Babic, MA

THE LIST OF THE KILLED IN JASENOVAC, FROM THE TERRITORY OF SREDISNJA (CENTRAL) AND PODMAJEVICA (LOWER MAJEVICA)

This list of the killed in Jasenovac, from the above mentioned territory was based on the registration of the killed published in 1995. in the first book of the newly started edition *Novi prilozi za istoriju Drugog svjetskog rata u oblasti Semberije i Majevice* (titled *Popis srpskih zrtava na prostoru sredisnje Majevice i Podmajevice i biljeske za istoriju /Registration of Serbian victims on the territory of central and lower Majeвица and notes for history/* (author Ljubo Kerovic).

On that occasion the registration of all the killed in World War II in this area regardless of the formations they were members of or which formation they were killed by. The lists contained data about the surname and name of the victim, names of parents, years of birth and death, about the status of the victim (civilian, partisan, chetnic...), then which formation he was killed by and where he was killed (see the page, supplement 1). This was the first case of publication of such fundamental historical material in these parts (see the map, supplement 2).

The registration contained data for 5,263 victims, classified into 49 villages of this territory, with all necessary tables and statistical analysis (see 5 tables, supplement 3). Of this number, 476 were killed in Jasenovac camp, which is submitted in the supplement (8 pages of supplement 4).

We find this method of registering all the killed in World War II the most exact direction towards final solution to the problem of the number of victims in Jasenovac. Also, on this occasion we enclose (4 pages in supplement 5) unpublished data for two more villages on the other side of Majeвица, where in village Dubnica of 217 killed in World War II even 150 of them were killed in Jasenovac whereas in village Zolje of 132 killed, 62 died in Jasenovac.

For this occasion, we collected data, besides Dubnica and Zolja, for Serbian villages Jeginov Lug (186 victims) and Jaici (28 victims), which also belong to Kalesija. It means that of 563 victims in these four Serbian villages in Kalesija community, 212 of them were killed in Jasenovac.

As regards the published registration of victims of the Second World War in these 49 villages, it should be pointed out that all these villages abut upon one another and form a compact territory. They belong to the communities Lopare, Ugljevik, partly Tuzla and Bijeljina, and two villages (Postosnica and Rozanj) belong to Zvornik community. In this list there are some deviations as to cadastre communities, and so it happened that Pozarnica (under

ordinal number 38) also encompasses cadastre community Kovacevo Selo and Simin Han as well as inhabited places Gornji Caklovići and Slavinovići. Bukovica also (under number 6) consists of two cadastre communities, Gornja Bukovica and Donja Bukovica, and Cadjavica (under No. 49) has three c.c., Gornja, Srednja and Donja Cadjavica as well as Dragaljevac (under No. 10), Gornji, Srednji and Donji Dragaljevac, and Magnojević (under No. 26) has two c.c. Gornji and Donji Magnojević. Also as part of Ugljević (under No. 47) c.c. Ugljevićka Obrijež is registered. On the other hand, Cviljevina (under No. 48) is isolated although it is a part of c.c. Kovacica, and Vukodavci (under No. 9) as an inhabited place is a part of c.c. Lopare Selo, and inhabited place Rozanj was entered as part of c.c. Godus.

This area stretches over 650 km² and according to the calculations based on the 1931. census, it should have had about 41,500 inhabitants in 1941. The number of 5,263 victims makes 12.6% of total population in this area (the ones who died of typhus and other war misfortunes) (more on statistics, supplement 6).

Of 5,263 victims, 47 were killed in Jasenovac, which means that in this remote area, in the periphery of NDH, there were more than 9% of the victims in Jasenovac. (Similar situation can be noted from the data in Monography of village Ostojicevo, by author Dusan Nikolic, MA, in Bijeljina, where of 161 household there were 88 killed in the World War II, and of this number 42 people were killed in Jasenovac, which is almost a half of the total number of victims).

Supplement 1/6

Surname	Name	sex	Father's Name	Mother's name	Y. of birth	Y. of death	status	killed by	place of death
Todorović	Radovan	m	Obren	Zora	1938	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Todorović	Savo	m	Vaso	Ruža	1889	1941	civil	ustaša	Jasenov
Todorović	Sara	f	Vladislav	Bojana	1937	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Todorović	Stojanka	f	-	-	1937	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Todorović	Vaso	m	Radovan	Jelka	1916	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Bosiljka	f	Mišo	-	1906	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Branka	f	Risto	-	1940	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Desanka	f	Ostoja	Mileva	1932	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Dušan	m	Lazar	Bosiljka	1928	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Đoko	m	Panto	Nikolija	1915	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Đuka	f	Lazar	Bosiljka	1935	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Đuka	f	Slavko	-	1937	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Joco	m	Cvijetin	Stana	1905	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Lazar	m	Ostoja	Petra	1904	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Mara	f	Slavko	-	1940	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Mileva	f	Risto	Paja	1903	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Ostoja	m	Ostoja	Petra	1902	1944	civil	ustaša	
Cvijić	Panto	m	Pero	Stana	1891	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Pero	m	Panto	Nikolija	1925	1944	civil	ustaša	
Cvijić	Petra	f	Lazar	Bosiljka	1934	1944	civil	ustaša	

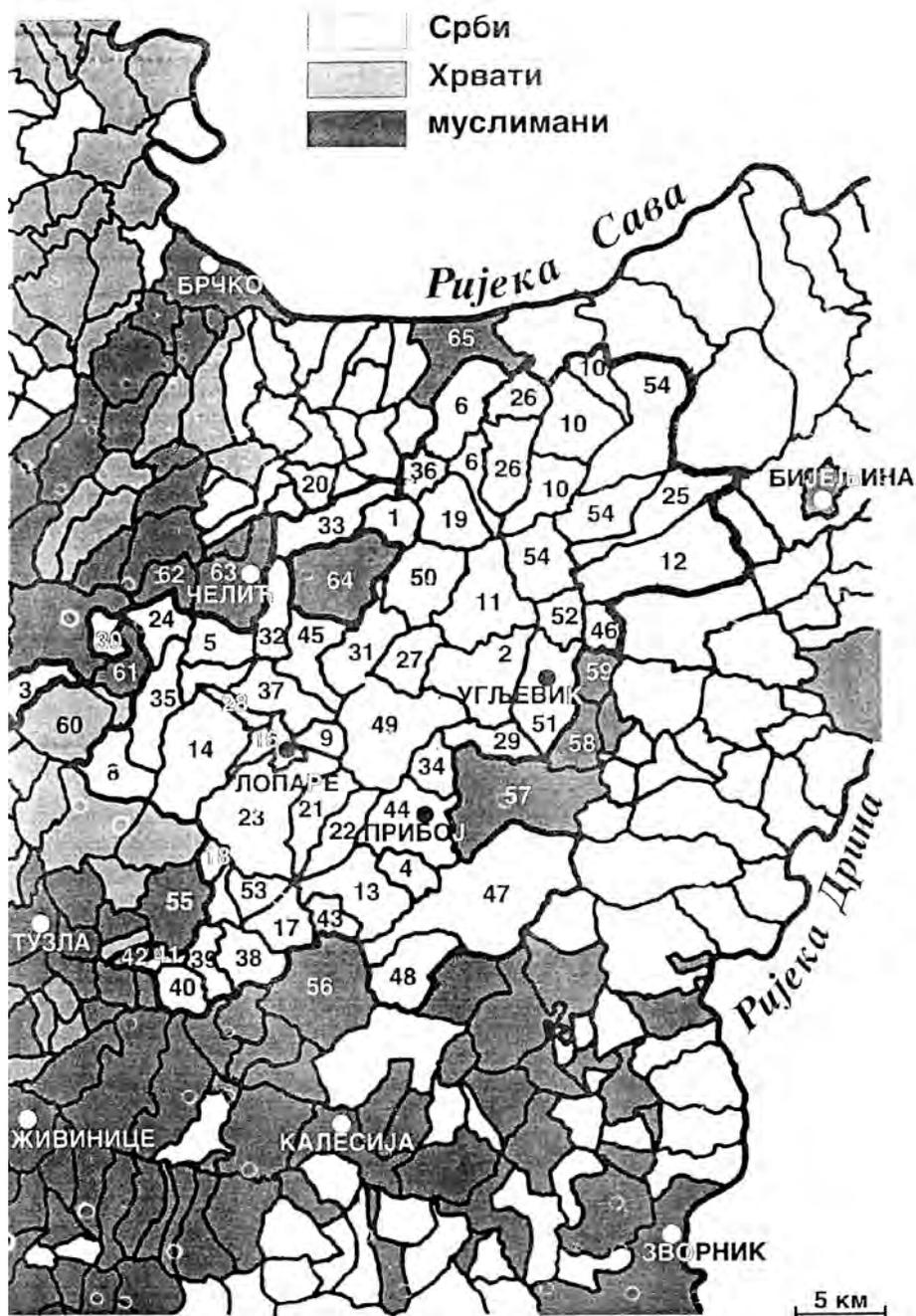
Cvijić	Risto	m	Panto	Nikolija	1912	1943	civil	partiz.	
Cvijić	Risto	m	Ostoja	Mileva	1934	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Ruža	f	Cviko	Mara	1923	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Sekula	m	Lazar	Bosiljka	1930	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Sekula	m	Slavko	-	1932	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Simo	m	Ostoja	Mileva	1937	1944	civil	ustaša	
Cvijić	Sreten	m	Lazar	Bosiljka	1932	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Sreten	m	Slavko	-	1935	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Cvijeta	f	Ostoja	Mileva	1930	1944	civil	ustaša	
Cvijić	Cvijetin	m	Joco	Ruža	1925	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvijić	Cvijo	m	Mikan	Cvija	1914	1945	civil	partiz.	Ugljevik
Cvijić	Cvijo	m	Risto	-	1942	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe
Cvjetinović	Petra		Luka	-	1909	1944	civil	ustaša	Zabrđe

Spisak je napravljen po kazivanjima Bože Cvijića (1921), Čede Simića-Zekića (1926) i drugih.

ZAGONI

Surname	Name	sex	Father's Name	Mother's name	Y. of birth	Y. of death	status	killed by	place of death
Blagojević	Aleksa	m				1944	partiz	nestao	na Romaniji
Blagojević	Julka	f			1912	1944	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Blagojević	Sara	f	Jovo		1897	1943	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Božić	Neđo	m	Jovo	Stana	1904	1943	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Vujić	Gojko	m			1903	1945	civil	četnika	Zagoni
Vujić	Krstina	f	Blagoje		1905	1944	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Vujić	Nikola	m	Jovo		1917	1944	partiz	ustaša	LJeljenča
Vujić	Nikola	m			1903	1944	civil	četnika	Zagoni Sr.
Vujić	Tripun	m	Pero		1907	1944	civil	četnika	LJeljenča
Gavrić	Ruža	f	Jovo		1888	1944	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Gligorović	Branko	m	Vojko	Đeka	1917	1941	četni	ustaša	Jasen.
Gligorović	Miko	m	Vojko	Đeka	1915	1941	civil	ustaša	Jasen.
Despotović	Stana	f	Božo		1903	1944	civil	ustaša	Čadavica G
Dimitrić	Budimir	m	Todor		1919	1943	partiz	ustaša	Zagoni
Dimitrić	Ruža	f	Teodor		1888	1944	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Dimitrić	Teodor	m	Tomo		1885	1944	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Dimitrić	Tomo	m	Teodor		1923	1944	partiz	ustaša	Majevisa
Jokić	Jovan	m	Stevo	Anđa	1895	1945	civil	partiz.	Zagoni Sr.
Đokić	LJubo	m	Tešo	Stana	1912	1945	četnik	partiz.	Zagoni Sr.
Đokić	Milan	m	Stevo		1880	1942	civil	ustaša	Jasen.
Đokić	Stana	f	Tešo		1897	1943	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Đurić	Ilija	m	D.		1920	1944	partiz	nestao	Ravna G.
Živanović	Veljko	m	Cvijetin	Simana	1922	1942	partiz	ustaša	Ivan Pl.
Živanović	Jela	f		Nasta	1924	1945	civil	partiz.	Zagon Sr.
Ilić	Andrija	m	Ilija	Kata	1930	1949	civil	četnika	Čadavica
Ilić	Stevo	m	Stevan	Anica	1918	1941		nijemci	Beograd
Jovanović	Slavko	f	Jovo	Mara	1925	1945	čet.	partiz.	

Jović	Vaso	m	Lazar	Anđa	1916	1941	voj.K Jug	nijemci	Beograd
Jović	Vaso	m	Tešo		1901	1941	civil	ustaša	Jasen.
Jović	Živan	m	Cvijetin	Jelka	1898	1941	civil	ustaša	Jasen.
Jović	Jovo	m	Stanko	Jela	1925	1944	civil	ustaša	Zagoni Sr.
Jović	Josip	m	Tešan		1896	1941	civil	ustaša	Jasen.
Jović	Lazo	m	Kosta		1924	1944	partiz	ustaša	Zagoni
Jović	Lazo	m	Pero		1902	1941	civil	ustaša	Jasen.
Jović	Lazo	m	Stanko	Jela	1922	1944	civil	ustaša	Ražljevo
Jović	Lazo	m	Josip		1919	1944	partiz	četnika	
Jović	Milan	m	Miloš		1927	1945	partiz	ustaša	Bijeljina
Jović	Obren	m	Danilo		1900	1943	civil	ustaša	Zagoni
Jović	Pero	m	L.			1944	partiz	nepoz.	kod.Orlova
Jović	Radivoje	m	Uroš	Stoja	1926	1944	partiz	nijemca	Čelebić
Jović	Stevo	m	Miloš		1925	1943	partiz	ustaša	Šekovići
Jović	Tešan	m	Tešo		1903	1941	civil	ustaša	Jasen.



Карта мјеста обухваћених пописом

Mjesta obuhvaćena popisom:	Susjedna muslimanska i hrvatska sela:
1. Bobetino Brdo	55. Gornja Tuzla
2. Bogutovo Selo	56. Hrasno i Seljubve
3. Brezja	57. Teočak i Sniježnica
4. Brijest	58. Glinje
5. Brusnica	59. Atmačići
6. Bukovica	60. Drijenča
7. Vakuf	61. Nahiovci
8. Visori	62. Brnjik
9. Vukosavci	63. Čelič
10. Dragaljevac	64. Koraj
11. Zabrdže	65. Brezovo Polje
12. Zagoni	
13. Zlo Selo (Podgora)	
14. Jablanica	
15. Kovačica	
16. Kozjak	
17. Kolimer	
18. Konjikovići	
19. Korenita	
20. Koretaši	
21. Labucka	
22. Lipovice	
23. Lopare Selo	
24. Lukavica	
25. Ljeljenča	
26. Magnojević	
27. Maleševci	
28. Mačkovac	
29. Mezgraja	
30. Miladići	
31. Milino Selo	
32. Mirosavci	
33. Mrtvica	
34. Peljave	
35. Piperi	
36. Piperi	
37. Pirkovci	
38. Požarnica	
39. Kovačevo Selo	
40. Čaklovići Gornji	
41. Simin Han	
42. Slavinovići	
43. Potraš	

44. Priboj	
45. Puškovac	
46. Ravno Polje	
47. Rastošnica	
48. Rožanj	
49. Tobut	
50. Tutnjevac	
51. Ugljevik	
52. Ugljevička Obrijež	
53. Cviljevina	
54. Čađavica	

Supplement 3/6

TABELA 1.

MJESTO		UBIJENI SU BILI			UKUPNO		
		CIVILI	ČETN.	PARTIZ.	VOJ.KR. JUGOSL.	OSTALI	
1	Bobetino Brdo	32	2	6	1	-	41
2	Bogutovo Selo	158	81	52	-	-	291
3	Brezje	5	-	1	-	-	6
4	Brijest	9	12	-	-	-	21
5	Brusnica	72	12	1	-	-	85
6	Bukovica	108	63	35	2	-	208
7	Vakuf	54	1	12	-	-	67
8	Visori	7	1	6	-	-	14
9	Vukosavci	45	9	16	2	-	72
10	Dagaljevac	108	12	40	9	1	170
11	Zabrđe	280	49	9	-	-	338
12	Zagoni	117	27	52	2	1	199
13	Zlo Selo*	28	22	-	1	-	51
14	Jablanica	124	8	18	-	-	150
15	Kovačica	39	9	1	1	-	50
16	Kozjak	39	12	7	-	-	58
17	Kolimer	22	13	2	-	-	37
18	Konjikovići	39	2	2	-	-	43
19	Korenita	27	25	25	8	-	85
20	Koretaši	15	8	9	-	-	32
21	Labucka	14	2	11	-	-	27
22	Lipovice	27	24	5	1	-	57
23	Lopare	245	29	27	2	-	303
24	Lukavica	95	13	8	1	-	117
25	LJeljenča	30	27	9	6	-	72
26	Magnojević	58	26	22	2	-	108
27	Maleševci	46	12	3	1	-	62
28	Mačkovac	61	4	13	-	-	78
29	Mezgraja	64	25	7	2	-	98
30	Miladići	40	5	4	-	-	49
31	Milino Selo	64	10	2	1	-	77

32	Mirosavci	141	9	4	1	-	155
33	Mrtvica	39	26	4	1	-	70
34	Peljave	27	23	2	-	1	53
35	Piperi	62	11	10	-	-	83
36	Piperci	25	12	6	-	-	43
37	Pirkovci	40	19	12	-	-	71
38	Požarnica**	96	47	11	2	-	156
39	Potraš	13	8	-	-	-	21
40	Priboj	69	37	14	1	-	121
41	Puškovac	80	14	3	2	-	99
42	Ravno Polje	25	6	9	-	-	40
43	Rastošnica	101	84	11	1	-	197
44	Rožanj	87	19	2	-	-	108
45	Tobut	87	78	6	2	-	173
46	Tutnjevac	112	30	25	-	-	167
47	Ugljevik	110	63	34	3	-	210
48	Cviljevina	70	13	-	1	-	84
49	Čadavica	141	147	47	11	-	346
	UKUPNO	3397 64.54%	1191 22.63%	605 11.50%	67 1.27%	3 0.04%	5263 100%

* Podgora od 1995. godine.

** Požarnica, Kovačevo Selo, Čaklovići Gornji, Simin Han i Slavinovići.

TABELA 2.

MJESTO		UBIJENI OD					Ukup.
		Ustaša	Partizana	Nijemaca	Četn.	Osta.	
1	Bobetino Brdo	31	4	3	3	-	41
2	Bogutovo Selo	181	68	15	21	6	291
3	Brezje	3	2	1	-	-	6
4	Brijest	6	8	6	1	-	21
5	Brusnica	52	14	16	2	1	85
6	Bukovica	71	81	25	28	3	208
7	Vakuf	39	1	23	4	-	67
8	Visori	9	1	4	-	-	14
9	Vukosavci	21	8	33	7	3	72
10	Dagaljevac	111	13	23	20	3	170
11	Zabrđe	256	55	4	22	1	338
12	Zagoni	109	41	21	20	8	199
13	Zlo Selo*	17	26	-	6	2	51
14	Jablanica	12	9	119	9	1	150
15	Kovačica	37	6	2	-	5	50
16	Kozjak	26	16	13	3	-	58
17	Kolimer	21	14	-	1	1	37
18	Konjikovići	39	2	1	-	1	43
19	Korenita	24	33	13	14	1	85
20	Koretaši	20	7	-	5	-	32
21	Labucka	4	3	12	7	1	27
22	Lipovice	17	19	7	13	1	57
23	Lopare	210	23	49	20	1	303
24	Lukavica	63	10	36	7	1	117
25	Ljeljenča	19	32	6	15	-	72
26	Magnojević	28	42	14	24	-	108

27	Maleševci	33	16	4	7	2	62
28	Mačkovac	22	9	42	5	-	78
29	Mezgraja	47	34	6	10	1	98
30	Miladići	27	1	20	1	-	49
31	Milino Selo	51	12	7	6	1	77
32	Mirosavci	126	10	11	8	-	155
33	Mrtvica	19	28	19	3	1	70
34	Peljave	16	25	1	10	1	53
35	Piperi	21	15	40	7	-	83
36	Piperci	11	18	12	2	-	43
37	Pirkovci	26	17	13	14	1	71
38	Požarnica	75	53	10	14	4	156
39	Potraš	12	8	-	1	-	21
40	Priboj	42	34	19	24	2	121
41	Puškovac	76	15	3	5	-	99
42	Ravno Polje	22	9	4	4	1	40
43	Rastošnica	57	85	10	34	11	197
44	Rožanj	86	18	1	3	-	108
45	Tobut	17	88	44	20	4	173
46	Tutnjevac	88	44	15	19	1	167
47	Ugljevik	92	65	25	26	2	210
48	Cviljevina	68	8	2	6	-	84
49	Čađavica	90	162	48	43	3	346
	UKUPNO	2550 48.45%	1312 24.93%	802 15.24%	524 9.96%	75 1.43%	5263 100%

* Podgora od 1995. godine.

**Požarnica, Kovačevo Selo, Čaklovići Gornji, Simin Han i Slavinovići.

TABELA 3.

TABELA 4.

GODINA	ČETNICI UBIJENI OD					UKUPNO
	Partiz.	Ustaša	Četnika	Nijemaca	Ostalih	
1941.	3	26	1	3		
1942.	55	21	8	4		
1943.	75	13	7	6		
1944.	142	15	21	18		
1945.	621	4	12	9		
1946.	67		7	1		
1947.	26					
1948.	9					
1949.	5					
1950.	1					
1951.						
1952.						
1953.	1					
1954.	1					
	1006	79	56	41	9	1191
100%	84.47%	6.63%	4.70%	3.44%	0.76%	

TABELA 5.

GODINA	PARTIZANI UBIJENI OD					UKUPN.
	Nijemaca	Ustaša	Četnika	Partizana	Ostalih	
1941.	3	11	1	-		
1942.	9	16	19	1		
1943.	69	54	23	7		
1944.	91	82	84	1		
1945.	22	25	44	4		
1946.		1	15			
1947.		1				
	194	190	186	13	22	605
100%	32.07%	31.40%	30.74%	2.15%	3.64%	

Supplement 6/6

STATISTICS ON THE REGISTRATION OF VICTIMS

I included 49 villages on Majevisa and Podmajevisa. Except villages Pukis and Smiljevac the whole community of Lopare was registered as well as more than a half of Ugljevic community, Serbian part of Tuzla (on Majevisa), one quarter of Bijeljina and two villages in Zvornik community (Rožanj and Rastosnica).

That area stretches over 650 km² with 47,000 Serbs according to the last census from 1991. On the basis of the census available I increased it for 16%. Taking it as an average value for all 49 villages I get 40,500 inhabitants in 1948. For the period from 1941-1948. I took the average growth of 15 promile and by adding registered 5,263 victims I come to the approximate number of 41,500 inhabitants in 1941. This means that the number of 5,263 victims makes 12.6% of that number! We know that the loss above 10% is a catastrophe for one nation, especially if we take into consideration that a lot of children and young men were killed. As I did not register those who died of typhus and I, probably omitted to register one small percentage, I can, with some certainty conclude that every seventh (14.3%) inhabitant on the territory covered by the registration, had died in the Second World War. And really, I could hardly find a family that did not suffer any losses. Among 5,263 registered war victims, 85 were Karavlas in Lopare and one Roman Catholic woman in Kozjak, whereas all others were Serbs. 18.43% of the killed were women, 81.49% men and 4 children of unknown sex.

In table 1 the number of victims by villages is given, as regards their status during the war, i.e. whether they were civilians, chetnics, partisans, soldiers of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (prisoners from April War 1941.) or others (unspecified status). The percentage of 64.54% civilians in the total number

of victims is quite surprising. The cause of this is the status of the Serbs as proscribed minority in NDH whereas the number of the killed chetnics (22.63%) was twice the figure of the number of the killed partisans (11.5%).

In table 2 the number of the victims in villages classified by their murderers is given. Almost half of them (48.45%) were killed by the Muslims and Croats, who were registered as Ustasha. That figure is probably 5% bigger, i.e. figure of 15.24% killed by the Germans is for about 5% smaller because 30% civilians killed by 13. SS Handzar Division were recorded as killed by the Germans.

423 children younger than 14 years were killed, mainly by the Ustasha (Muslims and Croats), less by the Germans, and one small number of children were killed by the remaining unexploded bombs.

First mass suffering of civilians was their deportation to Jasenovac in August- September 1941, where about 488 people were killed, in Jadovno 5 and Stara Gradiska 3. Among them were 6 priests and one priest from Pozarnica was killed by the partisans in 1945. Besides priests, several students and one shop-keeper were taken to Jasenovac. I also registered 6 killed district heads, 4 by Ustasha and 2 by Partisans as well as 3 representatives who were appointed in villages by the partisans and Chetnics.

Second mass suffering of civilians was at the end of November 1941. in Mirosavci, where during only one day 104 civilians were killed. In spring the infamous Hadziefendijas legion killed a lot of civilians in Pozarnica, Cviljevina and Kovacica.

During the German offensive, Tuzla on 2 December 1942, several hundreds of civilians were killed. Rozanj suffered most, where the Muslims, led by Ibrahim Ferizovic, only in one house burned 44 civilians. Among the Ustasha there were also Croats from the revolutionary and freedom loving Husin. Punitive expedition then, on St. Nikolas Day, almost exterminated Karavlahs in Lopare. That was the first appearance of the Germans on Majevisa. The Germans came for the second time in spring 1942. as commanders of 13. SS Handzar Division, which killed almost 1,000 civilians and that was the greatest suffering of our civilians in the war.

The Chetnics and the Partisans were together as rebels at the beginning of the war and according to their mutual agreement they killed 8 civilians suspected for treason. Three suicides were also committed for political reasons two because of UDBA and one because of the Chetnics.

The Partisans killed 1,312 persons (24.93%), Germans 802 (15.24%) and Chetnics 524 (9.96%). A small number of incorrect data can by no means change this ratio significantly. In table 3 we can see that the Partisans killed a greater number of civilians than the Chetnics. Civilian victims of the

Partisans and Chetnics are the most painful victims in Serbian nation and they died in the civil war. From the same table we can see that the civil war was at its peak in 1944. and 1945.

The Partisans killed the civilians who were anti-communist oriented and supported Chetnics. The Chetnics killed Partisan collaborators as well as their own collaborators who, having realized the Partisans were winning, started turning traitors to Partisans. It can be seen by the number of civilians killed by the Chetnics in 1946. and 1947. (table 3)

During the fight with the Chetnics, the Partisans killed 1,006 Chetnics and Chetnics killed 186 Partisans, and also 56 Chetnics in mutual conflicts (tables 4 and 5).

Partisan warfare tactics was disastrous for the civilians. The Partisans would take some actions against the Ustasha and the Germans and they would keep the liberated territory for as long as they could, and then when they realized that they could not resist the Ustasha and the Germans any longer, they would retreat leaving the civilians at the mercy of the Ustasha and the Germans. Because of mass murders, the civilians would join the Partisans to fight against the Ustasha and the Germans and then all over again. Two greatest sufferings of Serbian civilians on Majevisa had such scenario, and anything similar to this had never happened in Muslim or Croatian settlements. I shall leave all further analysis to readers and scientists.

Supplement 4/6

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

1.	Bobetno Brdo	Jovanović	Blagoje	m	Jokan		1892	civil	1941
2.	Bobetno Brdo	Marjanović	Marjan	m	Mičo		1893	civil	1941
3.	Bobetno Brdo	Mihailović	Đojo	m	Vid		1891	civil	1941
4.	Bobetno Brdo	Mihailović	Ilija	m	Cvijan		1907	civil	1941
5.	Bobetno Brdo	Novaković	Savo	m	Ivan		1895	civil	1941
6.	Bobetno Brdo	Oxaković	Savo	m	Mikan		1912	civil	1941
7.	Bobetno Brdo	Pajkanović	Đorđija	m	Mihailo		1888	civil	1941
8.	Bobetno Brdo	Radovanović	Spasoje	m	Pano		1888	civil	1941
9.	Bobetno Brdo	Todorčević	Teodor	m	Gajo		1876	civil	1941
10.	Bobetno Brdo	Trifković	Vaso	m	Cvijan		1904	civil	1941
11.	Bogutovo Selo	Đokić	Mikailo	m	Đ		1900	civil	1941
12.	Bogutovo Selo	Grujičić	Obren	m	Miljan		1891	civil	1941
13.	Bogutovo Selo	Ignjatović	Božidar	m	P		1920	civil	1941
14.	Bogutovo Selo	Ignjatović	Boro	m	Jovo	Stana	1912	civil	1941
15.	Bogutovo Selo	Krstić	Cvijetin	m	Drago	Goja	1885	civil	1941
16.	Bogutovo Selo	Lazić	Matija	m	Marko	Ruža	1888	civil	1941
17.	Bogutovo Selo	Lazić	Pero	m	Rado		1878	civil	1941
18.	Bogutovo Selo	Mićanović	Božo	m	Jovan	Stoja	1915	civil	1941
19.	Bogutovo Selo	Mićanović	Petar	m	Luka	Ruja	1922	civil	1941
20.	Bogutovo Selo	Milovanović	Đorđija	m	Pero	Petra	1886	civil	1941
21.	Bogutovo Selo	Milovanović	Risto	m	Jovo	Staka	1917	civil	1941
22.	Bogutovo Selo	Načić	Milenko	m	Mitar		1902	civil	1941
23.	Bogutovo Selo	Novaković	Mihailo	m	S		1909	civil	1941
24.	Bogutovo Selo	Novaković	Mikan	m	Stevo		1915	civil	1941
25.	Bogutovo Selo	Novaković	Petar	m	R		1905	civil	1941
26.	Bogutovo Selo	Novaković	Petar	m	Pero	Ruža	1907	civil	1941
27.	Bogutovo Selo	Novaković	Stanko	m	Vasilija	Joka	1905	civil	1941
28.	Bogutovo Selo	Obradović	Jovan	m	Cvijetin	Jeka	1890	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

29. Bogutovo Selo	Obradović	Neđeljko	m	Tešo		1898	civil	1941
30. Bogutovo Selo	Ostojčić	Mihailo	m	Stevo	Cvija	1906	civil	1941
31. Bogutovo Selo	Perić	Pero	m	Jovo	Ilinka	1894	civil	1941
32. Bogutovo Selo	Radić	Cviko	m	Stevo	Stoja	1923	civil	1941
33. Bogutovo Selo	Radić	Stevo	m	Cvijo		1876	civil	1941
34. Bogutovo Selo	Radovanović	Branko	m	Stevo		1927	civil	1941
35. Bogutovo Selo	Radovanović	Cvijetin	m	Pero		1900	civil	1941
36. Bogutovo Selo	Radovanović	Petar	m	LJ		1913	civil	1941
37. Bogutovo Selo	Radovanović	Petar	m	Gavro	Joka	1903	civil	1942
38. Bogutovo Selo	Radovanović	Stanko	m			1885	civil	1941
39. Bogutovo Selo	Radovanović	Velimir	m	Jovo	Milka	1919	civil	1941
40. Bogutovo Selo	Simikić	Cviko	m	Stevo	Goja	1925	civil	1941
41. Bogutovo Selo	Stanojević	Cvijetin	m	Milovan		1919	civil	1941
42. Bogutovo Selo	Stanojević	Vasilije	m	Ž		1921	civil	1941
43. Bogutovo Selo	Stanojević	Vasilija	m	Đojo		1919	civil	1944
44. Bogutovo Selo	Todorović	Lazar	m	Tešo	Goja	1896	civil	1941
45. Bogutovo Selo	Todorović	Panto	m	Mičo	Smilja	1890	civil	1941
46. Bogutovo Selo	Todorović	Pero	m	Stojan		1905	civil	1942
47. Bogutovo Selo	Todorović	Radovan	m	Tešo	Goja	1894	civil	1941
48. Brijest	Lakić	Pajo	m	Čedo		1894	civil	1941
49. Brusnica	Petrović	Vukašin	m	Ostoja		1918	civil	1941
50. Brusnica	Ristić	Vajo	m	Mitar		1917	civil	1941
51. Brusnica	Jovanović	Miljan	m	Jovo	Đuka	1911	civil	1942
52. Cviljevina	Maksimović	Cvijetin	m	Despo	Sava	1882	civil	1942
53. Cviljevina	Maksimović	Maksim	m	Trišo		1900	civil	1942
54. Cviljevina	Mičić	Cvika	m	Mitar		1872	civil	1942
55. Cviljevina	Mičić	Mihajlo	m	Marko		1907	civil	1942
56. Cviljevina	Mičić	Milak	m	Marko	Krstan	1907	civil	1942

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

57. Cviljevina	Mičić	Milan	m	Mitar		1874	civil	1942
58. Cviljevina	Mičić	Pero	m	Mitar		1876	civil	1942
59. Cviljevina	Miletić	Pero	m	Đoko	Anica	1886	civil	1942
60. Cviljevina	Miletić	Stojan	m	Pero	Rujka	1918	civil	1942
61. Cviljevina	Mrkonjić	Živko	m	Marko	Cvija	1920	civil	1942
62. Cviljevina	Mrkonjić	Marko	m	Živko	Joka	1900	civil	1942
63. Cviljevina	Mrkonjić	Milan	m	Žarko	Cvija	1922	civil	1942
64. Cviljevina	Ostojić	Drago	m	Stanoje	Mara	1886	civil	1942
65. Cviljevina	Ostojić	Ostoja	m	Stanoje	Mara	1889	civil	1942
66. Cviljevina	Ostojić	Ostoja	m	Tešo		1911	civil	1942
67. Cviljevina	LJubojević	Milan	m	Đoko	Rosa	1880	civil	1942
68. Cviljevina	LJubojević	Milo	m	Đoko	Rosa	1876	civil	1942
69. Cviljevina	LJubojević	Milorad	m	Mitar	Stana	1890	civil	1942
70. Cviljevina	LJubojević	Sava	m	Milo	Stoja	1920	civil	1942
71. Cviljevina	Simić	Boško	m	Mičo	Mitra	1925	civil	1942
72. Cviljevina	Simić	Branko	m	Mičo	Mitra	1914	civil	1942
73. Cviljevina	Simić	Jovan	m	Jovo	Stana	1902	civil	1942
74. Cviljevina	Simić	Mičo	m	Jovo	Stana	1886	civil	1942
75. Cviljevina	Simić	Neđo	m	Mičo	Mitra	1924	civil	1942
76. Cviljevina	Simić	Stannko	m	Mičo	Mitra	1904	civil	1942
77. Cviljevina	Simić	Svetozar- Žarko	m	Jovan	Đuka	1921	civil	1942
78. Cviljevina	Simić	Veljko	m	Tošo	Milica	1910	civil	1942
79. Cviljevina	Stjepanović	Acim	m	Živan	Jela	1910	civil	1942
80. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Đoko	m	Pajo	Sara	1905	civil	1942
81. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Đorđo	m	Pajo	Toda	1908	civil	1942

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

82. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Božo	m	Pajo	Sara	1907	civil	1942
83. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Grujo	m	Pajo	Sara	1924	civil	1942
84. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Jovan	m	Pajo	Sara	1916	civil	1942
85. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Jovo	m	Neđo	Živana	1905	civil	1942
86. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Lazar	m	Marko	Petra	1882	civil	1942
87. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Mihajlo	m			1900	civil	1942
88. Cviljevina	Stojanović	Neđo	m	Jovo	Stoja	1870	civil	1942
89. Cviljevina	Tešić	Živko	m	Tešo		1880	civil	1942
90. Cviljevina	Tešić	Jovo	m	Stevo	Stana	1888	civil	1942
91. Cviljevina	Tešić	Milan	m	Stevo	Stana	1886	civil	1942
92. Cviljevina	Tešić	Petar	m	Stevo	Stana	1880	civil	1942
93. Čađavica	Živanović	Cvijetin	m	Lako		1917	civil	1942
94. Čađavica	Đokić	Božo	m	Nikola		1894	civil-nez	1941
95. Čađavica	Đokić	Gavro	m	Teodor	Krunija	1896	civil	1941
96. Čađavica	Đokić	Jovan	m	Pano	Savka	1894	civil	1941
97. Čađavica	Đokić	Jovan	m	Teodor	Krunija	1884	civil	1941
98. Čađavica	Đokić	Milenko	m	Pero		1898	civil	1941
99. Čađavica	Čordić	Živko	m	Jovan	Petra	1923	civil	1941
100. Čađavica	Čordić	Mihailo	m	Vaso	Smilja	1892	civil	1941
101. Čađavica	Arsenović	Branko	m	Đorđija		1912	civil	1941
102. Čađavica	Gajjić	Čedo	m	Jeremija	Smilja	1920	civil	1941
103. Čađavica	Gavrić	Glišo	m	Mičo	Anđa	1888	civil	1941
104. Čađavica	Gavrić	Mitar	m	Glišo	Stana	1919	civil	1941
105. Čađavica	Ilić	Teodor	m	Lazar	Smilja	1902	civil	1941
106. Čađavica	Jakšić	Tešo	m	Jakša	Ruža	1892	civil	1941
107. Čađavica	Jovanović	Stanko	m	Živan	Petra	1897	civil	1942
108. Čađavica	Jović	Jovan	m	Pero	Janja	1911	civil	1941
109. Čađavica	Kovačević	Vlado	m	Tomo	Stana	1924	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

110. Čađavica	Mićić	Jefto	m	Mika	Goja	1898	civil	1941
111. Čađavica	Mladenović	Ilija	m	Pero	Sara	1887	civil	1941
112. Čađavica	Mladenović	Joco	m	Ilija		1910	civil	1941
113. Čađavica	Mladenović	Jovan	m	Ilija	Milka	1912	civil	1941
114. Čađavica	Mladenović	Staniša	m	Aleksa		1890	civil	1941
115. Čađavica	Mladenović	Tešo	m	Pero	Sara	1892	civil	1941
116. Čađavica	Munbić	Mičo	m	Todo		1900	civil	1941
117. Čađavica	Panić	Blagoje	m	Ostoja	Đuja	1914	civil	1941
118. Čađavica	Panić	Gavro	m	Ostoja	Đuja	1916	civil	1941
119. Čađavica	Panić	Ostoja	m	Panto	Toda	1899	civil	1941
120. Čađavica	Pantelić	Dimitrija	m			1908	civil-pop	1941
121. Čađavica	Stojanović	LJubo	m	Sava		1903	civil	1942
122. Čađavica	Stojanović	Rodoljub	m	Stevo		1897	civil	1942
123. Čađavica	Vidović	Branko	m	Mičo	Mara	1892	civil	1941
124. Dragaljevac	Grujičić	Miko	m	Cvijan		1923	civil	1941
125. Dragaljevac	Ilić	Pero	m	Vajo	Mara	1924	civil	1941
126. Dragaljevac	Jovanović	Tripun	m	Pero		1900	civil	1941
127. Dragaljevac	Jović	Vojin	m	Maksim		1917	civil	1941
128. Dragaljevac	Kičić	Đoko	m	Đoko		1903	civil	1941
129. Dragaljevac	Krstić	Ilija	m	Pavle		1904	voj.Kr.Jug.	1941
130. Dragaljevac	Krstić	Milorad	m	Teodor		1920	civil	1941
131. Dragaljevac	Maksimović	Aleksa	m	Cviko		1889	civil	1941
132. Dragaljevac	Milošević	Gavro	m	Pero		1894	civil	1941
133. Dragaljevac	Perić	Milorad	m	Savo		1921	civil	1941
134. Dragaljevac	Simić	Đuro	m	Đoko		1911	civil	1941
135. Dragaljevac	Simić	Dušan	m	Simo		1920	civil	1941
136. Jablanica	Ilić	Ilija	m	Radovan		1889	civil	1941
137. Konjikovići	Gajić	Mitar	m	Sava	Krsmani	1912	civil	1942

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

138. Konjikovići	Petković	Živko	m	Rado	Goja	1896	civil	1942
139. Konjikovići	Petković	Milo	m	Dimitrija		1892	civil	1942
140. Konjikovići	Radojčić	Ostoja	m	Pero	Mara	1885	civil	1942
141. Konjikovići	Zekić	Blagoje	m	Ilija	Đuka	1900	civil	1943
142. Korenita	Pajkanović	Pajkan	m	Spasoje		1899	civil	1941
143. Korenita	Radovanović	Cvijetin	m	Lazar		1878	civil	1941
144. Korenita	Torlaković	Maksim	m	Jovan		1897	civil	1944
145. Korenita	Torlaković	Milorad	m	Jovan		1895	civil	1941
146. Kovačica	Jovanović	Milan	m	Jovo		1905	civil	1942
147. Kovačica	Mihailović	Vasilija	m	Simo	Đuka	1914	civil	1942
148. Kovačica	Ostojčić	Živko	m		Stoja	1870	civil	1942
149. Kovačica	Ostojčić	Ilija	m	Đuro		1888	civil	1942
150. Kovačica	Ostojčić	Jovo	m	Simo		1900	civil	1941
151. Kovačica	Ostojčić	Ostoja	m			1911	civil	1942
152. Kovačica	Ostojčić	Petar	m	Cvijetin		1900	civil	1942
153. Kovačica	Ostojčić	Risto	m	Cvijetin	Milica	1902	civil	1942
154. Kovačica	LJubojević	Mičo	m	Jovan		1902	civil	1942
155. Kovačica	Radojčić	Mladen	m	Ostoja	Stoja	1924	civil	1942
156. Kovačica	Radojčić	Ostoja	m	Đoko	Mara	1885	civil	1942
157. Kovačica	Simeunović	Blaško	m	Blagoje	Jovanka	1925	civil	1942
158. Kovačica	Simeunović	Blagoje	m	Jevto	Milka	1870	civil	1942
159. Kovačica	Simić	Spasoje	m	Blagoje	Stanojka	1910	civil	1942
160. Kovačica	Stojanović	Jovo	m	Nedo		1911	civil	1942
161. Kovačica	Stojanović	Spasoje	m	Pajo	Sara	1900	civil	1942
162. Kovačica	Stojanović	Tešo	m	Pero		1915	civil	1941
163. Kovačica	Tomić	Živko	m	Stevo	Milica	1924	civil	1942
164. Kovačica	Tomić	Jovan	m	Cvijetin	Sava	1890	civil	1942

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

165. Kovačica	Tomić	Stevo	m	Cvijetin	Sava	1900	civil	1942
166. Kovačica	Trakilović	Todor	m	Cvijetin	Tomana	1889	civil	1942
167. Kovačica	Trakilović	Sava	m	Todor	Gospa	1925	civil	1942
168. Kovačica	Vasilić	Mihailo	m	Vaslija	Stoja	1908	civil	1942
169. Kovačica	Vasilić	Srećko	m	Vaslija	Stoja	1900	civil	1942
170. Kozjak	Erić	Gojko	m	Vidak	Ristuša	1886	civil	1942
171. Kozjak	Maksimović	Đoko	m	Ilija		1882	civil	1942
172. Kozjak	Marković	Cvijetin	m	Stevo	Cvija	1890	civil	1942
173. Kozjak	Marković	Marko	m	Pero		1913	civil	1941
174. Kozjak	Mihailović	Savo	m	Aćim	Đuka	1880	civil	1941
175. Kozjak	Mitrović	Mitar	m	Milovan		1890	civil	1942
176. Kozjak	Pajić	Jovan	m	Đoko		1882	civil	1942
177. Kozjak	Ristić	Milan	m	Mitar	Pajka	1910	civil	1941
178. Kozjak	Ristić	Nikola	m	Avram	Đuka	1902	civil	1942
179. Kozjak	Ristić	Savo	m	Mitar	Pajka	1907	civil	1941
180. Lopare	Dejić	Jovo	m	Trivko		1875	civil	1942
181. Lopare	Erić	Gojko	m	Vidak		1875	civil	1942
182. Lopare	Jovičić	Tomo	m	Mirko		1896	civil	1942
183. Lopare	Lakić	Pero	m	Savatija		1922	civil	1943
184. Lopare	Lozjanin	Savo	m			1901	civil	1941
185. Lopare	Mitrić	Đoko	m	Stevo	Mitra	1880	civil	1941
186. Lukavica	Četković	Milutin	m	Spasoje-Pajo	Rija	1922	civil	1941
187. Lukavica	Milanković	Nenad	m	Blagoje	Dušana	1920	civil	1942
188. Mačkovac	Davidović	Tešo	m	Jovo		1892	civil	1941
189. Mačkovac	Jovanović	Mika	m			1883	civil-pop	1941
190. Mačkovac	Jovnović	Momčilo	m	Mikajlo	stud. prava	1910	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

191. Mačkovac	Mitrašević	Mika	m	Risto		1877	civil	1941
192. Magnojević	Bogdanović	Mirko	m	Aleksa		1901	civil	1941
193. Magnojević	Kalajxić	Marjan	m	Đoko	Jelka	1893	civil	1941
194. Magnojević	Milinković	Lazar	m	Mika		1892	civil	1941
195. Magnojević	Petrović	Jefto	m	Jovo		1890	civil	1941
196. Magnojević	Petrović	Jokica	ž	Jovo		1900	civil	1941
197. Magnojević	Simić	Đuro	m			1916	civil	1941
198. Magnojević	Tomić	Neđo	m	Obren		1918	civil	1941
199. Magnojević	Trišić	Glišo	m	Gavro		1892	civil	1941
200. Maleševci	Krstić	Živan	m	Risto		1913	civil	1941
201. Maleševci	Milutinović	Neđo	m	Živan	Cvija	1918	civil	1941
202. Maleševci	Mirković	Krsto	m	Pero	Jeka	1882	civil	1941
203. Maleševci	Mitrović	Aleksija	m	Tešo	Stoja	1882	civil	1941
204. Maleševci	Mitrović	Milan	m	Nikola	Kosa	1914	civil	1941
205. Maleševci	Mitrović	Mitar	m	Nikola	Kosa	1904	civil	1941
206. Maleševci	Mitrović	Neđo	m	Nikola	Kosa	1908	civil	1941
207. Maleševci	Mitrović	Nikola	m	Tešo	Stoja	1882	civil	1941
208. Maleševci	Mitrović	Panto	m	Nikola	Kosa	1902	civil	1941
209. Maleševci	Mitrović	Risto	m	Tešo	Stoja	1886	civil	1941
210. Maleševci	Mitrović	Simo	m	Jovo		1886	civil	1941
211. Maleševci	Nikolić	Mičo	m	Đorđija	Gospava	1885	civil	1941
212. Maleševci	Perić	Jovan	m	Nikola	Ruža	1887	civil	1941
213. Maleševci	Popović	Mihailo	m	Akso		1882	civil	1941
214. Maleševci	Savić	Lazar	m	Anto	Vajka	1900	civil	1941
215. Maleševci	Vaslić	Mladen	m	Mikan	Mitra	1910	civil	1941
216. Mezgraja	Delić	Rado	m	Mijo		1894	civil	1942
217. Mezgraja	Despotović	Jovo	m	Spasoje	Bojana	1900	civil	1941
218. Mezgraja	Gajić	Cviko	m	Ranko		1920	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

219. Mezgraja	Gajić	Jovan	m	Mitar	Ruža	1901	civil	1941
220. Mezgraja	Gajić	Obren	m	Vaso		1900	civil	1941
221. Mezgraja	Gajić	Risto	m	Cvijetin		1903	civil	1941
222. Mezgraja	Gajić	Spasoje	m	Perko	Anica	1917	civil	1941
223. Mezgraja	Jevtić	Nedeljko	m	Nikola		1905	civil	1941
224. Mezgraja	Mihailović	Cvijetin	m	Živan		1911	civil	1942
225. Mezgraja	Mijatović	Đoko	m	Panto		1921	civil	1941
226. Mezgraja	Mijatović	Đorđija	m	Milovan		1902	civil	1942
227. Mezgraja	Mijatović	Đordije	m	Pero		1885	civil	1941
228. Mezgraja	Mijatović	Gojko	m	Živko		1900	civil	1941
229. Mezgraja	Mijatović	Jovo	m	Pero		1904	civil	1941
230. Mezgraja	Mijatović	Mikailo	m	Milovan		1891	civil	1941
231. Mezgraja	Mijatović	Pero	m	Maksim		1892	civil	1941
232. Mezgraja	Mirković	Neđo	m	Mitar		1905	civil	1941
233. Mezgraja	Mirković	Ostoja	m	Cvijetin		1900	civil	1941
234. Mezgraja	Mitrović	Cviko	m	Stanoje		1891	civil-knez	1941
235. Mezgraja	Mitrović	Neđeljko	m	Milovan		1920	civil	1941
236. Mezgraja	Nikolić	Tešo	m	Milo		1891	civil	1941
237. Mezgraja	Radovanović	Marjan	m	Pajo		1913	civil	1941
238. Mezgraja	Rikanović	Veljko	m	Tomo		1905	civil	1941
239. Mezgraja	Stević	Đoko	m	Stevo		1890	civil	1941
240. Mezgraja	Stević	Tomo	m	Stevo		1889	civil	1941
241. Mezgraja	Zelenović	Boško	m	Mlađen	Mara	1913	civil	1941
242. Mezgraja	Zelenović	Marjan	m	Spasoje	Goja	1900	civil	1941
243. Milino Selo	Lazić	Branko	m	Cviko	Rajka	1920	civil	1941
244. Milino Selo	Lazić	Jovan	m	Aleksa	Darinka	1920	civil	1941
245. Milino Selo	Marković	Ilija	m	Risto	Stoja	1889	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

246. Milino Selo	Marković	Mičo	m	Risto	Stoja	1890	civil	1941
247. Milino Selo	Marković	Vlajko	m	Dejan	Janja	1890	civil	1941
248. Milino Selo	Nakić	Nikola	m	Jovo	Mara	1890	civil	1941
249. Milino Selo	Nakić	Obren	m	Jovo	Mara	1896	civil	1941
250. Milino Selo	Perić	Luka	m	Panto	Stanojka	1890	civil	1941
251. Milino Selo	Perić	Mihailo	m	Panto	Stanojka	1895	civil	1941
252. Milino Selo	Perić	Mikosava	m	Stojan	Anuša	1895	civil	1941
253. Milino Selo	Petrović	Jovan	m	Bogdan	Stana	1899	civil	1941
254. Milino Selo	Rikanović	Goran	m	Marko		1903	civil	1941
255. Milino Selo	Spasojević	Nikola	m	Miroslav	Jefa	1891	civil	1941
256. Milino Selo	Spasojević	Vlajko	m	Đorđe	Rosa	1913	civil	1941
257. Milino Selo	Stevanović	Drago	m	Lako	Mara	1903	civil	1941
258. Milino Selo	Stevanović	Neđo	m	Lako	Mara	1900	civil	1941
259. Milino Selo	Stjepanović	Božo	m	Stjepan		1900	civil	1941
260. Milino Selo	Stojanović	Ilija	m	Lazar		1904	civil	1941
261. Mirosavci	Nakić	Nikola	m			1902	civil	1941
262. Peljave	Četković	Mičo	m	Tešo		1900	civil	1941
263. Peljave	Četković	Neđo	m	Tešo		1899	civil	1941
264. Peljave	Mićić	Blagoje	m	Cvijan	Milojka	1917	civil	1941
265. Peljave	Simeunović	Mitar	m	Jovan	Božica	1901	civil	1941
266. Piperci	Gavrić	Teodor	m	Pajo		1900	civil	1941
267. Piperci	Jovičić	Gojko	m	Pero	Stjepanija	1908	civil	1941
268. Piperci	Rakić	Rajko	m	Mikailo	Bojana	1907	civil	1941
269. Piperci	Vasić	Diko	m	Kojo	Mara	1888	civil	1941
270. Piperci	Vidović	Gojko	m	Gojko	Milka	1901	civil	1941
271. Piperci	Vuković	Vlajko	m	Danilo	Joka	1909	civil	1941
272. Piperci	Marković	LJubo	m	Cvijan	Vasilja	1910	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

273. Piperci	Marković	Risto	m	Cvijan	Vasilja	1903	civil	1941
274. Pirkovci	Jovičić	Tomo	m	Mičo		1882	civil	1942
275. Požarnica	Bojić	Miljan	m	Rado	Goja	1902	civil	1942
276. Požarnica	Ivković	Blagoje	m	Stevo		1910	civil	1942
277. Požarnica	Jevtić	Jevto	m	Trivko	Milica	1876	civil	1941
278. Požarnica	Mijatović	Rajko	m	Stevo	Milka	1910	civil	1942
279. Požarnica	Mitrović	Branko	m	Miroslav	Stoja	1917	civil	1942
280. Požarnica	Pelemiš	Drago	m	Petar	Stoja	1920	civil	1942
281. Požarnica	Pelemiš	Slobodan	m	Milan		1918	civil	1942
282. Požarnica	Rikić	Vlajko	m	Risto	Ruža	1915	civil	1942
283. Požarnica	Ristić	Mihajlo	m	Pero		1923	civil	1941
284. Požarnica	Ristić	Mitar	m	Gligor		1889	civil	1942
285. Požarnica	Ristić	Sava	m	Stevan		1872	civil	1942
286. Požarnica	Simeunović	Iljija	m	Jevrem	Đuka	1911	civil	1941
287. Požarnica	Tešanović	Tešo	m	Spasoje		1894	civil	1941
288. Požarnica	Todorović	Dušan	m	Stojan	Stanojka	1904	civil	1942
289. Požarnica	Vasić	Krsto	m	Jovo	Stoja	1902	civil	1942
290. Požarnica	Vasić	Maksim	m	Mitar		1900	civil	1942
291. Požarnica	Vasić	Pero	m	Mitar		1898	civil	1942
292. Priboj	Đukanović	Jovan	m	Đukan		1907	civil	1942
293. Priboj	Bogdanović	Blagoje	m	Nikola		1921	civil	1941
294. Priboj	Bogdanović	Kostadin	m	Nikola		1920	civil	1941
295. Priboj	Jovanović	Mihajlo	m	Cvijetin		1885	civil	1941
296. Priboj	Mitrović	Srpko	m	Jovan	Paraskeva	1919	civil	1941
297. Priboj	Ostojčić	Dušan	m	Tomo	Darinka	1919	civil	1941
298. Priboj	Ostojčić	Tomo	m	Jovo	Stoja	1907	civil	1941
299. Priboj	Petković	Desa	z	Jakov	Ruža	1923	civil	1945
300. Priboj	Ristić	Savo	m	Mitar	Spasenija	1904	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

301. Puškovac	Đukić	Vlajko	m	Cvijetin	Petra	1900	civil	1941
302. Puškovac	Antić	Aleksa	m	Ilija		1880	civil	1941
303. Puškovac	Antić	Mitar	m	Ilija		1895	civil	1941
304. Puškovac	Bijelić	Lazar	m	Risto		1900	civil	1941
305. Puškovac	Bijelić	Pero	m	Jovan		1910	civil	1941
306. Puškovac	Bošković	Cvijan	m	Mitar		1875	civil	1941
307. Puškovac	Bošković	Peran	m	Ignjat		1900	civil	1941
308. Puškovac	Davidović	Đorđo	m	David	Marica	1908	civil	1941
309. Puškovac	Davidović	David	m	Lazar		1882	civil	1941
310. Puškovac	Davidović	Risto	m	David		1911	civil	1941
311. Puškovac	Filipović	Stanko	m	Pajo		1879	civil	1941
312. Puškovac	Gajić	Đoko	m	Pero	Stoja	1898	civil	1941
313. Puškovac	Jovanović	Dimitrije	m	Jovan	Stojka	1902	civil	1941
314. Puškovac	Jović	Cvijan	m	Jovo	Joka	1902	civil	1941
315. Puškovac	Jović	Jovan	m	Mika		1898	civil	1941
316. Puškovac	Jović	Jovan	m	Simo		1880	civil	1941
317. Puškovac	Jović	Krsto	m	Blagoje		1880	civil	1941
318. Puškovac	Jović	Mihailo	m	Mika		1892	civil	1941
319. Puškovac	Jovičić	Jovan	m	Tošo		1883	civil	1941
320. Puškovac	Marjanović	Mika	m	Lako		1880	civil	1941
321. Puškovac	Marjanović	Vlajko	m	Marjan	Sara	1915	civil	1941
322. Puškovac	Marković	Dimitrija	m	Radovan		1907	civil	1941
323. Puškovac	Milovanović-Jekić	Spasoje	m	Sava		1895	civil	1942
324. Puškovac	Pantić	Mihailo	m	Pero	Božica	1900	civil	1941
325. Puškovac	Radikić	Dmitrija	m	Sava	Cvija	1898	civil	1941
326. Puškovac	Radikić	Vaslija	m	Pero	Joka	1882	civil	1941
327. Puškovac	Rikanović	Branko	m	Tomo	Rosa	1913	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

328. Puškovac	Rikanović	Dimitrija	m	Tošo		1880	civil	1941
329. Puškovac	Rikanović	Ilija	m	Đoko	Ruža	1892	civil	1941
330. Puškovac	Rikanović	Mikailo	m	Tošo		1882	civil	1941
331. Puškovac	Rikić	Aleksa	m	Mitar	Stana	1875	civil	1941
332. Puškovac	Rikić	Cvijan	m	Mitar		1878	civil	1941
333. Puškovac	Rikić	Cvijetin	m	Stanko		1883	civil	1941
334. Puškovac	Rikić	Cvjetko	m	Cvijan	Bjelka	1915	civil	1941
335. Puškovac	Rikić	Luka	m	Panto		1920	civil	1941
336. Puškovac	Rikić	Milko	m	Aleksa	Savka	1900	civil	1941
337. Puškovac	Rikić	Mitar	m	Rajko		1872	civil	1941
338. Puškovac	Sekulić	Neđo	m	Milovan		1895	civil	1941
339. Puškovac	Sekulić	Vaslja	m	Milovan		1899	civil	1941
340. Puškovac	Stević	Neđo	m	Stanko		1906	civil	1941
341. Puškovac	Stević	Stanko	m	Pero		1880	civil	1941
342. Puškovac	Stjepić	Vaslja	m	Jevrem		1900	civil	1941
343. Puškovac	Stjepić	Zdravko	m	Jevrem		1914	civil	1941
344. Ljeljenča	Čembić	Žiko	m	Živan	Joka	1915	civil	1944
345. Ljeljenča	Čembić	Božo	m	Stojan	Mika	1909	civil	1944
346. Ljeljenča	Kićić	Dragutin	m	Mičo	Jovanka	1905	civil	1944
347. Ljeljenča	Kićić	Srečko	m	Pero	Jovanka	1916	civil	1944
348. Ljeljenča	Kićić	Stanislav	m	Jovo	Ruža	1908	civil	1944
349. Ljeljenča	Lejić	Pero	m	Milan	Jefa	1913	Voj.Kr.Jug	1944
350. Ljeljenča	Lejić	Stojan	m	Milan	Jefa	1916	Voj.Kr.Jug	1944
351. Ljeljenča	Lejić	Vaso	m	Vladimir	Kosana	1914	civil	1941
352. Ljeljenča	Mitrović	Milan	m	Neđo	Rajka	1916	civil	1944
353. Ljeljenča	Sekulić	Risto	m	Tanasije	Goja	1907	civil	1944
354. Ljeljenča	Spasojević	Mičo	m	Aleksa	Milija	1926	civil	1942
355. Ljeljenča	Stanojević	Božo	m	Cviko	Mara	1918	Voj.Kr.Jug	1941

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356. Rostošnica	Đokić	Lako	m	Jovan		1921	civil	1941
357. Rostošnica	Bajić	Savo	m	Spasoje	Sofija	1929	civil	1941
358. Rostošnica	Bajić	Zdravko	m	Spasoje	Sofija	1932	civil	1941
359. Rostošnica	Miljanović	Branko	m	Miko		1924	civil	1941
360. Rostošnica	Perić	Jovan	m	Gajo	Jela	1876	civil	1941
361. Ravno Polje	Šarčević	Živan	m	Petar	Joka	1921	civil	1941
362. Ravno Polje	Šarčević	Gajo	m	Cvijetin	Anđa	1905	civil	1941
363. Ravno Polje	Šarčević	Jovan	m	Petar	Joka	1905	civil	1941
364. Ravno Polje	Lukić	Luka	m	Petar	LJubica	1907	civil	1941
365. Ravno Polje	Maksimović	Gavro	m	Diko		1906	civil	1941
366. Ravno Polje	Marković	Dušan	m	Krsto	Marija	1908	civil	1941
367. Ravno Polje	Petrović	Savo	m	Mitar	Mara	1905	civil	1941
368. Ravno Polje	Stojanović	Petar	m	Rade	Petra	1920	civil	1941
369. Ravno Polje	Tešanović	Stevo	m	Radovan	Cvija	1893	civil	1941
370. Tobut	Pekić	Milorad	m	Lazar	Stana	1913	civil pop	1941
371. Tutnjevac	Čturić	Jovan	m	Petar	Ugljevik	1897	civil pop	1941
372. Tutnjevac	Blagojević	Cvijetin	m	Pero		1914	civil	1941
373. Tutnjevac	Gašić	Vojislav	m	Jablanice		1910	civil pop	1941
374. Tutnjevac	Gavrić	Cvjetko	m	Pero	Joka	1898	civil	1941
375. Tutnjevac	Gavrić	Gavro	m	Pero	Joka	1900	civil	1941
376. Tutnjevac	Gavrić	Jovo	m	Cvijetin	Stajka	1898	civil	1941
377. Tutnjevac	Gavrić	Lazar	m	Gavro	Petra	1923	civil	1942
378. Tutnjevac	Lazarević	Dimitrije-Diko	m	Simo	Smilja	1885	civil	1941
379. Tutnjevac	Lazić	Đoko	m	Tešan	Janja	1894	civil	1941
380. Tutnjevac	Lazić	Jovo	m	Tešan	Janja	1875	civil	1941
381. Tutnjevac	Milošević	Aleksa	m	Mičo	Milica	1907	civil	1941
382. Tutnjevac	Milošević	Nikola	m	Cvijan	Stojka	1910	civil	1941

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383. Tutnjevac	Milošević	Savo	m	Tripun		1892	civil	1941
384. Tutnjevac	Milovanović	Savo	m	Mitar	Vasilija	1894	civil	1941
385. Tutnjevac	Milovanović	Stanko	m	Cvijan		1924	civil	1941
386. Tutnjevac	Rikić	Đoko	m	Mitar		1896	civil	1941
387. Tutnjevac	Vidojević	Risto	m	J		1882	civil	1941
388. Tutnjevac	Vukić	Pero	m	Risto		1875	civil	1941
389. Ugljevik	Đurić	Mikan	m	Vidak	Jelka	1914	civil	1941
390. Ugljevik	Čturić	Čedomir	m	Josip	Anđa	1914	civil	1941
391. Ugljevik	Čturić	Jovan	m	Petar		1900	civil	1941
392. Ugljevik	Čturić	Miloš	m	Josip	Anđa	1912	civil	1941
393. Ugljevik	Čturić	Obren	m	Petar		1905	civil	1941
394. Ugljevik	Bogičević	Tejo	m	Tešo		1884	civil	1941
395. Ugljevik	Bojić	Đojo	m	Cvijetin	Joka	1919	civil	1941
396. Ugljevik	Bojić	Cvijetin	m	Tomo	Jela	1894	civil	1941
397. Ugljevik	Bojić	Tomo	m	Cvijetin	Joka	1921	civil	1941
398. Ugljevik	Gajić	Jovan	m	Mitar		1899	civil	1941
399. Ugljevik	Gajić	Spasoje	m	Petar		1913	civil	1941
400. Ugljevik	Jović	Jovo	m	Cvijetin	Joka	1901	civil	1942
401. Ugljevik	Jovičić	Žiko	m	Mitar	Danica	1921	civil	1943
402. Ugljevik	Jovičić	Stanko	m	Risto		1906	civil	1941
403. Ugljevik	Lukić	Stevo	m	Luka		1909	civil	1941
404. Ugljevik	Matić	Risto	m	Jakov	Julka	1925	civil	1943
405. Ugljevik	Milošević	Nikifor	m			1891	civil	19
406. Ugljevik	Mitrović	Đojo	m	M		1908	civil	1941
407. Ugljevik	Mitrović	Jovo	m	Maksim	Marija	1912	civil	1941
408. Ugljevik	Novaković	Pantelija	m	Đoko	Petra	1880	civil	1941
409. Ugljevik	Perić	Branko	m	Cvijetin		1918	civil	1941

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410. Ugljevik	Petrović	Joco	m	Jovo	Petra	1889	civil	1941
411. Ugljevik	LJubojević	Cvijetin	m	Trišo		1900	civil	1941
412. Ugljevik	Nešković	Jovan	m	Triša		1884	civil	1942
413. Ugljevik	Radovanović	Jovan	m	Jovo		1891	civil	1941
414. Ugljevik	Rankić	Ranko	m	Cvijetin	Rujka	1907	civil	1941
415. Ugljevik	Rankić	Vukašin	m	Cvijetin	Rujka	1907	civil	1941
416. Ugljevik	Savić	Branjo	m	Cvijetin	Bjelka	1918	civil	1941
417. Ugljevik	Tomić	Jovan	m	Jovo	Joka	1900	civil	1941
418. Ugljevik	Vidojević	Đoko	m	Milan	Ruža	1887	civil	1941
419. Ugljevik	Vidojević	Pajko	m	Milan	Ruža	1893	civil	1941
420. Ugljevik	Vujić	Jovan	m	Vićan	Joka	1915	civil	1941
421. Ugljevik	Zelenović	Boško	m	Mlađen		1914	civil	1941
422. Vakuf	Gavrić	Živan	m	Vaso	Milica	1870	civil	1941
423. Zabrđe	Božić	Jovan	m	Đorđo		1885	civil	1941
424. Zabrđe	Gajić	Jevto	m	Tešo		1884	civil	1941
425. Zabrđe	Gligorović	Nemanja	m	Aleksa		1913	civil	1941
426. Zabrđe	Jovičić	Mihajlo	m	Obren		1889	civil	1941
427. Zabrđe	Lukić	Ivan	m	Andrija		1918	civil	1941
428. Zabrđe	Maksimović	Đoko	m	Teodor		1903	civil	1941
429. Zabrđe	Maksimović	Stevan	m	Teodor		1905	civil	1941
430. Zabrđe	Marković	Savo	m	Sava	Savka	1912	civil	1941
431. Zabrđe	Mirković	Cviko	m	Risto	Cvija	1902	civil	1941
432. Zabrđe	Mirković	Radivoje	m	Jovan		1919	civil	1941
433. Zabrđe	Petričević	Jovan	m	Miko		1913	civil	1941
434. Zabrđe	Petrović	Jovan	m	Stojan		1887	civil	1941
435. Zabrđe	Petrović	Marjan	m	Radovan		1894	civil	1941
436. Zabrđe	Simić	Jovan	m	Đoko	Anđa	1904	civil	1941
437. Zabrđe	Simić	Mitar	m	Jovo	Milija	1897	civil	1941

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438. Zabrdje	Stojanović	Tešan	m			1894	civil	1941
439. Zabrdje	Todorović	Đorđija	m	Marjan	Božica	1921	civil	1941
440. Zabrdje	Todorović	Marjan	m	Simo		1905	civil	1941
441. Zabrdje	Todorović	Savo	m	Vaso	Ruža	1889	civil	1941
442. Zabrdje	Tovirac	Pero	m			1910	civil pop	1941
443. Zagoni	Đokić	Milan	m	Stevo		1880	civil	1942
444. Zagoni	Gligorović	Branko	m	Vojko	Đeka	1917	civil	1941
445. Zagoni	Gligorović	Miko	m	Vojko	Đeka	1915	civil	1941
446. Zagoni	Josipović	Pero	m	Vaso	Živka	1912	civil	1941
447. Zagoni	Jović	Živan	m	Cvijetin	Jelka	1898	civil	1941
448. Zagoni	Jović	Josip	m	Tešan		1896	civil	1941
449. Zagoni	Jović	Lazo	m	Pero		1902	civil	1941
450. Zagoni	Jović	Tešan	m	Tešo		1903	civil	1941
451. Zagoni	Jović	Vaso	m	Tešo		1901	civil	1941
452. Zagoni	Lukić	Mladen	m	Pero	Stana	1884	civil	1941
453. Zagoni	Lukić	Todor	m	Pero	Stana	1883	civil	1941
454. Zagoni	Marković	Radivoje	m	Savo		1912	civil	1941
455. Zagoni	Mijatović	Cvijetin	m	Sekula	llinka	1888	civil	1941
456. Zagoni	Mijatović	Ivanka	ž	Spasoje	Anđa	1918	civil	1941
457. Zagoni	Mijatović	Sekula	m	Spasoje	Anđa	1919	civil	1941
458. Zagoni	Mijatović	Spasoje	m	Sekula	llinka	1890	civil	1941
459. Zagoni	Milovanović	Iljija	m	Jovo		1888	civil	1943
460. Zagoni	Milovanović	Mikailo	m	Pero		1904	civil	1941
461. Zagoni	Milovanović	Panto	m	Pero		1906	civil	1941
462. Zagoni	Perić	Gojko	m	Danilo		1904	civil	1941
463. Zagoni	Perić	Radivoje	m	Rado		1923	civil	1943
464. Zagoni	Petrović	Savo	m	Dušan	Milka	1921	civil	1941
465. Zagoni	LJubojević	Vasko	m	Danilo		1883	civil	1941

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

466. Zagoni	Ristić	Đoko	m	Ilija	Cvijeta	1906	civil	1941
467. Zagoni	Sarić	Živan	m	Stanko		1889	civil	1941
468. Zagoni	Savić	Živan	m	Stanko		1896	civil	1941
469. Zagoni	Savić	Jovo	m	Simo		1910	civil	1941
470. Zagoni	Stevanović	Cvijetin	m	Ilija		1925	civil	1941
471. Zagoni	Stojanović	Radivoje	m	Panto		1906	civil	1941
472. Zagoni	Tomić	Đorđe	m	Mičo	Mitra	1900	civil	1941
473. Zagoni	Tomić	Duđan	m	Stanko	Goja	1902	civil	1941
474. Zagoni	Tomić	Milan	m	Ljubomir		1926	civil	1942
475. Zagoni	Trivković	Vojin	m	Simo	Janja	1915	civil	1941
476. Zlo Selo-Podg.	Terzić	Cvijan	m	Pero		1892	civil	1942

THE LIST OF NAMES OF THE KILLED AT JASENOVAC DURING THE PERIOD 1941-1945

DUBNICA (Kalesija)

PREZIME	IME	IME OCA	IME MAJKE	ŽIVEO	STATUS
Babić	Dašo	Sava		1888-8.8.1941.	civil
Babić	Mitar	Sava		1893-8.8.1941.	civil
Babić	Risto	Sava		1901.-1941.	civil
Božić	Pajo	Stjepan		1875-1941.	civil
Bošković	Toma			1924-1941.	civil
Bošković	Mitar			1902-1941.	civil
Bošković	Cviko			1922-1941.	civil
Bošković	Savka			1912-1941.	civil
Bošković	Lazar			1911-1941.	civil
Bošković	Đorđo			1908-1941.	civil
Bošković	Mitar			1913-1941.	civil
Bošković	Savatija			1922-1941.	civil
Vidović	Vid	Ilija		1906-8.8.1941.	civil
Vidović	Branko	Ilija		1901.-1941	civil
Vidović	Jovan	Ilija		1904.-1941	civil
Vidović	Neđo	Ilija		1903.-1941	civil
Vujanović	Vujan	Jovo		1910.-1941	civil
Vujanović	Dušan	Petko	Ana	1908.-1941	civil
Vekić	Mila	Manojlo		1915-1942.	civil
Gajić	Neđo	Mitar	Cvija	1916-8.8.1941.	civil
Gajić	Cvijetin	Mitar	Cvija	1914.-//	civil
Gajić	Božo			1901.-//	civil
Gajić	Sava			1902.-//	civil
Gajić	Dušan	Vidak		1901.-//	civil
Gajić	Petar	Vidak		1904.-//	civil

Gajić	Pero	Vidak		1902.-//	civil
Gajić	Anđelko	Gajo		1903.-//	civil
Đurić	Đorđe			1887.-//	civil
Đurić	Stanoje			1912.-//	civil
Đurić	Vasilije			1910.-//	civil
Ikić	Krsto	Todor		1904.-//	civil
Ilić	Ilija			1891.-//	civil
Ilić	Živko			1885.-//	civil
Ilić	Čedo			1922.-//	civil
Ilić	Strajo			1924.-//	civil
Ivanović	Mitar			1903.-//	civil
Janković	Petar			1896.-//	civil
Janković	Rado			1908.-//	civil
Janković	Drago	Petar		1914.-//	civil
Janković	Gavro			1906.-//	civil
Janković	Nikola			1890.-//	civil
Joković	Đorđe			1904.-//	civil
Joković	Radovan			1887.-//	civil
Joković	Vojin	Radovan		1916.-//	civil
Joković	Nikola	Vasilj		1872.-//	civil
Joković	Pero	//		1887.-//	civil
Joković	Despot	Nikola	Đurđa	1900.-//	civil
Joković	Pero	Petar		1905.-//	civil
Joković	Boško			1900.-//	civil
Joković	Milorad			1907.-//	civil
Joković	Mikan			1891.-//	civil
Jurošević	Pero	Jovan		1894.-//	civil
Jurošević	Neđo			1891.-//	civil
Jurošević	Marko			1889.-//	civil
Kojić	Simo			//	civil
Kojić	Stojan			1901.-//	civil
Kojić	Srećko			1900.-//	civil
Kojić	Milan			1891.-//	civil
Kovačević	Jovan			1891.-//	civil
Kovačević	Lazar	Jovan		1920.-//	civil
Kovačević	Ratko			1903.-//	civil

Kovačević	Matija	Risto		1888.-//	civil
Kovačević	Simo	//		1890.-//	civil
Kovačević	Kojo	//		1=10.-//	civil
Kovačević	Žarko			1891.-//	civil
Kovačević	Đorđo			1900.-//	civil
Kostić	Krsto			1900.-//	civil
Kostić	Risto			1888.-//	civil
Lazarević	Lazar	Pero		1890.-//	civil
Lazarević	Srećko			1900.-//	civil
Lazarević	Savo			1902.-//	civil
Lazarević	Risto			1901.-//	civil
Lazarević	Ratko			1904.-//	civil
Lazarević	Vidak			1902.-//	civil
Lazarević	Ostoja			1901.-//	civil
Lazarević	Dušan			1904.-//	civil
Lazarević	Filip			1916.-//	civil
Lazarević	Petko			1922.-//	civil
Lazarević	Trifko			1913.-//	civil
Lazarević	Đorđo			1907.-//	civil
Lazarević	Marko			1905.-//	civil
Lazarević	Maksim			1907.-//	civil
Lazarević	Neđo			1908.-//	civil
Mališević	Vladan			1918.-//	civil
Mališević	Petar			1903.-//	civil
Mališević	Jovo			1903.-//	civil
Mališević	Tomo			1904.-//	civil
Mališević	Ivan			1912.-//	civil
Mališević	Mitar	Simo		1904.-//	civil
Mališević	Mitar	Kojo		1905.-//	civil
Maksimović	Vlajko			1891.-//	civil
Maksimović	Srećko			1905.-//	civil
Maksimović	LJubo			1916.-//	civil
Mitrović	Tomo			1906.-//	civil
Mijatović	Stojan	Tripun		1921.-//	civil
Milaković	Vaso			1902.-//	civil
Nikolić	Đoko			1881.-//	civil

Nikolić	Jovan	Rado		1916.-//	civil
Nikolić	Cviko			1914.-//	civil
Nikolić	Simo			1890.-//	civil
Pajić	Spasoje			1889.-//	civil
Pajić	Sava	Spasoje	Rosa	1921.-//	civil
Pajić	Pajo			1887.-//	civil
Pajić	Đorđo	Spasoje	Rosa	1908.-//	civil
Pajić	Spasoje			1902.-//	civil
Pajić	Jovan	Spasoje	Rosa	1914.-//	civil
Pajić	Veljko	Spasoje	Rosa	1906.-//	civil
Pajić	Risto			1890.-//	civil
Perić	Milorad	Ilija	Stoja	1912.-//	civil
Perić	Petar	//	//	1915.-//	civil
Perić	Pero	Cvijetin	Stjepanija	1914.-//	civil
Perić	Tošo			1918.-//	civil
Perić	Dušan			1919.-//	civil
Gajić	Mitar			1876.-//	civil
Ikić	Krsto	Teodor		1910.-//	civil
Ristić	Toma			1904.-//	civil
Ristić	Dušan			1891.-//	civil
Rikić	Mičo			1903.-//	civil
Rikić	Janko			1910.-//	civil
Rikić	Ivan			1905.-//	civil
Stojanović	Lazar	Lazo	Cvija	1918.-//	civil
Stojanović	Cvijetin	Nikola	Anisija	1919.-//	civil
Stojanović	Damnjan	Pero		1889.-//	civil
Stojanović	Boško	Damjan	Danica	1913.-//	civil
Stojanović	Stojan	Pero		1911.-//	civil
Stojanović	Nikola			1888.-//	civil
Todić	Spasoje			1886.-//	civil
Todić	Luka			1887.-//	civil
Todić	Jovo			1900.-//	civil
Todić	Lazar			1916.-//	civil
Todić	Đoko			1912.-//	civil
Todić	Simo			1914.-//	civil
Todić	Ilija			1916.-//	civil

Todić	Veljko			1911.-//	civil
Todić	Todor			1917.-//	civil
Tešić	Rado	Sava		1911.-//	civil
Tešić	Toma			1893.-//	civil
Tešić	Drago	Toma		1916.-//	civil
Tešić	Mitar	Toma		1918.-//	civil
Tešić	Đoko			1892.-//	civil
Todorović	Mirko			1906.-//	civil
Todorović	Marko			1890.-//	civil
Todorović	Pero			1892.-//	civil
Todorović	Ratko			1891.-//	civil
Todorović	Obren			1896.-//	civil
Trifunović	Vujo			1917.-//	civil
Četković	Đorđo	Nikola	Stana	1904-1943.	civil
Četković	Todor			1900-1941.	civil
Četković	Čedo	Stratimir	Anica	1920.-//	civil
Četković	Jovo	Đoko	Živana	1887.-//	civil
Četković	Stratimir	//	//	1900.-//	civil

ZOLJE (Kalesija)

Erić	Vlajko	Tripo		1880-8.8.1941.	civil
Erić	Jovan	Mitar		1914.-//	civil
Erić	Aleksa	Ignjat		1905.-//	civil
Erić	Dušan	Trivko	Darinka	1919.-//	civil
Erić	Vaso	Živko		1914.-//	civil
Erić	Neđo	//		1916.-//	civil
Erić	Milo			1914.-//	civil
Erić	Jovan			1895.-//	civil
Zoljić	Ilija			1912.-//	civil
Zoljić	Cvijetin			1908.-//	civil
Zoljić	Tripo	David		1889.-//	civil
Zoljić	Ristro	//		1910.-//	civil
Zoljić	Matija	Rajko	Ana	1916.-//	civil

Zoljić	Stanko	//	//	1915.-//	civil
Zoljić	Veljko	Tripo		1922.-//	civil
Zoljić	Lazar	Jovan	Đuka	1925.-//	civil
Jović	Ilija	Risto		1898.-//	civil
Katanović	Risto	Dušan		1928.-//	civil
Katanović	Mitar	Petar		1910.-//	civil
Katanović	Dušan	//		1908.-//	civil
Katanović	Cviko	//		1913.-//	civil
Kostić	Aćim	Pero		1895.-//	civil
Kostić	Maksim	Aćim	Petra	1915.-//	civil
Kostić	Kojo	Pero	Milica	1910.-//	civil
Milovanović	Nikola			1912.-//	civil
Milovanović	Stevan			1910.-//	civil
Milovanović	Milorad			1907.-//	civil
Milovanović	Petar	Jovan		1915.-//	civil
Milovanović	Jovan	Milovan		1905.-//	civil
Milovanović	Danilo	Milovan		1895.-//	civil
Milovanović	Savo	Milovan		1902.-//	civil
Milovanović	Stjepan	//		1912.-//	civil
Milovanović	Kostadin	//		1915.-//	civil
Milovanović	Stevika			1893.-//	civil
Mićić	Perko	Perkan		1898.-//	civil
Mićić	Mikajlo	Perko	Đuka	1918.-//	civil
Erić	Sveto	Vlajko	Gospava	1922.-//	civil
Mihajlović	Stevan	Mihajlo		1898.-//	civil
Rakić	Žarko	Risto		1915.-//	civil
Rakić	Boško	Spasoje		1910.-//	civil
Rakić	Rajko	//		1912.-//	civil
Rakić	Timo	//		1915.-//	civil
Rakić	Mitar			1908.-//	civil
Rakić	Nikola			1888.-//	civil
Rakić	Trato	//	//		civil
Rožanjkić	Nikola	Mihajlo		1882.-//	civil
Rožanjkić	Mihajlo	Nikola		1904.-//	civil
Rožanjkić	Stanko	Nikola	Tomana	1918.-//	civil
Rožanjkić	David	Petar		1900.-//	civil

Rožanjkic	Simo			1891.-//	civil
Rožanjkic	Petar	Nikola		1890.-//	civil
Rožanjkic	Petko	David	Savka	1923.-//	civil
Stevanovic	Cvijetin	Petar		1895.-//	civil
Stojic	Stjepan	Ilija		1923.-//	civil
Stojic	Ilija	Đorđe		1898.-//	civil
Stojanovic	Toma			1882.-//	civil
Stojanovic	Stojan			1900.-//	civil
Stojanovic	Đoko			1915.-//	civil
Stojanovic	Radivoje	Petar		1910.-//	civil
Stojanovic	Pavle			1890.-//	civil
Stojanovic	Vlajko	Stojan		1919.-//	civil
Stojanovic	Nikola			1888.-//	civil

FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE CONFERENCE

– DECLARATION –

FIRST DRAFT DECLARATION

OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE – JASENOVAC SYSTEM OF USTASHA GENOCIDE CAMPS (1941-1945)

On the basis of reports and exchange of ideas, during May 8th, 9th and 10th 2000, on the 55th anniversary of the heroic breakthrough of Jasenovac camp prisoners April 22, 1945, the participants of the Conference made the following conclusions:

Jasenovac was system of Croatian Nazi-ustasha camps of genocide against the Orthodox Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, camps of death against the antifascist Croatian, Muslims and other Yugoslav nationals; Area on which Croatian Nazi-ustasha camps of genocide had been located have to be put under United Nations international protection (UNESCO) – “Common Heritage”, according to the precedent of Nazi death camp of Auschwitz (No.80).

Maintaining of the unity of Jasenovac camps is imposed by the fact that after the break up of former Yugoslavia, Jasenovac camps had been divided between two sovereignties – of Republic of Croatia, where the monument and green lawns are situated, and Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina- Republika Srpska, where are the biggest massive gallows (Donja Gradina).

Participants of the Conference will support demand of Republika Srpska, Jews and Gypsies’ organizations that UNESCO should accept international status of Jasenovac camps. Regretfully, the Conference came to a conclusion that on the territory of Republic of Croatia there are some individuals who work publicly, as well as the organizations, which deny the genocide crimes in Nazi camps of Jasenovac, in order to present genocide crimes in Jasenovac as a “Myth”. To stop this, the Conference appeals to the authorized institutions to pass relevant law regulations, and to bring the individuals to trial.

In order to prevent political bargaining considering the number of victims, which is also crime for itself, it is necessary to engage and unite all available means in order to identify Jasenovac camps victims (by name and surname).

In order to establish the level of responsibility for the genocide crimes against Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, it is necessary to reveal the names of the genocide criminals, disregarding their national and religious affiliation.

The research should be directed toward revealing and recognizing the righteous men, who had helped rescuing the genocide victims' lives, while risking their own.

The research should be also directed to gathering data and proofs of economic pillage of the genocide victims by criminal perpetrators of the crimes. In that sense, an international action should be initiated, according to the example of London and Washington Conferences on Nazi gold in order to pay war reparations to the victims and their families.

The most important project is research of the massive tombs in the region of Donja Gradina, by using the latest technology (satellite shootings, researches with modern radars).

In order to reach complete objective truth, since Croatia did not accept bilateral joint project of revealing the truth about Jasenovac camps and especially the number of victims and their national structure, the Conference decides that International Commission for revealing the truth about Jasenovac should be formed, which would include the following members:

- Dr Michael Beenbaum, Los Angeles, SAD
- Prof. Dr Bernard Klein, New York, SAD
- Prof. Walter Roberts, Washington, SAD
- Dr. Jelena Guskova, Moskva, Rusia
- Prof. dr. Srboljub Zivanovic, London, GB
- Prof. Ian Hancock
- Efraim Zuroff, Jerusalem, Israel
- Marco Aurelio Rivelli, Milano, Italia
- Vanita Singh, India
- Alexis Troude, France
- Dr. Rajko Dolocek, Cesch Republic
- Dr. Milan Bulajic, coordinator

The Commission will adopt its rules of procedure.

Date of the meeting of the Third International Conference for revealing the truth ut Jasenovac will be proposed by international commission of experts. The Jad Vasshem might be suggested to convoke the Third International Conference in Jerusalem. The Conference suggests that the Day of Genocide Victims Remembrance –day of the Jasenovac camps prisoners' heroic breakthrough on April 22nd, 1945, should be internationally commemorating.

The Conference supports development of Genocide Victims Museum, according to the vision of Jad Vashem, the Holocaust museums and cooperation of all similar institutions and recommends financial support through the Fond for genocide research.

**PREPARATORY DOCUMENTS
FOR THE CONFERENCE**

According to the Article 34. of the Law on the Government of the Republic of Srpska ("Sluzbeni glasnik RS", broj 3/97 i 3/98) the RS Government brought the

DECISION

I

Organizational Committee for the preparation of the Second International Conference – Jasenovac, the System of the Ustasha Camps of Genocide (1941-1945) is appointed:

1. Milorad Dodik, President
2. Tihomir Gligoric, Vice-President¹
3. Savo Loncar, member
4. Zivojin Eric, member
5. Milan Bulajic, member
6. Jovan Mirkovic, member
7. Dragoje Lukic, member
8. Novica Stojanovic, member
9. Verica Stosic, member
10. Milica Radojcic, member
11. Ognjen Ignjatovic, member
12. Simo Brdar, member
13. Zdravko Maric, member
14. Janko Velimirovic, member
15. Jozef Atijas, member

II

Organizational Committee from Article 1 of this Decision is in charge of the preparation of the Second International Conference on Jasenovac, to be held in 2000 in the Republic of Srpska, and will submit a detailed report on it to the RS Government.

III

Secretariat of RS Government is responsible for all preparatory activities regarding the Second International Conference – Jasenovac, the System of Ustasha Camps of Genocide (1941-1945).

IV

This Decision will take immediate effect and will be published in "Sluzbeni glasnik Republike Srpske".

Number: 02/1-020-35/2000
Banja Luka, 07/12/1999

PRIME MINISTER
Milorad Dodik

¹ At the later decision of RS Government Nenad Suzic replaced Tihomir Gligoric

**LIST OF INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS INVITED TO THE
CONFERENCE**

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dr Michael Berenbaum, President and CEO, the Steven Spielberg Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, US 2. Prof dr Bernard Klein, Kingsborough Comunity College New York, US 3. Prof Walter Roberts, Washington, US 4. John Ranz, Survivor of Buchenwald and Witness to Genocide; Chairperson, Survivors of Buchenwald, US 5. Prof Barry Lituchy, Adjunct Professor of History, City University of New York and Lecturer on Balkan History at Dowling College New York, US 6. Platzer Petrov Katalina, Detroit, US 7. Prof Ian F. Hancock Romani Archives and Documentation Center University of Texas, US 8. Efraim Zuroff, director of Simon Wiesenthal Center, Israel 9. Dr Elena Guskova, Rossijskaja akademija nauka, Moskva, RUSSIA 10. Marco Aurelio Rivelli, Milano, ITALY 11. Prof. dr Srboljub Zivanovic, London, GB 12. Bernard von Droste, The World Heritage Centre, UNESCO 13. Carole Michaux (Slobodanka Djulizibaric) 1 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> impasse de l'Enfer Caequefou, France 14. Vojdrag Bercic, Prag, CESKA 15. Prof. Dr Rajko Dolecek, Fakultetpoliklinika, CESKA 16. Baryy Zimmerman, US 17. Keelyn M. Friesen, 18. Liune Arie, Israel 19. Prof dr. Joseph Fisera, Paris, France 20. Miroslav Majkl Djordjevic, US 21. Vladimir Bibic, Nena Films, New York 22. Serbian Patriarch, Mr. Pavle, Belgrade 23. Slobodan Mileusnic MA, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade 24. Prof. dr Predrag Puzovic, Archives of the Patriarchate of the SOC, Belgrade 25. Mladenko Kumovic MA, Museum of Vojvodina, N. Sad 26. Metropolitan of Dabar and Bosnia, Mr. Nikolaj, Sokolac 27. Bishop of Banjaluka, Mr. Jefrem, Banja Luka 28. Bishop of Zvornik and Tuzla, Mr. Vasilije, Bijeljina 29. Bishop of Bihac and Petrovac, Mr. Hrizostom, Sipovo 30. Metropolitan of Montenegro and the Littoral, Mr. Amfilohije 31. Bishop of Zahumlje, Hercegovina and Primorje, Mr. Grigorije, Tvrdoš Monastery, Trebinje |
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| <p>32. Mladenko Kumovic MA, Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad</p> <p>33. Cedimir Mirkovic, Federal Minister for international cultural and scientific cooperation, Belgrade</p> <p>34. Petar Jojic, Federal Minister of Justice, Belgrade</p> <p>35. Jokanovic, General Attorney, Belgrade</p> <p>36. Andrija Milutinovic, District Attorney, Belgrade</p> <p>37. Dr Borislav Jovic, president of the managing board of the Museum of Genocide Victims</p> <p>38. Dr Milan Bulajic, director of the Museum of Genocide Victims, Belgrade</p> <p>39. Akademician Vaslije Krestic, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade</p> <p>40. Academician Milos Macura, SANU, Belgrade</p> <p>41. Antun Miletic, Belgrade</p> <p>42. Dragoje Lukic, "Children at the Stake of War in NDH 1941-1945"</p> <p>43. Mirkovic Jovan, the Museum of Genocide Victims, Belgrade</p> <p>44. Milovan Zivkovic MA, director, Federal Institute for Statistics, Belgrade</p> <p>45. Bozo Grbic, engineer Belgrade</p> <p>46. Dr Slavko Terzic, director, Institute for History, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade</p> <p>47. Dr Veselin Djuretic, dr Zdravko Antonic, Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade</p> | <p>48. Dr Petar Kacavenda, Nikola Popovic, Dr Nikola Zutic, Milan Koljanin MA, Dr Nikola Zivkovic, Dr Vjenceslav Glisic, Institute for Modern History, Belgrade</p> <p>49. Dr Zarko Jovanovic, dr Momcilo Mitrovic, dr Branko Nadoveza, Institute for Modern History of Serbia, Belgrade</p> <p>50. Dr Djordje Stankovic, Dr Ljubodrag Dimic, Contemporary History: academician Andrej Mitrovic, Dr Milan Ristic, Faculty of Philosophy Belgrade, History of Yugoslavia, Belgrade</p> <p>51. Dr Momcilo Zecevic, Yugoslav Federation of World War II Veterans' Organizations, Belgrade</p> <p>52. Lazo Vukota, Belgrade</p> <p>53. Association of Jewish communities, Belgrade, president Aca Singer, Milica Mihajlovic, director of the Jewish Historical Museum, Aleksandar Fredi Mosaic, Belgrade</p> <p>54. Dragoljub Ackovic, Jovo Damjanovic, Bajram Haliti, Romas organizations in Yugoslavia, Belgrade</p> <p>55. Institute for Military History, colonel dr. Slavko Vukcevic, Milan Terzic MA, Branko Brankovic, Dragan Nenezic, Ma, Archives of OS Yugoslavia, col. Velimir Ivetic, Belgrade</p> <p>56. Military Geographic Institute, col. dr Dragan Markovic, geology engineer</p> |
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| <p>57. Zivojin Vlahovic, dir. of "Strucna knjiga", Belgrade</p> <p>58. Archives of Yugoslavia, dir. Jovan Popovic, Miladin Milosevic, Radoslav Jovanovic, Belgrade</p> <p>59. Savo Strbac, director of "Veritas", Belgrade</p> <p>60. Serbian Democratic Forum, Mile Dakic, Belgrade</p> <p>61. Petar Zinaic, author of "Genocide in Kordun"</p> <p>62. Dane Lastavica, author of the book on genocide in Lika, Belgrade</p> <p>63. Nenad Antonijevic, the Museum of genocide victims, Belgrade</p> <p>64. Dragan Cvetkovic, the Museum of Genocide Victims, Belgrade</p> <p>65. Association of Serbs from Croatia, Belgrade</p> <p>66. Association of Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Belgrade</p> <p>67. Milos Despot, Bijeljina</p> <p>68. Ilija Petrovic, Obudovac</p> <p>69. Mihajlo Maric, Belgrade</p> <p>70. Josip Erlih, Belgrade</p> <p>71. Sadik Danon, Belgrade</p> <p>72. Pticek Bozena, New Belgrade</p> <p>73. Serdar Sabolic Stefica, Belgrade</p> <p>74. Savo Petrovic, Belgrade</p> <p>75. Jovo Stjepanovic, Belgrade</p> <p>76. LJubomir Mihajlovic, Jagodina</p> <p>77. Mara Vejnovic, Belgrade</p> <p>78. Ljiljana Ivanisevic, Belgrade</p> <p>79. Dr Radomir Bulatovic</p> <p>80. Dr Tomislav Zugic, Niksic</p> <p>81. Petar Boskovic, Belgrade</p> <p>82. Dr Petar Lokin, Faculty of Mining and Geology,</p> | <p>Hydrology institute, Belgrade</p> <p>83. Dr Miroslav Markovic, Faculty of Mining and Geology, Belgrade</p> <p>84. Tomas Cupkovic, Faculty of Mining and Geology, Belgrade</p> <p>85. Jasmin Babic, engineer</p> <p>86. Jakov Finci</p> <p>87. Babic Mirko, MA</p> <p>88. Lukajic Lazar, MA</p> <p>89. Dr Milan Vasic</p> <p>90. Dr Rade Rakita</p> <p>91. Prof. Dr Rajko Kuzmanovic</p> <p>92. Dragan Davidovic (SRNA), director</p> <p>93. Jovan Babic</p> <p>94. Institute for Urbanism of Slovenia</p> <p>95. Jernej Borovnik - Bartol, Slovenia</p> <p>96. Damjan Gustin, Slovenia</p> <p>97. Stane Kumar, Slovenia</p> <p>98. Tone Ferenc, Slovenia 00</p> <p>99. Metropolitan of Zagreb, Ljubljana and Italy, Mr.Jovan</p> <p>100. Stjepan Mesic, President of RC</p> <p>101. Ivica Racan, Premier of RC</p> <p>102. Tonino Picula, minister</p> <p>103. Dr Antun Vujic, minister</p> <p>104. Dr Stjepan Ivanisevic, minister</p> <p>105. Dr Ognjen Kraus</p> <p>106. Hrvoje Matkovic</p> <p>107. Dr Josip Jurcevic</p> <p>108. Cedo Prodanovic</p> <p>109. Dr Slavko Goldstajn</p> <p>110. Dr Ivo Goldstajn</p> <p>111. SKD Prosvjeta</p> <p>112. Serbian Orthodox Church Community, Zagreb</p> <p>113. Serbian People's Party, Zagreb</p> |
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- 114. Association of War Veterans of RC, Zagreb
- 115. Croatian Historical Museum, Zagreb
- 116. Memorial Complex Jasenovac
- 117. Dragutin Roller
- 118. Nedeljko Bartulovic
- 119. Katarina Hrvojic, Zagreb

- 120. Fridrih Adolf, Zagreb
- 121. Cecilija Cokljat, Zagreb
- 122. Mirko Presen, Zagreb
- 123. Vladimir Cvija, Zagreb
- 124. Slavko Mikulic, Zagreb
- 125. Mara Cvetko, Zagreb
- 126. Tibor Lovrencic
- 127. Josip Vabijanec

LIST OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE CONFERENCE

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|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sarovic Mirko, Vice-President of RS 2. Djokic Petar, President of RS Parliament 3. Dodik Milorad, Premier of RS 4. Radisic Zivko, Member of the Presidency of B&H 5. Dr Zivojin Eric, minister in RS Government 6. Dr Suzic Nenad, minister in RS Government 7. Loncar Savo, minister in RS Government 8. Prof. Dr Klein Bernard 9. Dr Bulajic Milan 10. Prof. Dr Antonic Zdravko 11. Atijas Jozef 12. Aurelio Rivelli Marco 13. Ackovic Dragoljub 14. Bibic Vladimir 15. Babic Jasmin 16. Babic Mirko 17. Dr Bastasic Milan 18. Boskovic Petar MA 19. Bosiocic Nebojsa 20. Brdar Simo 21. Djukic Milan 22. Dr Djurasinovic Pejo 23. Dr Djuretic Veselin 24. Dr Djuro Zatezalo 25. Bukva Dusan 26. Erlih Josip | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 27. Friesen Kellyn 28. Dr Glisic Venceslav 29. Dr Guskova Elena 30. Ivanisevic Ljiljana 31. Dr Jurcevic Josip 32. Koljanin Milan 33. Kumovic Mladen, MA 34. Kerovic LJubo 35. Prof Lituchy Barry 36. Lukajic Lazar 37. Lukic Dragoje 38. Dr Maric Zdravko 39. Jelic - Grnovic Mico 40. Dr Mihajlovic Spomenko 41. mr Mileusnic Slobodan, MA 42. Mirkovic Jovan 43. Mosaic Aleksandar Fredi 44. Mrkonjic Teodor 45. Mitrovic Momcilo 46. Platzer Petrov Katalina 47. Platzer George 48. Radakovic Dusko MA 49. Knezevic Gojko 50. Rucnov Marko 51. Strbac Savo 52. Serbian Orthodox Church - Mr. Hrizostom, Bishop of Bihac and Petrovac 53. Troude Alexis 54. Dr Vojinovic Novica 55. Vrzina Dusan 56. Prof. dr Zivanovic Srboljub 57. 55. Zivkovic Milovan MA |
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58. Dr Zivotije Djordjevic
59. Dr Zutic Nikola
60. Gavriilo Rukovic
61. Vladimir Bibic
62. Dr Robert N. Manning
63. Cvetkovic Dragan
64. Loncar Bosiljka
65. Despot Milos
66. Stjepanovic Jovan
67. Petkovic Bogdan
68. Mihajlovic LJubomir
69. Radovanovic Petar

70. Petrovic Savo
71. Zivkovic Vlajko

Organizational Committee

Zana Ateljevic,
Janko Velimirovic,
Ognjen Ignjatovic,
Milica Radojcic,
Verica Stosic,
Novica Stojanovic



Dr Milan Bulajic, opening the Conference



Speech of the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik



Presidency of the Second International Conference on Jasenovac



Vicepresident RS Mirko Šarović, Živko Radišić, Petar Đokić,



The Priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church holding the memorial service for the victims killed in Jasenovac



The Priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church holding the memorial service for the victims killed in Jasenovac



Memorial service for the victims of Jasenovac



Memorial service for the victims of Jasenovac



Dr. Milan Bulajic



Prof. dr. Bernard Klein with his wife



Marco Aurelio Rivelli i Barry Lituchy



Rabbi Jozef Atijas



Visit to Drakulic



Dr. Elena Guskova



Keelyn Friesen



Dr. Veselin Djuretic and Dr. Djuro Zatezalo



Visit to Donja Gradina



Simo Brdar, Director of Donja Gradina Memorial Complex



Simo Brdar, Director of Donja Gradina Memorial Complex



Zdravko Maric



Coordinating team of the Conference



The participants attending the Conference



Jasmin Babic



Coordinating team of the Conference



Dr. Milan Bulajic, chairing the Conference



Barry Lituchy i Aleksis Troude



Dr. Josip Jurčević



Prof. dr. Bernard Klein



Dr. Elena Guskova



Keelyn Friesen



Ljiljana Ivanisevic



Prof. dr. Bernard Klein

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ЈАСЕНОВАЦ - СИСТЕМ
ХРВАТСКИХ УСТАШКИХ
ЛОГОРА ГЕНОЦИДА
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SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

JASENOVAC - SYSTEM OF CROATIAN USTASHA CAMPS OF GENOCIDE 1941-45



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