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*The Holy New Martyrs of Jasenovac Illuminated in the Resurrection.*

The Publisher's acknowledgment is due to Bishop of Pakrac and Slavonia JOVAN  
for the supply of the photographic material used on the covers of this book.

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Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia.

# THE USTASHA ATROCITIES

A Collection of Documents  
(1941–1942)

*Prepared by*  
**Milan Koljanin**



Novi Sad, 2025

## DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to all innocent Serbs killed at Glina, Gudovac, Jadovno, Jasenovac and numerous other mass execution sites of the Independent State of Croatia.

“Christ is risen from the dead  
trampling down death by death  
and upon those in the tombs bestowing Life!”

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## Documents Counteracting Oblivion and Injustice

A few years ago, as part of its publishing activities and projects, the Archives of Vojvodina published a capital edition – the book *USTAŠKA ZVERSTVA: Zbornik dokumenata (1941-1942)*, herein entitled *The Ustasha Atrocities: A Collection of Documents (1941-1942)*, as a co-publisher with the Bačka Diocese of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Banjaluka-based Archives of the Republic of Srpska.

The said publication has used archival material unknown and until-then unpublished, which had come into being owing to the work of German intelligence during World War Two. The material unequivocally discloses and provides a critical review based on indisputable and scientifically established historical sources on the character and the astounding proportions and ununderstandable monstrosity of the ideological and administrative apparatus of the Independent State of Croatia (*NDH – Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*), that is, documents about the crimes committed against the civilians of the Serbian nationality by the administrative/political and military structures of the NDH as a Nazi political entity during World War Two.

It was for the first time in the said Serbian edition of the book, which resulted from years-long research of a team of experts, that until recently unknown archival documents were presented, and – alongside – some earlier unpublished moving photographs. These first-rank historical sources were produced in the period 1941–1942; their enormous significance lies in the fact that this archival material unambiguously, descriptively and concisely points out the cataclysmic proportions of the genocide and the monstrosity of the ethnocide carried out by the Independent State of Croatia over the civilian Serb ethnic/national population.

For decades, these documents were part of the personal fonds of Slavko Odić, a holder of the Commemorative Medal of the Partisans of 1941, an official in the Federal Secretariat of Interior Affairs after the war, Consul

General of Yugoslavia in Toronto, a publicist who focused on the activities of intelligence agencies.

Two years following Odić's death, the lawyer R.Z. from Sremska Kamenica (suburb of Novi Sad) offered this dossier to the Archives of Vojvodina. Its official transfer took place on October 17, 2008, whereafter the documentation stayed in the repository of the Archives for 11 years – until I launched the issue of its publication.

All insights suggest that this is the dossier composed by the commander of the German security service in occupied Serbia based in Belgrade, and the man was directly subordinated to the Gestapo.

These documents, verified by German seals and letterheads, were for much too long time beyond the reach of domestic and international public, but – by chance – saw the light of the day at the moment when the attempts of Croatian extremists at the revision of history were in full swing: they multiply downplayed the numbers of Serb, Jewish and Romani victims at the Jasenovac camp and other concentration camps in the NDH.

Within the scholarly context and in the sense of promotion and fostering of critical culture of remembrance, this publication is of immeasurable scientific, social and – above all – crucially ethic/moral significance.

This book was printed in the Serbian language toward the end of 2020. It is a collection of documents covering the selection of archival material and consisting of 165 documents and 63 photographs prepared by Milan Koljanin, PhD, historian and the best expert in the topics of the Second World War. Prior to their publication, the documents were unknown to academic and broad public. They were translated from German into Serbian, as authentic testimonies of the victims' greatest sufferings and the atrocities committed by the Ustasha in 1941 and 1942, especially those regarding the Serb population. They were produced at the German intelligence offices – the Police and Security Services. In other words, the creator of these documents was the German occupation force, which adds to their objectiveness. The two editions, in Serbian and English, will expectedly help the people in Serbia and abroad get familiar with these documents which explicitly testify to the events which took place on the territory of the so-called 'Independent State of Croatia' (a product of Ustasha/Fascist ideology) in the period 1941–1942.

Clearly, this is not just one of those ordinary books telling about miscellaneous problems or events, including sufferings and victims, during World War II. The documents to be read herein came into being at the very time when the crimes were committed, that is, in real time. When the Usta-

sha soldiery in NDH committed their crimes against the Serbs, Jews and Romanis, German intelligence offices recorded minutes and collected evidence/documents thereon for their superior organs. These are not documents written in 1945, or 1946, when victorious Communists wrote history and the statement-givers, consciously or unconsciously, told their stories as remembered, yet which may not be true.

Again, we emphasize that this book contains documents which until its publication here were not available to the eyes of the public.

Herein, we are offered an opportunity to read/study original documents from the German intelligence service, Abwehr, Gestapo and other sources of information on the territory of NDH, the former Yugoslavia and the present-day Republic of Serbia; the information were produced by German intelligence agents. They include some documents which testify to the first large-scale crime in ex-NDH that took place in and around the town of Bjelovar: on the Easter Day of 1941, April 28, 1941 (as soon as about 20 days after the establishment of NDH), a massive crime was committed when two hundred Serbs were killed, peasants from the village of Gudovac near Bjelovar. The related reports presented herein were not written by Partisan/Communist organs after the war, but by German intelligence agents, and they are the firsthand documents now available not only to historians, scholars and specialized public, but can serve as a starting point for investigative bodies.

The book testifies to the Ustasha crimes against the Serbs, Jews and Romanis on the territory of NDH, telling – among other events – that from the area of Osijek, Tenja, Bobota, Trpinja, Bršadin (all of these were Serb villages) as far as to Zemun (opposite river bank of Belgrade), thousands of people (with children) were killed, mostly Serbs and Jews, but also Romanis as victims of genocide, with the lists of the missing ones. I wonder if the Reader knows that in the Serb village of Bobota near Vukovar (where I come from), some 500 Romanis used to live, and almost all of them were killed; one or two members of their community may have survived. I remember from my childhood that the street they used to inhabit was called “*Cik sokak*“ (‘Cik Alley’), and that the man we called “*Ramo Ciganin*“ (‘Ramo the Gypsy’) lived therein. During that world war, on the whole territory of NDH, 28,000 Romanis were killed: it was actually the extermination of the Romani people, genocide committed by the Ustasha-ruled state. According to the census of 1948, mere 450 Romanis lived in the post-war Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The appearance of this book and these documents is important for the reason of counteracting recent and current revisionist ideas and tendencies in Croatia's historiography. Some organizations involved in the revisionist 'movement' include *Udruženje za istraživanje trostrukog logora Jasenovac* (The Association for Research in the Triple Jasenovac Camp) which aspires to prove that the Jasenovac Camp did exist during the Second World War, but that after the war the victims there were Croat soldiers, Ustashas and Croatian Home Guards, and that in 1948 Jasenovac encamped Croat prisoners from Goli Otok ('Barren Island', where alleged Stalinists and others were incarcerated following the Tito-Stalin split). That is a notorious falsehood. For, there are original photos from the year 1945 showing that the Jasenovac Camp was completely destroyed. Croatian revisionists want to present Jasenovac as a labor camp and not as a concentration/death camp. This story of theirs has been imposed for a decade now, which is itself dangerous. Unfortunately, the claims come not only from Croats, but also from several Serbs who act against their own people, while a few of them are descendants of those who found death in the camp, now trying to substitute truth with untruth. During World War Two, there were 13 generals in the Croat army and even Ustasha ranks who were ethnic Serbs. Therefore, I keep saying that one has to struggle for truth every day, and the best way to do so is to bring to light documents of the kind presented herein.

All of these documents have been digitized and can be seen on the website of the Archives of Vojvodina, so that every citizen of Serbia and everyone from any part of the globe can look them up and become certain of their authenticity: [www.arhivvojvodine.org.rs](http://www.arhivvojvodine.org.rs). In addition, they have appeared in printed form (the print run of this book is 500) and we have distributed them to 180 libraries in Serbia.

Our research work related to these documents is nearing its end. The dossier of Slavko Odić contains about 460 documents and some 600 letters. The reputable historian Milan Koljanin, PhD, has put 165 documents and 63 photographs into the book *Ustasha Atrocities*. Our task is to bring them into the open. You can hardly imagine the bestiality of the atrocities imposed on the Serbian people, but it should be noted that even a number of Croats wrote to Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac describing the horrible crimes against the Serbs in the "Independent State of Croatia".

We sent a copy of the Serbian edition, printed in Cyrillic alphabet, to Pope Francis at the Vatican. I must share with you my great surprise roused by the Pope's personal letter which expressed his thanks for the book and

also said that I would be mentioned in his prayers; moreover, he said that the book would be kept at the Vatican Apostolic Library to tell further about the crimes which had taken place. It was a truly pleasant experience for me. This kind of reading material is going to places of great importance: we have sent copies to the Library of Congress and the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at Washington, D.C., to a number of Germany's libraries, to Israel, Russia etc. Our plan is to have the book translated into Hebrew, Russian and, also, Chinese, in order to make it available to the readers all over the world, and especially those in Israel and Russia. That will mean continuation of our mission.

In these documents from 1941–1942, you will find many names of both victims and criminals. It has to be noted that the title *Ustasha Atrocities* has not been given by us the co-publishers with a wish to be sensational; it is the title given to the dossier by Gestapo, the German secret police, which investigated the crimes, and we have taken it over.

I believe that the world's historiography related to World War Two cannot be rounded off without the studies in the collective sufferings of the Serbian people during the First and Second World Wars which reached one of its extremes through the Ustasha crimes, i.e. without the insights into all the specificities and brutality of the "Ustasha-practised Final Solution". Therefore, it is necessary for the truth to find its place within the collective memory of mankind, recorded for ever – through books and documentary films – as a warning and our obligation to remember that an Ustasha-ruled 'Independent State of Croatia' must never happen again.

As to the translation of the documentation from Serbian into English, the Archives of Vojvodina has enjoyed the support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, the Provincial Government of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina as our founder and the blessing by the Bishop of Bačka Irinej (meanwhile elevated to the rank of metropolitan). Nun Marija from the monastery of Jasenovac painted the iconic images used for the covers; they came from a series of works displayed at the exhibition titled *The Holy New Martyrs of Jasenovac Illuminated in the Resurrection*. My sincere acknowledgments go to all of them.

Novi Sad, January 2025

*Nebojša Kuzmanović, PhD*



## Documents of the Archives of Vojvodina Regarding the Crimes of the Independent State of Croatia

Historical sources on the activities of the Ustasha-governed Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, hereinafter: NDH) on the mass repression of this state of the 'New European Order' against the nationally, racially and politically undesirable population, are stored in archives, mainly in Croatia and the Republic of Serbia. One of the main sources are archival fonds in Germany, as well as archival fonds in other countries that operated on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. Part of the archival material is kept in the Archives of the Republic of Srpska, in Banja Luka. The Archives of Vojvodina keep and professionally maintain archival material on the mass repression carried out in various occupied areas of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as well as today's territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, including the crimes in Srem, which became part of the newly established large Croatian state in 1941. A part of that authentic material was published immediately after the end of the Second World War, and the remaining part was not published before the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This refers not only to the already existing archival materials in the archives in the Republic of Serbia, but also to collecting and publication of hitherto unknown archival material. One of such, in many ways specific sources, is the *dossier* of the German police in occupied Serbia on the crimes of the military formations of the Ustasha state, which is stored in the Archives of Vojvodina, and is made available to the public – through this collection of documents.

The collection of documents entitled *Ustasha Atrocities* is part of the legacy of Slavko Odić, which was purchased by the Archives of Vojvodina from a natural person in 2008. The archival material was classified and systematized at the beginning of 2017, and then Slavko Odić's Personal Fonds was formed, pursuant to the Instructions on arranging personal and family

fonds; this fonds is entered in the Register of Fonds and Collections of the Archives of Vojvodina under the ordinal number 562. Documents of German provenance make up most of this fonds: copies, originals and facsimiles of documents, memoir documents, photographs and part of Slavko Odić's personal correspondence and documentation.<sup>1</sup>

In order to have a more comprehensive view of the type and content of material in Slavko Odić's Personal Fonds, we provide his basic bio-bibliographic data. He was born during the First World War, in 1915 in Bihać, and was a student of technical engineering when the Second World War started. After the breakup of Yugoslavia and its occupation in 1941, he was one of the organizers of the People's Liberation Movement in Central Bosnia and Bosnian Krajina. Slavko Odić was political commissar of platoon, secretary of brigade staff, political commissar of the battalion, assistant commander of town and area, area commander, assistant chief of the intelligence center of the corps headquarters and a member of the Department for Protection of the People (*Odeljenje za zaštitu naroda – OZNA*). He was the holder of the Commemorative Medal of the Partisans of 1941. and a reserve colonel. In the post-war period, Slavko Odić worked in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, i.e. in the State Security Directorate, and then in the diplomatic service as Consul General in Toronto and head official in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Slavko Odić is known to the general public primarily for his historiographical and journalistic activities. He mainly dealt with topics related to the activities of the intelligence services, as well as the activities of the Partisan movement in Bosnia. In addition to several articles, feuillets and scientific research papers, he is the author of the books *The Unfulfilled Plans* (*Neostvoreni planovi*, Zagreb 1961), *The Nameless Dossier* (*Dosije bez imena*, Zagreb 1961) and *Operation Rösselsprung* (*Desant na Drvar*, Belgrade 1981). In co-authorship with Slavko Komarica, he published the books *Night and Fog: The Gestapo in Yugoslavia* (*Noć i magla: Gestapo u Jugoslaviji*, Zagreb 1977), *Partisan Intelligence Service (1941–1942): What Really Happened* (*Partizanska obavještajna služba 1941–1942: šta se stvarno događalo*, Zagreb 1988), *White Stains* (*Bijele mrlje*, Zagreb 1990) and *Why Jasenovac Was Not Liberated* (*Zašto Jasenovac nije oslobođen*, Belgrade 2005). He was the editor-in-chief of the first volume of the collection of documents, *Central Bosnia in the*

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<sup>1</sup> Personal Fonds of Slavko Odić (1915–2006), 1909–1983; The material of the Fonds was organized by Aleksandar Bursać, an archivist in the Archives of Vojvodina, who also prepared a Summary Inventory with a note on the Fonds. Published internally, 2017

*National Liberation War: Memories, Articles and Documents (Srednja Bosna u NOB: sjećanja, članci i dokumenti*, Belgrade 1976) and participated in the preparation of the second and third volumes of this collection (Banja Luka 1980, 1981). He received an award for his book *The Nameless Dossier* on May 13, 1966, and he also received an award for *Operation Rösselsprung* on December 22, 1981. Slavko Odić died in Belgrade in 2006.

As one of the officers in the State Security Directorate (*Uprava državne bezbednosti – UDBA*), Slavko Odić also had access to German archival fonds, including the fonds of the German Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in Occupied Serbia (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienst*, abbreviated: BdS, hereinafter: Police Commander in Belgrade). At the beginning of the 1980s, this fonds was almost completely handed over to the Historical Archive of Belgrade. Since then, it has been one of the main sources for researching the period of the Second World War in occupied Serbia, partly in the Independent State of Croatia and other parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In 1950s, this fonds was the main source for writing a publication for internal use in the State Security Directorate, entitled *Nemačka obavestajna služba (The German Intelligence Service)*. The German intelligence service and its activities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, primarily during the Second World War, are presented in six volumes. Three volumes of documents are an integral part of that edition. The edition was published in Belgrade from 1955 to 1959, and it has been available to researchers in several special libraries since the 1990s. Although these books do not cite the sources in accordance with national practice in historiography, the edition is a valuable historiographical work, as it is based on authentic sources. Therefore, it is a reliable source of data on the activities of the German Intelligence Service in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and its domestic collaborators, as well as on the broader military and political framework of its activities. The *German Intelligence Service* edition was also of great help to the Editor of this collection of documents. This primarily refers to the fourth volume, dedicated to occupied Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as to the fifth volume, which deals with the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. One of the main authors of this edition was Slavko Odić, which was confirmed to the Author of this writing by the man's close associate and also a prolific historian Branislav Božović.

In his historiographical and journalistic work, Slavko Odić habilitated not only the *German Intelligence Service* edition, but also numerous other historical sources and historiographical literature, and his diplomatic service

often provided him with an opportunity to acquire these sources. Thanks to his position, he gained access not only to copies, but also to some originals, and even whole groups of original documents. Among them was a dossier on Ustasha atrocities, which is an integral part of the BdS fonds in the Historical Archive of Belgrade. Historical sources and literature collected over the years have become a legacy of Slavko Odić, among them a dossier on the Ustasha atrocities. Unfortunately, that legacy has not been preserved in its entirety.

We will give some more remarks regarding the historiographical work and the legacy of Slavko Odić, especially since they have connections with the editor of this collection. Slavko Odić was an external associate of the Institute of Contemporary History in Belgrade for some time, where this Author worked. In 2005, the Institute published the book *Zašto Jasenovac nije oslobođen (Why Jasenovac Was Not Liberated)*, co-authored by Slavko Odić and Slavko Komarica. On the occasion of the publication of that book, the author of these lines talked to Slavko Odić several times, and then he was the editor of that book. Talks with Slavko Odić were an opportunity to mention his documentary legacy, given the value of archival material and his advanced age. The result of those talks was an oral agreement between Slavko Odić and the management of the Institute, for the Institute was to take over his legacy. After his death in 2006, the material of Slavko Odić was brought to the Institute, but even then it turned out that it was only a part of it. Another part of the legacy ended up with a natural person, in private ownership, from which it was bought off in 2008 by the Archives of Vojvodina. Then, in 2013, a part of Slavko Odić's archive material was donated to the Archives of the Republic of Srpska. This archival collection mostly contains unpublished books of transcripts of statements of participants in the Drvar (*Rösselsprung*) operation in 1944, original books of radiograms from 1944/45, records on the Drvar operation and the museum in Drvar dedicated to the event, individual documents of NLA (National Liberation Army / *Narodnooslobodilačka vojska – NOV*) units and Yugoslav Partisan units, author's manuscripts, research regesta and transcripts of documents, as well as other individual documents. This closed the circle in a way – archival material, which was public property, regained that status and became available to researchers.

Thanks to the archivists of the Archives of Vojvodina and the initiative of its enterprising director, Dr. Nebojša Kuzmanović, the documents of the dossier on Ustasha atrocities from the legacy of Slavko Odić are being made available to the public.

The collection of documents entitled *The Ustasha Atrocities* is part of an extensive dossier, which is entitled in Slavko Odić's personal fonds "The Dossier of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in Belgrade on Ustasha crimes". Odić himself titled this dossier "Ustaška zvjerstva u NDH" ("Ustasha Atrocities in the Independent State of Croatia"). Thus, he took the title from the sources themselves, that is, from the documents that were collected by the German police in occupied Serbia, where the dossier was formed. On a number of documents, starting with the first one, dated October 9, 1941, the "Ustasha atrocities" (*Ustascha-Greuelthaten*)<sup>2</sup> are most often abbreviated in pencil. In addition to this note, other documents say "Ustaški teror"/"Ustasha-Terror", or just "Ustasha". Thus, the creator referenced the content of particular documents to this dossier.

From the very fact that the German police authorities in occupied Serbia formed a dossier entitled "Ustasha Atrocities", it can be concluded that mass crimes against the Serbs were qualified as such and that this fact was given the greatest importance. There was no dilemma with the German representatives in occupied Serbia, nor with those in the Ustasha state, that the policy of annihilating Serbs was the state policy of the Independent State of Croatia. The documents in the dossier show that the German representatives in the Ustasha state did not have any dilemmas whether the Roman Catholic Church had its place in that policy, trying to expand its congregation by force in such circumstances.

It was clear to the German military and police representatives that the policy of annihilating the Serbs led to their organization and an increasingly massive uprising, and that this was increasingly threatening their own (German) interests and requiring growing military engagement.

First of all, one should bear in mind the fact that the "New European Order" in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was anti-Serbian<sup>3</sup> and that the main domestic support for Nazi Germany on the soil of the shattered state was the newly created large Croatian state. The Nazi leader Adolf Hitler himself

<sup>2</sup> This term was also used in the documents of the main German police institution in Berlin, the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*. abbreviated: RSHA); L. Hori, M. Broszat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska 1941-1945*. (translated from German by A. Arsenijević; First Edition: Stuttgart 1964), Beograd: DBR Publishing, 1994, 185-186.

<sup>3</sup> L. Hori, M. Broszat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska 1941-1945*, Beograd: DBR Publishing, 1994, 168; T. Ferenc, *Nacistička politika denacionalizacije u Sloveniji u godinama od 1941 do 1945*, Ljubljana-Beograd 1979, 210; M. D. Ristović, *Nemački 'novi poredak' i jugoistočna Evropa 1940/41-1944/45. Planovi o budućnosti i praksa*, Beograd: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1991, passim.

approved of the NDH's policy towards the Serbs, and he never changed that attitude, despite the extremely altered circumstances during the war. Hitler approved the plan for the mass expulsion of the Serbs from the NDH to Serbia during the first meeting with the Ustasha leader Ante Pavelić, on June 6, 1941, advising Pavelić that he would have to pursue a nationally intolerant policy for 50 years, "because too much tolerance is harmful."<sup>4</sup>

In the Ustasha state itself, the policy of annihilation (elimination) of Serbs had the support of the German Ambassador to the NDH, Siegfried Kasche, as well as of some other influential factors in the Ustasha state.

Among them was the head of the Operational Command of the Security Police and the Security Service in Zagreb (*Einsatzkommando der Secherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienst*, abbreviated: EK Sipo-SD) SS Major (*Sturmbannführer*) Wilhelm Beisner.<sup>5</sup> Representatives of the German army in the Independent State of Croatia had a different opinion, primarily the German general in Zagreb, Edmund Glaise von Horstenau.

Informed from several sources about mass Ustasha crimes,<sup>6</sup> he assessed in the first months of the Ustasha state that these crimes were the main cause of unrest, which growingly endangered German interests.

Information about the mass killings of Serbs was known both in the Independent State of Croatia and in occupied Serbia. According to the report of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs from July 2, 1941, news arrived

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<sup>4</sup> T. Ferenc, *Nacistička politika denacionalizacije u Sloveniji u godinama od 1941 do 1945*, Ljubljana–Beograd 1979, 210.

<sup>5</sup> In April 1942, Beisner was removed due to his support for the National Socialists Slavko Govedić and the conflict with MP Kasche. The operational command of the police was disbanded and the Office of the Police Attaché was formed at the German embassy in Zagreb, headed by SS Major Hans Helm. That institution was the new German intelligence center in the NDH, and Helm's actions towards the NDH were much more realistic than Beisner's.; *Nemačka obaveštajna služba*, Vol. V: *Nemačka obaveštajna služba u okupiranoj Jugoslaviji. Ustaška NDH*, Beograd: Državni sekretarijat za unutrašnje poslove FNRJ, Uprava državne bezbednosti, 1958, 399, 443 (hereinafter: NOS).

<sup>6</sup> Horstenau received the most detailed reports from the retired captain of the former Austro-Hungarian army, Arthur Höffner. Horstenau collected reports on Ustasha crimes in a special red file; V. Kazimirović, *NDH u svetlu nemačkih dokumenata i dnevnika Gleza fon Horstenau 1941-1944*, Beograd: Nova knjiga, Narodna knjiga, 1987, 105, 115; Another important rapporteur to General Glaise on Ustasha crimes, as can be seen from this collection, was an intelligence officer from his staff, Major Wilhelm Knehe. He played an important role in the action of rescuing Serbian children from Ustasha camps in the summer of 1942; *Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević 1941-1945*, S. Szabo (Ed.), Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje, 2003, passim.

in Zagreb that “terrible Ustasha terror against the Serbian population”<sup>7</sup> was spreading in Bosnia and the Serb-settled regions. As for one aspect of the solution to the “Serbian question”, by expulsion, there seems to have been a fairly broad social consensus.

The same report states that broad circles advocate the ruthless view “that Serbs in Croatia must be evicted.”<sup>8</sup> In his report of August 9, 1941, General Glaise von Horsteneau identified the annihilation of Serbs as the main cause of the uprising.<sup>9</sup> It was clear to both him and the German representatives in occupied Serbia that the Germans would be blamed for the crimes, because they had created the Ustasha state and thus enabled the crimes.

The German occupation factors in Serbia received information about crimes against Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia from – in addition to their own sources – the Serbian quisling-authorities. As early as on May 4, 1941, the head of the Commissioner Government in Serbia, and the Commissioner of the Ministry of the Interior, Milan Aćimović, complained about the persecution and killing of the Serbs in the NDH in his written communication to the Military Commander in Serbia, General Helmuth Förster.<sup>10</sup> Based on several confidential reports, the Chief of Military Administration Staff for the Territory of the Military Commander in Serbia, Harald Turner, sent an exhaustive list of 19 cases of crimes and various acts of violence against Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia to the German Embassy in Zagreb on June 25, 1941. In the conclusion of his dispatch, Turner “again” asked that “the most urgent objections be made” to the Croatian government. Due to the fate of the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia, the Serb population in the Territory of the Military Commander was “overwhelmed by a silent despair [...], and I must designate that despair as a significant danger”.<sup>11</sup> As evidence of crimes in the Independent State of Croatia, the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs sent Turner 14 photographs of the killings of Serbs in the village of Gudovac near Bjelovar.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 149-150.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 149-150.

<sup>9</sup> V. Kazimirović, *NDH u svetlu nemačkih dokumenata*, 216-217.

<sup>10</sup> L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 148.

<sup>11</sup> *Zločini na jugoslovenskim prostorima u Prvom i Drugom svetskom ratu. Zbornik dokumenata. Vol. I, Zločini Nezavisne Države Hrvatske 1941.-1945*, S. Vukčević (Managing Editor), Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut, 1993, 139-142 (Hereinafter: *Zločini NDH*).

<sup>12</sup> *Zločini NDH*, 142. These photographs most likely ended up in the German police archives, that is, in the archives of the Commander of the Police (BdS) and finally in the

During the summer of 1941, the German military occupation authorities in Serbia constantly received information about the growing massacres of Serbs.

They were thoroughly informed about the massacres in two memoranda of the Serbian Orthodox Church Synod, in July and August 1941 respectively, compiled based on the statements of refugees that were systematically collected. One of these memoranda was delivered to the Yugoslav government in exile, and its contents were soon presented to the general public in the Western Allied countries.<sup>13</sup>

General Glaise von Horstenau's interventions with the Ustasha leader only had a limited impact, because Pavelić enjoyed the support of much more influential factors and he was well aware of that support. Berlin also counted on the participation of NDH military forces in the fight against the "Bolshevik monster" after the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The Ustasha government soon met German expectations and sent its troops to the Eastern Front. Although there were certain changes in the Ustasha policy towards Serbs following the German pressure in the first months of 1942, a new big wave of crimes against Serbs began around that time, first in the vicinity of Banja Luka, then in eastern Bosnia. During the spring, the wave of crimes continued in Kordun and Banija, and in the summer of 1942 it reached its peak, first in Bosnian Krajina, and then in Srem.

The policy of annihilation of Serbs was carried out not only in the concentration camp and death camp Jasenovac, but also in larger and smaller military operations and police actions against the Partisan-led People's Liberation Movement (*Narodno-oslobodilački pokret – NOP*). Despite the attitude of German military commanders, including police chiefs, that Ustasha atrocities against the Serbs were the main cause of the rise of the Communist insurgent movement, Hitler was against "obstructing the Croatian persecution [...] of Serbs," as he put it in late November 1942.<sup>14</sup> In general,

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Personal Fonds of Slavko Odić in the Archives of Vojvodina. This realistic assumption was made by Aleksandar Bursač, the author of the Introduction to the publication *Gudovac 1941. Put zločina (Gudovac in 1941. The Way of Crime)*, prepared by N. Kuzmanović, Novi Sad: Archives of Vojvodina; Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, Arhiv Srba u Hrvatskoj, 2019, 10.

<sup>13</sup> V. Đuretić, *Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama. Između nacionalnih i ideoloških izazova*, Vol. I, Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Balkanološki institut, 1985, 73-75.

<sup>14</sup> L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 215. Two months earlier, Hitler had told the Commander of the Southeast, General Alexander Löhr, as follows: "Good

Hitler's position was that Pavelić was his faithful ally and that nobody could replace him. He was not mistaken in that, because the Ustasha leader and his state were Hitler's last allies, even after his death. The Ustasha policy of annihilating (eliminating) Serbs has never been substantially changed until the end of the NDH. Moreover, the policy of annihilation of the Serbs gained a new momentum in 1944, especially after the departure of General Glaise von Horstenau from Zagreb in September 1944 and the capitulation of Romania in the same month.

The Ustasha state thus gained even more importance for the Germans as a key ally in the Balkans.<sup>15</sup>

The attitude of Nazi Germany and the NDH towards the Serbs after tearing up of the Yugoslav state, as well as the international situation, primarily the attack of Germany and its allies on the Soviet Union, led to the creation of a strong insurgent movement that influenced some of the occupation army's strategic plans. Among other things, the uprising questioned, and then stopped the grand plan for the mass relocation of Slovenians from the part of Slovenia annexed to the Greater German Reich. The plan to Germanize this part of the Yugoslav territory was to be carried out by expelling 220,000 to 260,000 "ineligible" Slovenians to occupied Serbia.<sup>16</sup>

The Ustasha state was aware of German plans to relocate Slovenians, and its government soon reacted, trying to incorporate its own anti-Serbian policy into German plans. A proposal was sent to the Germans to accept as many Slovenians in the NDH as there would be Serbs expelled from its territory to Serbia. The Ambassador in Zagreb Kasche informed the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs about that on May 13, 1941. Although Hitler was against the proposal to move part of the Slovenians to the Independent State of Croatia, he began to change his opinion after he had learned about the proposal of the Ustasha government. He believed that "the Croatian government is dedicated to weakening the very strong Serb minority in

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Croats, he finished, let them just vent their fury – which referred to the killing of Serbs..."; V. Kazimirović, *NDH u svetlu nemačkih dokumenata*, 236-237.

<sup>15</sup> Speaking to Hitler at a conference dedicated to the "Croatian question" on March 9, 1944, General Warlimont stated that "the Ustasha regime is trying to tighten measures against the Orthodox." The report of the Commander of the XV Army Corps states that "the Ustashes are less oriented towards the active suppression of communists, and more towards the fight against the Orthodox part of the population"; V. Kazimirović, *NDH u svetlu nemačkih dokumenata*, 271; *Ibid.* 275-276.

<sup>16</sup> T. Ferenc, *Nacistička politika denacionalizacije u Sloveniji*, 200-201.

Croatia” and that it was ready to accept a reciprocal number of Slovenians, which was less of a danger “than an undiminished further survival of the strong Serb minority.” According to a note from von Rintelen, deputy of the foreign minister Ribbentrop, on May 18, 1941, Hitler accepted a plan to relocate Slovenians to Serbia and the NDH, and to relocate a reciprocal number of Serbs from the NDH to occupied Serbia.<sup>17</sup> He also confirmed this in a conversation with the Ustasha leader on June 6, 1941. According to the testimony of Ambassador Kasche, the idea of accepting the exiled Slovenians and expelling a reciprocal number of Serbs from the Independent State of Croatia came from the Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac. The assessment of the Ustasha state authorities was that Slovenian Catholics would assimilate relatively quickly in the Croatian environment, which, along with the annihilation of Serbs and the organization of the Serbian Orthodox Church, would provide a new desirable national and religious structure of the population.<sup>18</sup>

The massive uprising in Serbia in the summer and autumn of 1941 endangered vital German interests, as well as its prestige, at the time of the greatest military successes in the battles against the Soviet Union. Due to the uprising, the action of relocating Serbs and Slovenians to occupied Serbia was interrupted, but the large influx of Serbian refugees who sought salvation from mass massacres in the Ustasha state was not stopped.<sup>19</sup> Due to the spread of the uprising, the German Military Commander in Serbia stopped further receiving of refugees on August 25, 1941, estimating that it encouraged dissatisfaction and the spread of the uprising, that is, that the refugees might join the ranks of the Communists.<sup>20</sup> The German commanders in the Independent State of Croatia were also aware of that, but the interventions with the Ustasha leader to stop the atrocities that caused the unrests did not yield results.

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<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, 203-207; L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 148-149.

<sup>18</sup> M. Koljanin, „Preveravanje Srba u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj”, in: *Pokatoličavanje Srba u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, Zbornik radova [Proceedings], M. Radanović (Ed.), Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2019, 38-39.

<sup>19</sup> By mid-October 1941, 17,756 Serbs had been expelled to Serbia through emigrant camps, while the total number of forcibly evicted and refugees from the Independent State of Croatia was about 120,000; 6,720 Slovenians were also exiled to Serbia. By the end of September 1941, 10,342 Slovenians had been expelled to the territory of the Independent State of Croatia; S. D. Milošević, *Izbeglice i preseljenici na teritoriji okupirane Jugoslavije 1941-1945. godine*, Beograd: Narodna knjiga, Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1981, 42, 158; T. Ferenc, *Nacistička politika denacionalizacije u Sloveniji*, 252.

<sup>20</sup> L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 164.

The significant differences between the initiation and course of the uprising in the Ustasha state and in the German-occupied area of Serbia should be borne in mind. After the attack of Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the preparations of members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for fighting the occupation army were the base for forming Partisan units and the spread of an armed uprising in most of occupied Serbia.

The uprising was at the same time a social revolution for the Communist Party, so that both the occupying army and institutions and the Serbian government apparatus and its bearers were attacked by Partisan units. According to the Bolshevik model, they were destroyed as the bearers of a hated civil society and monarchy, which gave the armed conflict in Serbia some characteristics of a civil war.

Simultaneously with the organization of the Communist resistance movement, in the middle of May 1941, another illegal resistance movement was created. A group of officers who had escaped imprisonment, led by Colonel Dragoljub Draža Mihailović, created another center of resistance to the occupation in western Serbia, which was by its character royalist, that is, legitimist. They called their military units Chetnik. The key strategy of this movement was military organization and waiting for the outcome of the war on the big fronts, and restoring the Yugoslav monarchy with the help of traditional allies. At the end of 1941, Draža Mihailović's movement would formally gain legitimacy from the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, and its official name would be the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland.<sup>21</sup> Thus, two resistance movements were created with fundamentally different and irreconcilable goals and strategies of action under the conditions of occupation and the existence of a large Ustasha state. These differences inevitably led to their conflict.

As early as at the beginning of June 1941, the Ustasha massacres of Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia provoked spontaneous resistance from Serbs and organizing of insurgents in eastern Herzegovina. The Communists were among them, but their engagement in the struggle was crucially influenced by Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, the "first country of socialism" and their "second homeland". During July and August 1941, insurgents were also organized in eastern Bosnia, as well as in the predominantly Serb ethnic area of Bosnian Krajina, Lika, Kordun and Banija. The Serbs from

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<sup>21</sup> B. Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu 1939-1945*, Beograd: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1992, 196-217.

those areas were exposed to the greatest destructive blow of the Ustasha state. Although the organization of the resistance largely depended on local circumstances, the insurgent movement was far from uniform. It included those who identified the liberation struggle with the social revolution, and those who believed that the Yugoslav monarchy should be restored. However, essential political differences were suppressed faced with the Ustasha policy of destroying the Serbs, because the struggle was to all of them the only way to survive. At the same time, political motives, at least for most of the insurgents, were pushed to the background. The combat cooperation of the two insurgent movements, the Partisan and the Chetnik ones, was in some places formalized by forming joint headquarters, such as the Command of the Bosnian military and Partisan units formed in Drinjača on October 1, 1941.<sup>22</sup>

The spread of the uprising in the Independent State of Croatia showed the great weakness of the Ustasha state, which caused greater engagement of the occupying forces. Mass unrests and threats to communications gave rise to the spread of the Italian military presence and influence, which was already evident at the end of August 1941. The entry of Italian troops into the Second Zone of their area of interest in the Independent State of Croatia marked the end of the Ustasha massacres of Serbs and their return to a kind of normal life. The consequence was the dissolution of the first death camp of the Ustasha state in Gospić (the system of camps and execution sites in Gospić-Jadovno-Pag). A new death camp and concentration camp – Jasenovac – was established in the Independent State of Croatia from the few survivors and newly arrived detainees at the end of August 1941 in the German area of interest.

Along with the expansion of the Italian occupation zone, the attitude towards Italian troops became one of the reasons for the split among the insurgents. Among other reasons, this influenced the definitive division of the insurgents into the uncompromisingly combative Partisan People's Liberation Movement and the royalist (Chetnik) movement. Already in the fall of 1941, some Chetnik commanders established contacts, and then cooperation with the Italians. Sometime later, they tried to establish a *modus vivendi* with both the Germans and the NDH, but with much less success, at least at first.

Although in principle both resistance movements advocated the renewal of the Yugoslav state, the differences between them were substantial and insurmountable.

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<sup>22</sup> Z. AntoniĆ, *Ustanak u istočnoj i centralnoj Bosni 1941*, Tuzla: Univerzal, 1983, 425-426.

They differed primarily in terms of the social organization of the future renewed state and its internal organization. The Communist Party was Yugoslav in its composition, but the insurgent ranks (not counting Slovenia and Macedonia) were completely, or almost completely, composed of Serbs. For the royalist (Chetnik) movement, with all the specificities in certain occupation areas, the renewal of the Yugoslav monarchy with a significantly enlarged Serbia was primary. Under the influence of the annihilation of Serbs, primarily in the territory of the Ustasha state, an important part of the strategy of the royalist movement became the “punishment” of all those who were guilty of the annihilation of the Serbs. Muslims and Croats were collectively blamed and thus became exposed to massacres, looting and destruction of property. For its part, the Partisan leadership consistently sought in the NDH to win over members of all nations to fight, while any violence against the civilian population was severely punished. In the long run, that was one of the main reasons for the success and victory of the Partisan movement. However, in the first months, it happened that insurgent units committed crimes against the Muslim and Croat civilian population as revenge for the Ustasha massacres.<sup>23</sup>

In eastern Bosnia, this happened during the Partisan-Chetnik seizure of a large Ustasha stronghold in the village Koraj on November 27 and in Olovo on December 17, 1941.<sup>24</sup>

During July and August 1941, the uprising in Serbia spread more and more, and the German military administration decided to engage more domestic forces to suppress it. Instead of the weak Commissioner Government headed by Milan Aćimović, on August 29, 1941, the Military Commander in Serbia, General Heinrich Danckelmann appointed a Government of National Salvation (*Vlada narodnog spasa*) headed by General Milan Nedić. One of the conditions set by Nedić in order to accept that position was “effective cessation of the killings and persecution of Serbs under Croats, Bulgarians and Hungarians.”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> One such rare example was the crime at Kulen Vakuf in early August 1941; M. Bergholz, *Nasilje kao generativna sila. Identitet, nacionalizam i sjećanje u jednoj balkanskoj zajednici* [Violence as a Generative Force. Identity, Nationalism and Memory in a Balkan Community], translated from English by S. Kreso, Sarajevo–Zagreb: Bybook, 2018.

<sup>24</sup> Z. Antonić, *Ustanak u istočnoj i centralnoj Bosni 1941*, 332-334; R. Čolaković, *Zapisi iz oslobodilačkog rata*, Vol. 2, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966, 307-310.

<sup>25</sup> M. Borković, *Kontrarevolucija u Srbiji. Kvislinška uprava 1941-1944*. Vol. One (1941-1942), Beograd: Sloboda, 1979, 101-102.

Nedić was not in a position to set conditions, and the Germans only seemingly and conditionally accepted them due to their current political needs.

As for the persecution of Serbs outside Serbia, the German side only promised “that an objection will be lodged with the respective governments in the indicated cases.”<sup>26</sup> Nedić’s decision to accept the position of Prime Minister was certainly influenced by the German threat that they would stop the uprising with the help of the troops of neighboring nations, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Croats, and that the massive retaliations could lead to the complete annihilation of the Serbian people.<sup>27</sup>

The formation of General Nedić’s government caused alarm in Zagreb, and the Ustasha government and its patrons tried to compromise that government and its first man as much as possible. The head of the Ustasha police Eugen Dido Kvaternik claimed to Ambassador Kasche that General Nedić was an enemy of the Germans. Reports against General Nedić were also sent by the head of the Police Operational Command (EK Sipo-SD) in Zagreb, Beisner. In his report to the German police headquarters in Berlin, the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt* – RSHA) in September 1941, Beisner described Nedić as an infamous, outspoken opponent of the Axis powers, whose coming to power will again legalize the “eradicated Serbian conspiracy clique”. He pointed out that the unrest was intensified in Serbia due to the appointment of Nedić.<sup>28</sup> It should be borne in mind that the Ustasha state was not only an irreconcilable opponent of the Serbs on its own territory, but also of all Serbs, so it opposed any Serbian state.<sup>29</sup> However, that was already the time when the Germans no longer gave unreserved support to the NDH, which was also influenced by mass crimes against the Serbs.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> M. Borković, *Kontrarevolucija u Srbiji*, I, 103.

<sup>27</sup> M. Koljanin, „Srbija u nemačkom 'novom poretku' 1941-1942”, *Istorija 20. veka*, 1, 2011, 72-73.

<sup>28</sup> NOS, Vol. IV, Beograd 1959, 436-437.

<sup>29</sup> M. Koljanin, „Srbija u nemačkom 'novom poretku' 1941-1942”, 83. During a visit to Hitler on July 21, 1941, the Commander of the NDH Armed Forces, Slavko Kvaternik, advocated that the Germans permanently occupy Serbia and establish a German-Croatian border on the Morava; *Staatsmänner und Diplomaten bei Hitler. Vertrauliche Aufzeichnungen über Unterredungen mit Vertretern des Auslands 1931-1941*, A. Hillgruber (Ed.), Frankfurt am Main: Bernard und Graefe Verlag, 1967, 613.

<sup>30</sup> L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 162, 177.

From September 6, 1941, the military commands and units of the Government of Milan Nedić<sup>31</sup> were formed, which played their role in crushing the uprising under German command. Nominally, the Chetnik units of *Vojvoda* Kosta Milovanović Pećanac, who concluded an agreement with the German Military Administration on August 28, 1941, were also under the command of Nedić's government. In mid-September, the members of the pro-fascist [Yugoslav National Movement] *Zbor* led by Dimitrije Ljotić started forming units, which were organized into the Serbian Volunteer Command. *Zbor* was the only political organization allowed to operate under occupation.<sup>32</sup>

Their Volunteer Detachments (*Srpski dobrovoljački odredi* – SDO) enjoyed the greatest trust of the occupation authorities because of their fight against both insurgent movements, the Partisan and the royalist one. During the fall of 1941, Russian emigrants were mobilized into military units called the Russian Protective Corps (*Russisches Schutzkorps*).<sup>33</sup> They were mainly used to secure commercial facilities and border areas.

The three German garrison divisions in Serbia (711<sup>th</sup>, 714<sup>th</sup> and 717<sup>th</sup> Infantry Divisions) were insufficient to quell the insurgent movement, which was on the rise in the autumn of 1941. Therefore, in mid-September 1941, the Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* – OKW) issued an order to quell the insurgent movement in the Southeast by the most severe means. General Franz Böhme was appointed Plenipotentiary Commanding General (*Bevollmächtigter Kommandierender General*) in Serbia, and from the end of September 1941, mass executions and internments of tens of thousands of people began in insurgent areas and cities, primarily in Belgrade, and then in Šabac, Kraljevo, Kragujevac and Niš. The suppression of the uprising required the engagement of two operational divisions brought from France and from the front against the Soviet Union (342<sup>nd</sup> and 113<sup>th</sup> Infantry Divisions). Together with the Serbs, almost the entire Jewish male population and part of the Roma population, were eradicated in mass killings.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> B. Dimitrijević, *Vojska Nedićeve Srbije. Oružane snage srpske vlade 1941-1945*, Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2011, 48-52.

<sup>32</sup> M. Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića 1934-1945*, Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1984, 131-160.

<sup>33</sup> B. Dimitrijević, *Vojska Nedićeve Srbije*, 54-84.

<sup>34</sup> M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu 1941-1944*, Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1992, 32-42; V. Manošek, *Holokaust u Srbiji. Vojna okupaciona politika i uništavanje Jevreja 1941-1942*, Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, Draslar partner, 2007, 63-114.

The great spread of insurgent battles in Serbia was contributed not only by the general anti-occupation mood, revolt over crimes against the Serbs in other occupied areas, high expectations of a turnaround in the war after the German attack on the Soviet Union, but also some cooperation between two anti-occupation resistance movements in Serbia. Although this was contrary to their strategy, part of the royalist units achieved combat unity with the Partisan units. Joint commands were created and attacks were organized on larger cities. The cooperation was confirmed by the agreements between Draža Mihailović and the Partisan leader Josip Broz Tito; what happened was what the occupation authorities and Nedić's government least wanted. However, at the beginning of November 1941, an open conflict broke out between Mihailović and the Partisan forces, but it did not immediately spread to eastern Bosnia and other insurgent areas in the Independent State of Croatia. Royalist insurgents in eastern Bosnia, led by Major Jezdimir Dangić, rejected the invitation of Mihailović to join the attack on the Partisans.<sup>35</sup>

Mihailović's attempt to reach an agreement with the Germans in Divci on November 11, 1941, and direct them against the Partisans failed; for the Germans, the royalist movement was a British exponent and a latent danger in the event of a shift in the course of the war. The superior German military force, mass reprisals against the population and the insurgents, as well as the conflict between the two resistance movements, enabled the relatively easy and fast defeat of the uprising in most of Serbia. After the reoccupation of Partisan-held territory in western and central Serbia at the end of November 1941, the German offensive ended with the destruction of Draža Mihailović's headquarters in early December 1941. He himself barely escaped capture, and his political rival Josip Broz Tito went through a similar situation, after the chaotic withdrawal of Partisans from Užice. The Partisan forces withdrew to the Italian interest zone, and the leadership of the royalist movement did the same.

It was a matter of time when there would occur a conflict between the two insurgent movements in the Independent State of Croatia as well. The growing Chetnik propaganda against the Partisans acquired a distinctly anti-Communist character. Chetnik commanders in eastern Bosnia praised Nedić as the savior of the Serb people from the destruction prepared by the

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<sup>35</sup> According to memories of Rodoljub Čolaković, Dangić "could not marshal anyone, because at that time no Bosnian Chetnik wanted to turn his shotgun on the partisans."; R. Čolaković, *Zapisi iz oslobodilačkog rata*, Vol. 2, 82.

Partisans for them. They attracted fighters from Partisan units by reminding them of the oath to the “King and Fatherland”, they encouraged robbery and increasingly massive killings of the Muslim population. Some Chetnik units also moved from Serbia to eastern Bosnia, and at the same time there was a large decrease of fighters from the Partisan ranks and their transition to Chetnik units.<sup>36</sup> It was similar in other insurgent areas in the Independent State of Croatia, so that for each side the rival movement became their number one enemy.

The definite split between the Partisan and royalist Chetnik movements in eastern Bosnia was emphasized during the German offensive in January 1942. Before launching the offensive, at the end of December 1941, the Plenipotentiary and Commanding General in Serbia, Paul Bader, estimated that “with the onset of warmer days, a revival of insurgent activity and unrest must be expected.”<sup>37</sup> To prevent this, in January 1942, two German divisions (718<sup>th</sup> and 342<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Divisions), together with NDH forces, undertook an extensive military operation against the insurgent forces in eastern Bosnia, announcing a much larger German military engagement in the Ustasha state. In the attempt to have the same relationship with German troops as with the Italian ones, the Chetnik commanders issued instructions to their units to withdraw before the German forces without fight or to surrender. At the beginning of February 1942, the German offensive was interrupted without any significant results, but eastern Bosnia remained a German operational area. The Partisan Supreme Headquarters moved from Mt. Romanija to the Italian interest zone in Foča; the Chetniks were expelled from Foča after committing a large-scale massacre of the Muslim inhabitants.

There was a widespread expectation among both the Chetniks and the Partisans that eastern Bosnia would be annexed to the German occupation zone in Serbia, that is, that General Nedić’s administration would be established there as well. The Serbian quisling administration, both Aćimović’s and Nedić’s, tried to find a place for Serbia in the “New European Order”. Such Serbia was seen within the extended borders that would include eastern Bosnia. There could be no talk about that at the time of the mass uprising in Serbia, when its very survival was questionable.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 307-310.

<sup>37</sup> *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o Narodnooslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije*, Vol. XII, Dokumenti Nemačkog rajha, Book 1, Beograd: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1973, 799-800 (hereinafter: *Zbornik NOR*).

However, after the relative calm in Serbia, General Nedić tried to capitalize on his participation in crushing the uprising. As soon as in November 1941, contacts were established between Major Dangić and General Nedić; the latter sought to achieve through him an active political role in eastern Bosnia. In December 1941, he again addressed the German military administration, asking for an end to the persecution of Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia, and advocating their release from Ustasha camps. The topic of the engagement of the Serbian quisling administration in the release of Serbs from Ustasha camps is completely unprocessed in our historiography, and the documents from this collection are therefore a valuable original base for a research in those circumstances.

Like all other activities of General Nedić, the negotiations with Major Dangić were conducted with the knowledge of the Germans. In order to calm down the situation in eastern Bosnia, the Germans were ready to engage Major Dangić's forces. According to the agreement between the Plenipotentiary General and Commander in Serbia Paul Bader and Major Dangić, concluded on February 1, 1942 in Belgrade, the Chetnik units between the rivers Drina, Sava and Bosna and the Italian demarcation line were to be placed under the command of the Commander of the 718<sup>th</sup> German Division, General Bader. These intentions were prevented by the intervention of Ambassador Kasche and the Ustasha government.<sup>38</sup> The Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in Berlin, Reinhard Heydrich also advocated for the German military administration and the agreement with Major Dangić. In his report to the *Reichsführer* SS Heinrich Himmler in early February 1942, he pointed out that the main cause of the insurgents' actions were the atrocities of Ustasha units not only against adult Serbs, but also against the elderly, women and children. "The number of Orthodox persons who were slaughtered by Croats and tortured to death by sadistic methods must be estimated at 300,000 people so far." He suggested that the Ustasha forces eventually withdraw, because they "again started new atrocities and new crimes"<sup>39</sup> in the areas of eastern Bosnia that the German forces had withdrawn from.

In the meantime, the Partisan-Chetnik conflict gained momentum in eastern Bosnia, but also in other areas. The great blow for the Partisans was the Chetnik attack and the destruction of the headquarters of the Majevisa

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<sup>38</sup> M. Borković, *Kontrarevolucija u Srbiji*, Vol. I, 48-50.

<sup>39</sup> L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 187.

Partisan Detachment on February 20, 1942 in Vukosavci. The Partisans withdrew to Birač and asked for help from the Supreme Headquarters. It formed the Proletarian Strike Group, which destroyed the Chetnik headquarters in Borike in early March, and then continued the attack on other Chetnik strongholds. Almost at the same time, on March 5, 1942, the Ustaša Black Legion, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Jure Francetić, broke through the Chetnik frontline and took over Han Pijesak, which became their stronghold for further penetration into the insurgent territory. During its operation, this unit committed horrific crimes by systematically killing the Serb civilian population.

The commander of the Partisan Supreme Headquarters saw that there could be a de facto cooperation between the Partisan and Croatian Ustaša forces, estimating that this could have “negative political consequences”. Therefore, he had ordered the cessation of the actions of the Proletarian Strike Group, which had penetrated as far as Bratunac in the meantime.<sup>40</sup> It soon became clear that the Partisan vs. Chetnik conflict brought a new great suffering of the Serb population of eastern Bosnia as one of its consequences.

In order to completely destroy the insurgent movement in eastern Bosnia, a large operation by German, Italian and Croatian forces was planned for mid-April 1942, which would eliminate the possibility of the movement spreading to neighboring areas. However, the operation began as early as on March 31, 1941, with the penetration of the Ustaša Black Legion from Han Pijesak towards Vlasenica, Bratunac and the Drina river. There was disintegration in the already disorganized insurgent ranks and a great flight of the people, because only burned villages and brutally killed Serbs remained behind the Black Legion. Large numbers of refugees settled on the banks of the Drina, and only a part of the people could be transported, because the Germans closed the border, fearing the spread of the typhus infection. During April 1942, the Ustaša Black Legion committed horrific mass crimes against the Serb civilian population that was trying to cross the Drina into Serbia.

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<sup>40</sup> J. B. Tito, *Sabrana djela*, Vol. 9, Beograd: IC Komunist, BIGZ, Naprijed, 1981; 116-119, 156-158. According to a ten-day report by the Plenipotentiary General in Serbia to the Commander of the Southeast of March 31, 1942, in eastern Bosnia, “the struggle between Croats and Serbs intensified.” Ustashas, local Partisans, Muslims and in the end, gangs that broke through from Montenegro are fighting side by side against Serbian forces under Dangić”; Military Archives, Belgrade, HAB, T-501, roll 247, recording 1067-1070. See also: P. V. Ostojić, *Ustaški zločin u Starom Brodu kod Višegrada 1942: u svjetlu njemačkih dokumenata*, Beograd: Svet knjige, 2019, 70-103.

The new wave of Ustasha crimes in eastern Bosnia was reported on April 10 by the representative of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade Felix Benzler.<sup>41</sup> German troops witnessed these mass crimes and occasionally there were minor armed conflicts between German and Croatian Ustasha forces, as reported by the German Security Service.<sup>42</sup> According to a new telegram from Benzler to the Ministry in Berlin on April 29, 1942, a wave of 25,000 Serb refugees, mostly women and children, reached the Drina river.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the ban, they forced their entry into Serbia.<sup>44</sup> Some Chetnik commanders, including Major Dangić, crossed into Serbia. Dangić himself was arrested on April 12, 1942, because the Germans found out that he had established contacts with the Italians, who suggested that he send a request to the Italian commanders to enter eastern Bosnia in order to protect the population.

During the first months of 1941, another military and political factor, the Muslim one, gained in importance in eastern Bosnia. It was embodied in a military unit of the Tuzla merchant Major Muhamed Hadžiefendić, most often referred to as the Muslim or Hadžiefendić Legion in the sources, including this collection of documents.<sup>45</sup> This formation was gathered at the end of 1941 with the help of the Commander of the Croatian Home Guard (*Hrvatsko domobranstvo*) Slavko Kvaternik; in March 1942 it became a brigade,

<sup>41</sup> L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 194-195.

<sup>42</sup> Military Archives, NDH Fonds, κ-312, φ-57, д-1-7, *Zbornik NOR*, Vol. XII, Book 2, Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut, 1976, 390-393, Zabeleška s konferencije u Sarajevu, 6 May 1942. General Bader stated that the atrocities against Serbs continued. "In the future, I will order that Ustashas who commit crimes be fired at, not out of consideration for Serbs, but in order to establish peace, and that the Ustashas in the curve of the Drina are doing so under German command."

<sup>43</sup> A. Miletić, „O saradnji komandanta četničkih odreda istočne Bosne Jezdimira Dangića sa Nemcima”, *Vojnoistorijski glasnik*, 2, 1972, 143-144; *Zbornik NOR*, Vol. XII, Book 2, 405-419; German general in Zagreb, Report on the situation in Croatia, second half of May 1942, Political situation, Zagreb, May 19, 1942. Dangić was sent to a German military prison camp, and after the war the Soviet authorities extradited him to Yugoslavia. At the trial in Sarajevo in 1947, he was sentenced to death.

<sup>44</sup> L. Hori, M. Broscat, *Ustaška država Hrvatska...*, 195.

<sup>45</sup> Hadžiefendić, Muhamed, *Tko je tko u NDH. Hrvatska 1941.-1945*, D. Stuparić (Ed. in Chief.), Zagreb: Minerva, 1997, 148-149 (S. Zvizdić). After the Partisan capture (or liberation) of Tuzla, the Military Court sentenced him to death on October 7, 1943. It is also stated here that the Legion "mostly defended its villages from Chetniks and Partisans", and there is not one word about the mass crimes it committed against the Serb population.

(*zdrug*), and in July of the same year it became a regiment (*puk*), called the Home Guard Volunteer Regiment (*Domobranska dobrovoljačka pukovnija*). This and other similar local or regional Muslim volunteer formations were an expression of dissatisfaction of the Muslim elite with the complete absorption of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Ustasha state and the great suffering of Muslim civilians exposed to Chetnik retaliations for the genocide of the Ustasha state against the Serbs. This dissatisfaction was expressed, for the first time publicly, in the Resolutions of the Muslim leaders in October and November 1941. The previously strong idea of the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Muslim domination emerged in 1942 as the idea of a German protectorate.

However, the Germans remained consistent in supporting the Ustasha state. Although only partially independent of Croatia, Muslim policy towards the Serbs did not differ much from the genocidal program of the Independent State of Croatia.

Most crimes against Serb civilians in eastern Bosnia, in addition to those of the Ustasha Black Legion and some other Ustasha units, were committed by various Muslim militias and legions, and later by the Muslim 13<sup>th</sup> SS "Khanjar" Division, incited by religious fanaticism.

### Preface to the Serbian edition

A detailed account of the key events in the period covered by the documents in this collection was necessary in order to better understand the significance of these documents in the complex military and political situation on the territory of the shattered Yugoslav state. Moreover, it is explained here how the dossier was assembled by the creator, as well as its content, and the principles of preparing the material in this book. The date range of the documents in the collection is from July 26, 1941 to November 20, 1942, with the continuity of documents lacking in the second half of June 1942. The documents refer to the period of the greatest mass crimes against Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), i.e. to the period in which these crimes had a decisive influence on the development of events in occupied Serbia and, to an even greater extent, in the Ustasha NDH.

Documents of German provenance, police and military, prevail among the documents in the collection. These include documents of members of the German national minority in the Independent State of Croatia (*Volksdeutscher*). The dossier also includes documents of Croatian (military, administrative,

Ustasha), Serbian (Chetnik, Nedić's administration, members of Ljotić's organization and volunteers) and Muslim provenance. Such diverse sources testify to the intention to better understand the actions of the parties to the conflict. Although the dossier includes documents on Ustasha crimes against the Serbs, it also contains those on other mass crimes of the Ustasha authorities, primarily against Jews. Some of the documents are about Chetnik crimes against Muslims and Croats, then about Ustasha persecutions of politically unreliable people, or just criminal cases. The dossier also contains documents that can be found in other archival fonds, as well as in some published collections of originals. This primarily refers to the statements of refugees given in the Extraordinary Commissariat for Refugees and Migrants (*Izvanredni komesarijat za izbeglice i preseljenike*, abbreviated: Commissariat for Refugees) of the Government of General Nedić.

These statements are in the fonds under the same label in the Archives of Serbia. Parts of some statements from that fonds were published in the collection of Antun Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945* [The Jasenovac Concentration Camp 1941-1945].

The dossier on Ustasha atrocities was formed by SS Major (*Sturmbannführer*) Dr. Ernst Weinmann, a member of the Security Police and the Security Service Operational Group (*Einsatzgruppe der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienst*, abbreviated: EK Sipo-SD). He was the liaison officer of this main police institution in Serbia with the Military Commander, his Administrative Headquarters headed by State Counselor Harald Turner and the representative of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Serbia, Felix Benzler. Weinmann performed the same duty after the reorganization of the police and the establishment of the institution of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service, at the end of January 1942. At the same time, Weinmann was the relocation commissioner at the headquarters of the Military Commander in Serbia. The same duty in Zagreb was performed by the head of the local Police Operational Command, Beisner. Weinmann played a significant role in organizing the resettlement of Serbs from the Independent State of Croatia and Slovenes from the German occupation zone in Slovenia to occupied Serbia.<sup>46</sup> This endeavor was agreed at the conference of high representatives of Germany and the Independent State of

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<sup>46</sup> *Nemačka obaveštajna služba*, Vol. IV: *Nemačka obaveštajna služba u okupiranoj Jugoslaviji, Srbija, Makedonija, Crna Gora*, Beograd: Državni sekretarijat za unutrašnje poslove FNRJ, Uprava državne bezbednosti, Beograd 1959, 397-398.

Croatia in Zagreb on June 4, 1941, which was also attended by Weinmann. He worked closely with the Serbian Extraordinary Commissioner for Refugees and Migrants, retired Colonel Andro Popović, and with Toma Maksimović, who took over the duty of Commissioner for Refugees in October 1941.<sup>47</sup> Weinmann's role was also important for the release of groups of Serb detainees from Ustasha camps in March and April 1942, for which Commissioner Maksimović thanked him.

It can be seen from the documents that Weinmann collected documents from various sources, among them from the German representatives in the Independent State of Croatia. Reports from the Ustasha state also came from various sources, primarily the military and police. The most important of the police reports were those from the Police Operational Command in Zagreb, but also from the branch of the Police Operational Group (EG Sipo-SD), later the branch of the Police Commander in Belgrade, from Sarajevo. There is a noticeable difference between the report of the very pro-Ustasha SS Major Beisner from Zagreb, on the one hand, and the report of the officer from the headquarters of General Glaise von Horstenau and the report of the Police Operational Group from Belgrade, on the other hand. The collected data on crimes against Serbs, Weinmann and his superior Police Commander SS Lieutenant Colonel, Emanuel Schäfer were submitted to German institutions in Serbia, primarily to the Plenipotentiary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Benzler, because only through him could one influence the government of the independent Ustasha state. Data on Ustasha atrocities were also submitted to the branch of the Military Intelligence Service in Serbia (*Abwehr*). The importance attached to the issue of Ustasha crimes against the Serbs can also be seen from the report sent on September 30, 1941 to the head of *Abwehr* and the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*).

Data on Ustasha crimes were also sent from the German police in Serbia to the head of the Zagreb Police Operational Command Beisner, who reacted to them in his own way. At the time of the largest Ustasha massacres

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<sup>47</sup> After the war, Weinmann was arrested by the Allied authorities and extradited to Yugoslavia. At a trial of a group of German police chiefs in Belgrade on December 22, 1946, he was sentenced to death by hanging; Đ. Lopičić, *Nemački ratni zločini 1941-1945. Presude jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova*, Beograd: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2009, 116, 414-415; Commissioner Toma Maksimović was sentenced to 10 years in prison by a verdict of the Military Court in Belgrade in 1945; S. Cvetković, *Između srpa i čekića. Represija u Srbiji 1944-1953*, Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju 2006, 184.

of Serbs on the Drina river, at the end of April 1942, Schäfer addressed not only Benzler, but also directly the headquarters of the German police (RSHA) in Berlin. The dossier also contains documents on Ustasha crimes that were collected for other German factors, primarily military ones.

It also contains excerpts from daily military reports on crimes, reports of medical officers, correspondence between military commands and police institutions in Serbia and the Independent State of Croatia with the highest German police institutions in Berlin regarding Ustasha crimes and their impact on the course of events. A number of documents testify to the actions and crimes of Hadžiefendić's Muslim Legion and the attempt to disband it.

A group of documents of various backgrounds provides information on Chetnik crimes, mostly against Muslims. These documents testify to the political and ideological profile of the royalist resistance movement, as well as to its evolution from a militant and anti-Ustasha movement to an opportunistic and anti-Partisan movement. One of the sources of informing the Germans about the crimes were the reports of the confidants in the Independent State of Croatia, who enjoyed their special protection. Among them, one of the most important was the Tuzla pharmacist Obrad Mičić, who also had a political role in that area. An important source of data on Ustasha crimes were the statements of refugees and displaced persons from the Ustasha state, which were delivered to Weinmann through the Commissariat for Refugees, but also to the highest representatives of the German military administration. In February 1942, a brief review of Ustasha crimes was made at the Commissariat, based on the statements of refugees, and then it was translated and handed over to the institution of the German Police Commander. In its efforts to release certain Serbs from Ustasha camps arrested upon their return from German captivity, the Commissariat also pointed to the fact that they were still in the status of prisoners of war and thus under the protection of international law of war, but without any success.

On the anniversary of the proclamation of the Ustasha state, on April 10, 1942, Commissioner Toma Maksimović submitted to SS Major Weinmann, at his request, 27 statements of Serbian refugees and displaced persons. Some of these statements are attached without basic information about the issuer of the statement, as well as the time and place when it had been given. This can be explained by the mistrust and fear of refugees that the data about them and the persons they mentioned could harm the persons in the NDH, or themselves. The statements of the refugees were also used by General Nedić in his petitions to the military administration, advocating for German

intervention to stop the Ustasha massacres of Serbs, or for their release from the camps. His main argument was that new crimes could provoke new riots and that it harmed the actions of Government detachments in their effort to calm down in Serbia. The fact that the head of the Zagreb Operational Group, Beisner responded to those interventions at the end of December 1941, as late as after almost three months, speaks volumes about the impact of the interventions of General Nedić and the German police from Serbia. It is probably no sheer coincidence that the release of the Serb inmates from the Loporgrad and Jasenovac camps took place at the time of Beisner's deposition from his post. The release of these groups of detainees had primarily a political background and probably needed to strengthen the position of General Nedić's government in some way.

In preparing the documents for this collection, we have tried to follow the practice of the Institute of Military History in publishing the multi-volume *Zbornik NOR (A Collection of the National Liberation War)*, as well as some other published collections of documents from the Second World War. The names of the institutions and the official statuses of persons are mentioned only once in the notes, and while a list of these is provided in an attachment.

**The quantity and selection of material for publication.** The dossier contains a number of duplicate documents and excerpts from some documents, which are already in the dossier. The purpose of these excerpts was certainly to inform other, German institutions at that time, about the Ustasha crimes. Excerpts are therefore not included in this book, except in the rare cases when they are related to what we considered important to confirm the content of certain documents.

Out of over 600 sheets of documents in the dossier, a total of 165 documents and 63 photographs have been included in this edition of the collection. Most of the documents in the dossier were written in German and they have been translated into Serbian (for the purpose of the Serbian edition of this book), so there was no need to state that they were translations from German. Some documents were originally written in Croatian, Serbian and/or translated into German (by order of the office where the case was received), which is stated in the notes. In such cases, the original was used, but it was also compared with the translation equivalent. Sergeant Franz Bublik and Captain Kalmar are identified as official translators in the documents.

It can be seen from the documents that Bublik himself collected information on Ustasha crimes, while Captain Kalmar was an intelligence (I c) officer at the headquarters of the Military Commander in Serbia. The num-

bering of the documents in this collection was done for the needs of publication, in order to make it easier for the Reader to find his/her way in the book, as well as to connect them to the photographs in the attachment which are an integral part of this publication.

The dossier is formed by inserting documents chronologically. However, that order was not consistently respected by the creators, because it is obvious that some documents are not where they belong. This required that we sometimes perform a subsequent chronological arrangement of the documents, which disrupted their original order in the dossier. In addition to this, primarily technical intervention, the organizer performed another one in the distribution of individual documents. He decided on it primarily because the collection is not just a mechanical reproduction of the contents of the documents in the dossier on Ustasha atrocities. The main intention of the folder-maker was to get a picture of when, how and which German representatives received notifications about Ustasha crimes, the kinds of the crimes and the consequences they produced, based on the documents from the dossier.

The interventions of the collection-organizer in the distribution of documents primarily refers to the five documents on Ustasha crimes from May to August 1941, with which the collection begins. The first four documents in the collection are attachment to a document from the end of January or the beginning of February 1942 that has not been preserved, and the fifth is related to the previous one. In other words, these documents became an integrated part of the dossier at the end of January, or the beginning of February 1942, but they had been created in July and August 1941 and at the end of January 1942, and their content refers to the period from May to August 1941. The sixth document in the collection, the request of a Serbian refugee from the Independent State of Croatia to the German commander in Belgrade, is in a way an introduction to, or an announcement of, what is the content of the seventh document from October 9, 1941, which is in the first place in the dossier.

Although the documents are mostly placed in the dossier chronologically, the creator showed the intention to group them thematically. After the statements of the Serb refugees in September, the Resolutions of the Muslim leaders in October and November 1941 followed, and the reactions to them. There follow groups of documents on the massacres in the Tuzla region and in Brčko, from November 1941 to January 1942, then some about the formation of Hadžiefendić's legion and the massacres it committed, on the Chetniks

and their activities, on the Partisans and communists, and a series of documents on the massacres in the Serbian villages around Banja Luka in February 1942. Several documents of different provenance are about the camps at Gospić, Jasenovac and Loborgrad, very important sources about these camps. Based on these documents, it can be clearly concluded that the German representatives were very well informed about these camps and about the mass crimes in them. The largest group of documents refers to the period from March to the beginning of June 1942, i.e. to the events in eastern Bosnia, which were marked by mass crimes against the Serb civilian population. A number of German military and police sources testify about them, among other things, about occasional minor clashes between German units and the Ustasha who massacred Serb civilians before their eyes. The question remains why the collection of documents in the dossier on Ustasha atrocities practically stops in June 1942. A possible explanation could be that the Commander of the Police in Belgrade concluded that the further keeping of the dossier lost its purpose and that the efforts to understand the significance of the Ustasha atrocities bore fruit, at least partly.

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Based on the documents in the collection entitled *Ustasha Atrocities*, it can reliably be concluded that the Ustasha atrocities were a fact of first-class political, then growingly military significance, but they were not processed as such for a relatively long time. The purpose of forming the dossier was, in accordance with German interests, to give this fact due importance. The German occupation factors, both in Serbia and in the Ustasha state, were well acquainted with the mass crimes against Serbs, as well as that the strategic policy of the Ustasha state was the annihilation of the Serbian people. They were well acquainted with the means and methods by which this was achieved, not only in ethnic Serbian areas, but also in Ustasha death camps and concentration camps. Based on the strategic German anti-Serb policy, the Ustasha policy of destroying Serbs (by expulsion and killing) enjoyed German support. On the other hand, in the first months, German factors, primarily in Belgrade, and partly in Zagreb, were aware that the Ustasha atrocities were causing increasing resistance on the Serb side. It soon became clear that this resistance had turned into organized insurgent movements whose destruction required increasing military engagement bringing unforeseen political complications.

Therefore, the unreserved support for the Ustasha state was partially modified over time, although it never changed fundamentally. At the same time, the increasingly large-scale German and Croatian (NDH) military operations against the insurgents were a new opportunity to continue the Ustasha policy of destroying the Serbs. The split, then the conflict between the two insurgent movements in the fall and winter of 1941/42, also contributed to the growing suffering.

The documents in the collection on Ustasha atrocities again raise the issue of the influence of mass Ustasha crimes against Serbs, primarily on the events in occupied Serbia and the Ustasha state. Without understanding this issue and its impact, it is not possible to understand the key historical events and processes during the Second World War in Yugoslavia.

*Dr. Milan Koljanin*

## Subeditor's Note

This – English – edition of the book is a translation of the one in the Serbian language, published in 2022 under the title *Ustaška zverstva: Zbornik dokumenata (1941–1942)*. As far as the corpus of the *Dossier* from the personal fonds of Slavko Odić is concerned – and it makes the essential body of this book – the translation team worked from its Serbian version given in the said book and not from the German original.

The Serbian edition, with the documents translated from German, was printed in the Cyrillic alphabet, which necessitated some explanations provided by the Editor, Dr. Milan Koljanin, with regard to the linguistic traits, orthography and punctuation resorted to by the translators from German into Serbian (Tatjana Janićijević, Akademija Oxford) and the Editor. Naturally enough, numerous clarifications referring to the Serbian edition do not apply on the English one in most of the aspects of translation work. Hence the need to write this Note.

To begin with, the translators basically opted for the varieties of the American English rather than British English.

Personal names in the officially processed documents are most often written in what is today considered inverse order: family name/surname first, followed by one's first/Christian name, without a comma in between.

Originally, the documents (letters, reports, statements etc.) were written (typed) in **bureaucratic style** and with a page layout practised by German offices, so these traits have been retained herein, and so have the obvious spelling and/or typing errors (personal names, toponyms); the latter have been corrected in the footnotes. The parts of text/sentences which are underlined or written with spaces between letters as means of emphasis correspond to the German original and its Serbian/Croat counterpart. The same applies to whole words or lines written in capital letters.

**Punctuation** has been kept almost completely, except when the meaning demanded comma (usually related to the rules of word order in an English sentence). Some marks, such as hyphens, dashes or slashes may impress the Reader as outdated or misplaced. Earlier typewriters did not have buttons with parentheses, and the slash was used instead of them.

**Dates** are written with differing uses or omissions of period (full stop), whereby month is written in three ways: fully in letters (20 January), in Arabic numerals (e.g. 20.1.) or Roman numerals (e.g. 20.I.). In rare cases, the slash can be found in dates (e.g. 12./X. 1941), but not as a regular separator between their constituents. Years are occasionally written without the first digit, e.g. 942 instead of 1942, which is a frequent occurrence in oral communication.

**Abbreviations**, other than official identification means for offices, titles or codenames (VB, MA, RSHA etc.), have been translated (e.g. 'etc.'). The translators chose to retain the Croat/Serbian abbreviation for the name of the wartime 'state', that is, 'NDH' is standing for *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* (Independent State of Croatia) instead of the less known English name (ISC). Some words were written in a shortened form for the reason of economy of expression, and the habit has been transferred to the translation, including the Editor's intervention in the Serbian edition: Reg.[ister], Gend. [armerie], Gor[nja] Tuzla.

**Footnotes** in the English edition partially differ from those in the Serbian version. Some proved to be unnecessary (those that provided original names which were transliterated into the phonetical Cyrillic alphabet). New footnotes have been added by the Subeditor in order to explain/clarify the specific, locally used, words or phrases with which the Reader may not be familiar (such as *slava*, *din*, *sokolski dom*), or to indicate some nuances in the meaning (*student*, *profesor*). Here and there, the Reader will find notes in brackets inserted into the main body of the text by translators or the Editor where immediate understanding was needed.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the above-mentioned bureaucratic style of the presented documents mirrors the established conventions of communication in Central Europe and the Balkans of the first half of the 20th century, particularly in state and military affairs, yet also illustrates the specific 'hierarchy' of various authorities on the occupied territories during World War Two, accentuating the relations between the German organs/institutions in power and the various offices subordinated to the adminis-

trative and military system of the Third Reich. As to the information, facts and accounts of events recorded in these documents, they are the subject of the history science and studies related thereto.

*A. Č. P.*



**DOCUMENTS OF THE ARCHIVES OF VOJVODINA  
F. 562, PERSONAL FONDS OF SLAVKO ODIĆ (1915–2006), 1909–1983,  
DOSSIER OF THE COMMANDER OF THE SECURITY POLICE  
AND THE SECURITY SERVICE IN BELGRADE REGARDING  
USTASHA CRIMES (1941–1942)**



## Brief Summaries of the Documents

### No. 1

On July 26, 1941, the Field Command Zagreb reports to the German general in Zagreb on crimes against the Serbs, the reaction of the Croatian population thereto, the accusations against the *Wehrmacht* of their tolerating persecutions, and about sabotage acts, persecutions of Jews and the reaction of Italians.

### No. 2

On January 30, 1942, the Field Command Zagreb reports on mass crimes against the Serbs in Glina, around Glina and in Vrginmost from May to September 1941, as well as on the reaction of the Minister of the Interior Artuković.

### No. 3

On January 30, 1942, the Field Command Zagreb reports on the mass killings in Bihać and Velika Kladuša, on the killing of children and the ban on the burials of the killed.

### No. 4

Report of the commission for the inspection of mass graves from Peći-grad, of August 20, 1941, after visiting several mass graves near Velika Kladuša, with a proposal of measures to prevent spread of infection.

### No. 5

On August 29, 1941, the district chief from Velika Kladuša submits to the Municipality of Velika Kladuša a finding on the sanitary condition of the new graves and demands that the proposed measures be implemented as soon as possible.

No. 6

The request of Dušan Grozdić, a merchant from Bjelovar, to the German Commander of Belgrade on September 24, 1941, for the recovery of his valuables and the money taken by the commander of the camp in Bjelovar, from where he and his wife had been expelled to Serbia.

No. 7

On October 9, 1941, the Commissioner for Refugees, Popović, informs the German Commissioner for the Relocation SS Major Weinmann, that the Ustasha authorities had recently killed about 500 Serbs on the streets of Sremska Mitrovica.

No. 8

Statement of Jovan Belajčić from Osijek at the Commissariat for Refugees on October 9, 1941, about the deportation of Osijek Serbs to the camp in Slavonska Požega, from where they were transferred to Serbia.

No. 9

The resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslim leaders published in Sarajevo on October 12, 1941, by which they distance themselves from the policy of the Ustasha state, because it leads to the downfall of Croatian Muslims.

No. 10

Abwehr's note, sent to the Chief of the Wehrmacht Supreme Command and Abwehr Chief on September 30, 1941, about the Ustasha mass killings of Serbs of all ages in the vicinity of Sarajevo, as the only cause of the uprising for which German soldiers would suffer the consequences.

No. 11

Captain Höffner reports on November 5, 1941, that he had received a resolution from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslim leaders and conveys his opinion on the circumstances of the resolution adoption, the causes and consequences of the mass killings of Serbs and the need for autonomy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

No. 12

Captain Höffner reports to the office of the German general in Zagreb on November 10, 1941, about the relation between the Croatian armed forces and the Ustasha units, favouritism toward the Ustashas, their weak combat capacity and the Ustasha massacres of Serbs as the only cause of the uprising.

No. 13

Protest letter by the Muslim leaders from Banja Luka to two Muslim representatives in the NDH government on November 12, 1941, in which they complain about the massive killings and looting, the proselytism of the Roman Catholic Church which also threatens Muslims, pointing out that the uprising was used by the Communists and requesting legal and property security.

No. 14

Sergeant Bublik reports to the Intelligence Department of the Military Commander in Serbia on November 17, 1941, about the main role of the Secretary of State of the Independent State of Croatia, Eugen Kvaternik, in carrying out terror against Serbs.

No. 15

On November 28, 1941, the Administration Staff of the Military Commander in Serbia submits a confidential report on Communists in the ranks of the Ustashes to the head of the German police in the NDH, Beisner, requesting verification.

No. 16

Sergeant Bublik's report to the Command Headquarters in Serbia on November 26, 1941, about the persecution of the Serbs in Pakrac, that these are led by former communist officials with the help of Catholic clergy, that local Ustasha leaders are getting rich by looting, and that measures against Jews are milder than those against Serbs.

No. 17

Report of the district chief from Bijeljina to the Police Administration in Zagreb on November 29, 1941, about the attack of the Chetniks (insurgents) on Koraj, the number of the dead and the accommodation of refugees.

No. 18

Report on the attack of insurgents (Chetniks-Communists) on November 27, 1941 on the village of Koraj in the Bijeljina district, when the village was looted and burned, and a large number of inhabitants were killed, as well as on the killing of Serbs as the cause of the attack.

No. 19

On January 20, 1942, the police institution from Brod na Savi reports to the Ustasha Inspectorate about the insurgents' attack on the village of Koraj,

the number of killed inhabitants and destroyed houses, as well as the return of the survivors.

No. 20

Report of the Volksdeutscher local group of Brčko, to the district leadership on December 7, 1941, on the Ustasha revenge for the insurgents' attack on Koraj, the burning of several Serbian villages, massive killings and looting, as well as the annoyance of the population due to insecurity.

No. 21

Excerpt from a refugee's statement about the crime against the Serbs in the village of Rogulje, Zrinj Municipality, Dvor na Uni Municipality in December 1941. Thereafter, the survivors fled to the forest.

No. 22

President of the Ministerial Council, Nedić informs Chief of Administration Staff Turner on December 5, 1941, about the killing of Serbs and the burning of the villages of Bačuga, Glina District, and the mass killing and looting of nine Serb villages from Glina toward Karlovac, emphasizing that this hindered the Serbian Government action aimed at pacification.

No. 23

On December 27, 1941, President of the Ministerial Council, Nedić informs Chief of Administration Staff Turner about the mass killings of Serbs and the burning of villages from Brčko to Tuzla, and about the situation in Brčko asking him to take measures to stop the persecutions of Serbs by the Croatian authorities.

No. 24

Minutes with the statement by Đorđe Vujnović from Obudovac, December 22, 1941, about the forced conversion to Catholicism and killing of Serbs in Brčko, about the mass killings of Serb civilians in the villages between Tuzla and Brčko and about the killing of all Jews in Brčko.

No. 25

On January 6, 1942, a major from the Administration Staff in Serbia submits to SS Major Beisner in Zagreb the report of Prime Minister Nedić for the Commander in Serbia, with a request to check the allegations as soon as possible.

No. 26

Excerpt from the report of Captain Höffner from the office of the German general in Zagreb, dated January 8, 1942, on the situation in the Croatian concentration camp Jasenovac.

No. 27

Statement of a Serb from Pakrac who escaped from the Jasenovac camp, i.e. Stara Gradiška, after being detained from the end of December 1941 until the middle of January 1942.

No. 28

Commissioner for Refugees Maksimović submits to SS Major Weinmann on January 15, 1942, a statement by Julka Škara from Topusko, about the crimes of the Ustasha authorities.

No. 29

Statement of Julka Škara from Topusko, given on January 5, 1942 at the Commissariat for Refugees, about the crimes of the Ustasha authorities.

No. 30

Report from Brčko, January 15, 1942, on the massive arrest of Muslims and other violence of the district chief Montani, as well as on the Communists' attack on the Jasenovac camp.

No. 31

Report from Brčko, January 19, 1942, on the killing of the Serbs from four villages, on the sufferings of the imprisoned Muslims and Serbs in Brčko, and on the new killing and looting of the Serbs.

No. 32

Letter from the Serbs of Jablanica to the Gestapo in Sarajevo on January 19, 1942, in which they seek protection after the announcement of the proclamation of the Ustasha Militia at Konjic on the collective responsibility of the Serbs for any attack by the insurgents.

No. 33

The proclamation of the Ustasha Military Command in Konjic to the Serb population of the Konjic District, on December 24, 1941, that in the event of sabotage or murder they committed, both they and their property would be destroyed.

No. 34

Excerpt from the report from January 19, 1942 on the conflict between the insurgents and the Ustashas and Home Guards in Kometnik, which was followed by a massacre of Serbs from Kometnik in Voćin.

No. 35

Excerpt from a report of January 19, 1942, according to which the Ustashas took away women and children from the village of Lisičine and looted food and livestock.

No. 36

On January 26, 1942, the Commissioner for Refugees submits to SS Major Weinmann the statement of a Croat woman about the Jasenovac camp, the statement of Vlado Marković, about the terror against the Serbs in Brčko, and asks for help.

No. 37

The statement of a Croat woman, given in Belgrade on January 1, 1941, who learned from her relative, a Croatian colonel, that the detainees in the Jasenovac camp were massively suffering from hunger, disease and that they were being killed.

No. 38

Vlado Marković's statement at the Commissariat for Refugees on January 24, 1942, about the mass arrest of the Serbs in Brčko, torture, forced conversion to Catholicism and imprisonment of a group of Serb women.

No. 39

On January 26, 1942, Commissioner for Refugees Maksimović submits to SS Major Weinmann the statement of student Nada Trninić about the terror of the Ustashas in concentration camps in Croatia.

No. 40

Statement of Nada Trninić from Sarajevo at the Commissariat for Refugees on January 22, 1942, about the detention in the Ustasha camps in Gospić, Kruščica and Loborgrad and about the situation in these camps.

No. 41

Report of the Commissioner to the SS Captain Rexeisen of January 28, 1942, on the situation in eastern Bosnia, especially in Tuzla and Brčko, the

economic catastrophe, the mass crimes of the Ustasha authorities against Serbs and Jews, and their forced conversion to Catholicism.

No. 42

On January 29, 1942, the Administrative Staff of the Commander in Serbia submitted to SS Major Weinmann a report on the activities of Field Command 816 for January 1942.

No. 43

Field Command 816 report to SS Major Weinmann for January 1942, on the situation in Podrinje and the expectation of a mass transfer of Serb refugees from eastern Bosnia after the withdrawal of German forces.

No. 44

Statement of Dragica Savanović from Ključ, given at the Commissariat for Refugees on January 30, 1942, about the massacre of Serbs and the forced conversion of survivors to Catholicism.

No. 45

On February 3, 1942, the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Serbia, Benzler, returns to SS Major Weinmann the material related to the persecution of Serbs in Croatia.

No. 46

Report on the mass crime against Serbs in the mine of Rakovačke Bare and the villages of Drakulić, Motike and Šargovac from February 6 to 9, 1942, on the number of the killed, the identity of perpetrators and the intervention of Minister Bešlagić.

No. 47

Continuation of the report on the massacre in the vicinity of Banja Luka.

No. 48

Police note with the report on the massacre of Serbs in the vicinity of Banja Luka, with the remark that the document was obtained from Pero Kondić.

No. 49

Handwritten notes on the summons to Pero Kondić and a note that he was not found on February 26 [1942].

No. 50

On March 4, 1942, the SS captain invites Pero Kondić to report to the police headquarters to give a statement.

No. 51

On March 4, 1942, the SS captain invites Pero Kondić to report to the police headquarters on March 9, 1942, to give a statement.

No. 52

Lieutenant Schröter reports on March 9, 1942, that Petar Kondić does not live at the designated address.

No. 53

According to an excerpt from the daily report on the events of March 2, 1942, an Ustasha company massacred Serbs near Banja Luka, and because of that, the Croatian military command requests from the General Staff to intervene.

No. 54

Statement of a refugee from Banja Luka about the crimes of the Ustasha government against the Serbs and Serbian clergy.

No. 55

Excerpt from the statement of a refugee from Banja Luka.

No. 56

Another excerpt from the statement of a refugee from Banja Luka.

No. 57

Report of February 1942, on the crimes of the Ustashes in Banja Luka and its surroundings, in January and February 1942, as well as on the crimes of the Ustashes in some other parts of Bosnia and Croatia in 1941.

No. 58

Report of March 26, 1942 on the situation in western Bosnia in the period from April 1941 to March 1942, on the Ustasha killings of Serbs, the organization of the uprising, the role of the Communists and a new wave of killing of Serbs.

No. 59

On February 3, 1942, Commissioner for Refugees Maksimović reports to SS Major Weinmann on the persecution of Serbs in Pakrac, and their internment in the Jasenovac camp.

No. 60

Part of an article by the Italian journalist Corrado Zoli published in the Italian newspaper *Resto del Carlino*.

No. 61

The request of the Volksdeutscherin Kathy Salmaschy, of February 26, 1942, for the release of her son Emil, unjustly accused as a Chetnik, from the Danica camp in Koprivnica.

No. 62

Excerpt from the daily report on the events of March 8, 1942, according to which the NDH forces committed crimes against the Serb inhabitants in the vicinity of Olovo in February 1942.

No. 63

On February 16, 1942, the NDH Gendarmerie Command in Drinjača submits to the Tuzla Command a report on the Chetniks, their ties with Serbia, attitude to the Germans and the NDH, attempted negotiations, as well as on the situation in the Gendarmerie and Legion units.

No. 64

The head of the Operational Group of the Police in Sarajevo reports to the Commander of the Police in Belgrade, on February 17, 1942, about a new wave of terror against the Serbs and sending them to the Jasenovac camp.

No. 65

On March 2, 1942, the Commissioner for Refugees, Maksimović, submits to SS Major Weinmann a record regarding the taking of prisoner of war Đorđe Čalić to the Gospić and Jasenovac camps.

No. 66

Minutes with a statement by Dušan Čalić at the Commissariat for Refugees on February 26, 1942, according to which his brother was taken to the Gospić camp with other officers upon his return from captivity in Germany, and then to Jasenovac.

No. 67

On March 2, 1942, the Commissioner for Refugees, Maksimović, submits to SS Major Weinmann a record regarding the taking of prisoner of war Vasa Matijašević to the Jasenovac camp.

No. 68

Minutes with the statement of Jovan Rajačić at the Commissariat for Refugees on February 26, 1942, according to which his relative Vaso Matijašević was taken to the Jasenovac camp with other officers upon his return from captivity in Germany.

No. 69

According to the report of the commander of the gendarmerie of March 3, 1942, the Ustashas from Srem beat up Ferenc Jakob and forced the Serbs to convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

No. 70

The report of Gospava Džuvic from Kolimer, to the gendarmerie station in Tuzla on March 7, 1942, that the Legion had completely robbed her house, that she had fled to Simin Han with her children and that she had no means of subsistence.

No. 71

The report of Jova Džuvic from Kolimer, to the gendarmerie station in Tuzla on March 7, 1942, that the Legion had robbed him of everything on three occasions, that he had fled to Simin Han with his family and that he had no means of subsistence.

No. 72

The head of the Operational Command of the Police in Zagreb responded to SS Major Weinmann on March 18, 1942, regarding the report of Prime Minister Nedić on the atrocities in Croatia.

No. 73

According to the report of April 14, 1942, the Ustashas shot Serb students in Voćin, the forests are full of Serb and communist refugees, there are also Croatian deserters, there are no forest workers.

No. 74

According to the Commissioner's report of May 9, 1942, the Serbs in Slavonia are exposed to Ustasha atrocities and forced conversion to Catholicism, so they have fled to the mountains, Croats are deserting massively, Hungarian troops will be brought in, and Italians have already been sent to Osijek.

No. 75

On March 27, 1942, the Commissioner for Refugees, Maksimović, sends to SS Major Weinmann a letter from a Croat to the Archbishop of Zagreb, Stepinac.

No. 76

Translation of the letter written by a Croat, sent from Zemun on February 8, 1942, to the Archbishop of Zagreb, Stepinac.

No. 77

Letter from the district authorities in Tuzla to all municipal administrations on March 27, 1942, about the recruitment of Serbs and their sending to work in German aircraft factories, whose families were guaranteed security by the military leader Kvaternik.

No. 78

Volksdeutscher Karl Heger reports on April 9, 1942, on the Croatian concentration camps in Loborgrad and Gornja Rijeka, which he managed, on the Đakovo camp and, in the utmost detail, on the Jasenovac camp.

No. 79

On April 9, 1942, the Border Customs Guard submits to the Commander of the Police in Belgrade a translation of the transcript of the order by the Supreme Chetnik Command in Yugoslavia from December 1941.

No. 80

Transcript of the translation of the instructions by the Supreme Command of the Chetnik units of the Yugoslav Army, to Major Đorđe Lašić and Captain Pavle Đurišić, dated 20 December 1941, on the objectives of the struggle and the methods for carrying them out, translated on 15 April 1942.

No. 81

On April 10, 1942, Commissioner for Refugees Maksimović delivers to SS Major Weinmann, at his request, 27 minutes of the interrogation of Serb refugees about crimes in the Independent State of Croatia.

No. 82

On April 11, 1942, Commissioner for Refugees Maksimović sends to SS Major Weinmann a series of photographs of Serbs released from the Loborgrad and Jasenovac camps and thanks him on their behalf.

No. 83

The statement of a refugee from Sarajevo who fled to Serbia on March 14, 1942, about the crimes of the Ustashas in Sarajevo, Sokolac and other places.

No. 84

A refugee's statement about the crimes of the Ustashas against Serbs in the Dvor na Uni District and the looting of their property. They fled to Serbia on February 6, 1942.

No. 85

Statement of the refugee Olga Prpić from Jasenovac, given at the Commissariat for Refugees on March 7, 1942, about the crimes of the Ustashas in the Jasenovac camp and crimes against Serbs in the surrounding villages.

No. 86

Statement of a refugee from Prnjavor, about the crimes of the Independent State of Croatia against the Serbs in Prnjavor and the surrounding villages, forced conversion to Catholicism and flight to Serbia on January 21, 1942.

No. 87

Statement of two refugees from Bosanski Brod, about the crimes of the Independent State of Croatia in Bosanski and Slavonski Brod, forced conversion to Catholicism and dissatisfaction of Croats.

No. 88

Statement of five refugee women from Glina about mass crimes against the Serbs, massacres in the Glina church and forced conversion to Catholicism.

No. 89

Statement of a refugee from Topusko about the killing of Serbs in Kordun and Banija, forced conversion to Catholicism, about being taken to the Gospić camp, the uprising of the Serbs and about the joining of Croats to the insurgents.

No. 90

Statement of a refugee from Vrginmost about the Ustasha mass killings of the Serbs in Vrginmost and the surrounding villages, and about the killing in the Glina church.

No. 91

Statement of a refugee from Trebinje about the massacres of the Serbs in Trebinje and the surrounding villages, deportation to the Gospić camp and public humiliation of the Serbs until the arrival of the Italian soldiery in September 1941.

No. 92

Statement of a refugee from Prijedor about the Ustasha mass killings and looting of the Serbs in Prijedor and its surroundings, and the conversion of the remaining population to Catholicism.

No. 93

Statement of two refugees from Mrkonjić Grad on the killing and deportation of the Serbs, the uprising and the mass crimes of the Croatian army.

No. 94

Statement of two refugees from Sanski Most, about the mass killings of the Serbs in Sanski Most and the surrounding villages in July and August 1941.

No. 95

Statement of a refugee from Bosanska Krupa, about deportation to the Gospić camp and mass elimination of Serbs in Bosanska Krupa and its surroundings, by Ustashas and Muslim civilians in July and August 1941.

No. 96

Statement of a group of refugees about the mass killings of Serbs by gendarmes, Ustashas and Muslim civilians in Stabandža and other villages around Velika Kladuša in July and August 1941.

No. 97

Statement of two refugees about the mass killings of Serbs by Ustashas and Muslim civilians in the villages of Zborište and Čaglice near Velika Kladuša, in July and August 1942.

No. 98

Statement of a refugee from the village of Babina Rijeka near Kostajnica, about the killing and looting by Ustasha neighbors and the internment of Serbian women in August 1941.

No. 99

Statement of a refugee from the village of Utolica about the Ustasha killings of Serbs from Utolica, Rausovac, Krčevo and other villages around Kostajnica in July and August 1941.

No. 100

Statement of a refugee from Blatuša about the mass killings of the Serbs from Blatuša, Čemernica, Vrginmost, Perna and other villages by the Ustashas and the Croatian army in July and August 1941.

No. 101

Statement of the refugee Jekić Stevan from Banski Grabovac, Glina District, about the mass killing of Serb men by the Ustashas and the Croatian army, after an attack by unknown persons on July 24, 1941.

No. 102

Statement of the refugee Dušan Eremić from Vojnić about the Ustasha killing and looting of the Serbs in Vojnić and the surrounding villages, at the end of July and in August 1941.

No. 103

Statement of refugees Budimir Popović from Tremušnjak and Branko Tadić from Mačkovo Selo about the mass killing of Serb men from the villages around Banski Grabovac, after an attack by unknown persons on July 24, 1942.

No. 104

Statement of two refugees from Varoška Rijeka about the mass killings of the Serbs in their village and the surrounding ones, by Muslim Ustashas from Vrnograč and Bužim in August 1941.

No. 105

Statement of the refugee Branko Pajić from Cetingrad about the killing of the Serbs from Cetingrad by the Ustashas at the end of July and in August 1941.

No. 106

Geographical map of NDH. An overview of the towns and villages where atrocities and killings of Serbs were committed, to which the attached minutes of testimonies refer.

No. 107

Joint statement of nine former detainees on the situation in the Gospić and Jasenovac camps, given on 15 April 1942 at the Commissariat for Refugees, on behalf of a group of 13 former inmates released from the Jasenovac camp.

No. 108

Statement of Mirko Pajkić from Visoko on his detention in the Gospić and Jasenovac camps given on April 14, 1942 at the Commissariat for Refugees.

No. 109

A letter from Obrad Mičić from Tuzla to SS Captain Rexeisen on April 6, 1942, in which he announces a report on the work of the communists in Tuzla and sending things for his wife's two brothers, as well as for himself.

No. 110

A letter from Obrad Mičić from Tuzla to SS Captain Rexeisen on April 16, 1942, about the conflict between the Chetniks and the Legion of Major Hadžiefendić which then carried out a great massacre of Serbs. Request for intervention.

No. 111

Report of a commissioner to SS Major Rexeisen, on the clashes between Partisans and Chetniks in Mt. Majevisa in February 1942, the cooperation between the communists and Hadžiefendić's Legion which carried out massacres of Serbs.

No. 112

Statement of Ilija Lekić from Požarnica, given in Tuzla on April 10, 1942, about the mass killings and looting of three Serb villages by the Muslim Legion.

No. 113

Report of Captain Manojlo Pejić to the Commander of the Bosnian Chetnik units on April 14, 1942, on the uprising in eastern Bosnia, cooperation between the Ustashas and the Communists, and on the Chetniks' relations with the Croatian army.

No. 114

Report of Obrad Mičić to the leadership of the Zbor organization in Belgrade, on the situation in Tuzla and eastern Bosnia, in which he requests intervention due to the crimes of Hadžiefendić's Legion.

No. 115

Statement of Drago Milenković, given on April 13, 1942 in Tuzla, he survived the massacre of the inhabitants of the village of Jegin Lug which had been carried out by Hadžiefendić's Legion two days earlier.

No. 116

Statement of Stojan Ilić from the village of Jegin Lug on April 16, 1942, about the killing of all inhabitants and the complete destruction of the village on April 11, 1942, by Muslim legionaries.

No. 117

Statement of Petar Mekić from the village of Rajinci, Municipality of Kalesija, who survived the killing of all the inhabitants of the village by the Muslim Legion on April 14, 1942.

No. 118

Statement of Petar Mekić from Rajinci, given on April 16, 1942 in Tuzla, who survived the killing of the villagers by the Muslim Legion two days earlier.

No. 119

On April 16, 1942, a group of Serbs from Požarnica who reached Tuzla, sent a request to the German City Command, that the Wehrmacht save their and the surrounding Serbian villages from the Muslim Legion which had carried out the massacres in the neighboring villages.

No. 120

Report on the mass killings of the Serbs in the village of Kolimer and other Serb villages around Tuzla on March 8, 1942, by Hadžiefendić's Legion.

No. 121

On April 25, 1942, Kostić submits to an SS captain reports and photographs of the atrocities by the Ustashas in Croatia.

No. 122

Report on the mass killings and tortures of the Serb inhabitants of the villages along the Drina while fleeing to Serbia by the Ustashas and Muslims in April 1942.

No. 123

Report on the imprisonment of the Serbs from the vicinity of Bijeljina in January 1942 and on the mass killings of the Serbs in the Bosanska Krupa District.

No. 124

Statement of Srećko Živanović from Repovac, Bratunac Municipality, given on April 11, 1942, on the Ustasha mass killing of Serbs on the Drina River.

No. 125

Statement of Branko Bulat, about a mass killings of the Serbs on the bank of the Drina by the Ustasha Black Legion in April 1942.

No. 126

According to the report of the German guard from the bridge on the Drina near Ljubovija on April 10, 1942, the Ustashes carried out mass rape and slaughter of Serbian women, which was followed by an exchange of fire between the Ustashes and the Germans.

No. 127

According to the report of April 11, 1942, at the elevation of Ljubovija, fire was exchanged with Croatian legionnaires who were killing Serb refugees on the bank of the Drina.

No. 128

On April 20, 1942, the Chief Medical Corps Officer at the Commanding General in Serbia sent to SS Major Weinmann a copy of Dr. Reuters's report on his visit to the area with Serb refugees from Bosnia.

No. 129

On April 21, 1942, the Chief Medical Corps Officer at the Commanding General in Serbia submits to Dr. Major Weinmann Dr. Reuters's notes on the situation on the Drina.

No. 130

On April 23, 1942, SS Major Weinmann returns the reports on Dr. Reuter's official trip to the area with Serb refugees from Bosnia and to the sites of the Ustasha massacres of Serbs to the Chief Medical Corps Officer with the Commanding General in Serbia.

No. 131

Report of the Chief Medical Corps Officer of the Commanding General in Serbia on April 20, 1942, on the visit of Serb refugees from eastern Bosnia, Ustasha crimes, number of refugees, their accommodation and feeding.

No. 132

Dr. Reuters' notes from April 21, 1942, about the mood after Dangić's arrest, about the Ustasha mass killing of Serbs in Bjelovac, and dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Germans towards the Serbs.

No. 133

Excerpt from the note of the Chief Medical Corps Officer of the Commanding General in Serbia, dated April 21, 1942, about the visitation to the village of Bjelovac.

No. 134

Excerpt from the note of the Chief Medical Corps Officer of the Commanding General in Serbia, April 21, 1942, about the exhumation of a woman's body near the Drina river.

No. 135

The Gestapo from Berlin reports to SS Lieutenant Colonel Schäfer, on April 20, 1942, that Eugen Kvaternik was denying the Ustasha massacres in Bosnia and that Himmler's decision on the issue was awaited.

No. 136

On April 20, 1942, SS Lieutenant Colonel Schäfer submits to the Gestapo chief Müller information about the mass killings of the Serbs in eastern Bosnia by the Muslim Legion as the cause of the unrest and about the question of the responsibility of the Germans.

No. 137

SS Lieutenant Colonel Schäfer submits to SS Major Helm in Zagreb data on the mass killings of Serbs in eastern Bosnia by the Muslim Legion as a cause of unrest and on the issue of German responsibility.

No. 138

On April 22, 1942, SS Major Heinrich reports from Sarajevo to SS Lieutenant Colonel Schäfer about the large-scale arrest of Partisan aides in Sarajevo and the possible consequences of torturing prisoners.

No. 139

General Nedić reports to the German general on April 25, 1942, that he ordered a ban on shooting at the other bank of the Drina river and submits the report of the border guard near Ljubovija, according to which the Ustasha and the Mohammedans are killing all Serbs and throwing them into the Drina river.

No. 140

On April 28, 1942, SS Lieutenant Colonel Schäfer submits to SS General Meyszner reports on the atrocities of the Ustashes against the Serb population

in the Independent State of Croatia, and especially in Bosnia, and on the possible consequences of the torture of arrested Partisan aides in Sarajevo.

No. 141

On April 28, 1942, General Nedić forwards a telegram to the head of the Administration Staff Turner, asking for permission for the Serbian refugees threatened with death by the Ustashas to cross the Drina.

No. 142

On April 28, 1942, the Chief of the Administration Staff reports to the Commanding General in Serbia that the Ustashas were opening fire on border guards and German soldiers, that they were massacring the Serb population on the bank of the Drina river, and appeals on him to put an end to those killings.

No. 143

On April 30, 1942, the Commanding General in Serbia submits to the Police Commander in Belgrade the latest reports on, and photographs of, atrocities in Croatia.

No. 144

Review of excerpts from the reports by the German military and intelligence commands on the brutal killings of the Serb population by Ustashas and Muslim legionaries in the Bosnian Podrinje area from April 1 to 22, 1942.

No. 145

Attachment to the overview of the report on the Ustasha mass killings of the Serb population on the bank of the Drina river, according to the reports of the members of the 714<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division from April 19, 1942.

No. 146

An intelligence report of April 24, 1942, according to which there are no more Serb settlements left in the area occupied by Francetić's Ustashas, with a request to send a commission to determine the Ustasha atrocities.

No. 147

SS Second Class Lieutenant Engelmann reports on April 30, 1942, that Abwehr would send a commission to Bosnia to determine the atrocities of the Ustashas.

No. 148

On May 1, 1942, the commander of the police in Belgrade reports to the plenipotentiary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the mass Ustasha slaughters of the Serbs in eastern Bosnia, and the disappointment with German policy, which is beneficial to the spread of Italian influence.

No. 149

On May 1, 1942, the commander of the police in Belgrade reports to the Reich Security Main Office on the mass Ustasha slaughters of the Serbs in eastern Bosnia and the disappointment with German policy, which is beneficial to the spread of Italian influence.

No. 150

The letter "A New Order in Croatia" about the policy of annihilation of the Serbs that provoked the Serbian uprising, about the conflict between Chetniks and Partisans and the cooperation of Partisans with the Ustasas for the purpose of destroying the Chetniks and about their loyalty to the "new order".

No. 151

Note of SS Major Heinrich, dated 23 April 1942, that he has received a leaflet which had been circulating among the population since October 1941.

No. 152

Letter from Major Dangić to the Commander of the Croatian army in Zvornik on October 30, 1941, in which he points out that they organized the struggle because of the unprecedented crimes of the Ustasha state against the Serbian people and calls on them to stand up against the criminals.

No. 153

Second Class Lieutenant Stölben's report, May 3, 1942, on Croatian troops killing and looting Serb civilians on the bank of the Drina river near Miloševići.

No. 154

Report of NCO Wenzl from Mušići, May 4, 1942, on Croatian troops killing and looting Serb civilians on the bank of the Drina river.

No. 155

On May 4, 1942, Police Attaché Helm reports to Belgrade Police Commander Schäfer that Secretary of State Kvaternik had informed him, regarding

the atrocities committed by the Muslim Legion, that a part of the Legion had been disarmed and that it would soon be disbanded.

No. 156

Review of the report of the commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Volunteer Detachment Unit, at the beginning of May 1942, on the Ustasha killing and molesting Serb civilians, the permission given by the Ustashes to transfer part of the refugees to Serbia and on the talks with Ustasha commanders in Bajina Bašta.

No. 157

Review of excerpts from German military and intelligence reports on the Ustasha killings of Serb civilians and the torching of villages in Bosnian Podrinje, from April 23 to May 6, 1942.

No. 158

On May 11, 1942, the Commander of the Police in Belgrade sends to the Reich Security Main Office new reports and photographs of atrocities in Croatia.

No. 159

On May 11, 1942, the Operational Command of the Police in Zagreb informs the Commander of the Police in Belgrade that State Secretary Kvaternik had ordered a partial disarmament of the Muslim Legion and that the Legion would soon be disbanded.

No. 160

Report of the liaison officer in the Francetić group disputing the reports of mass killings and lootings; a report that Nova Kasaba was torched and that the Serb population was expelled or brutally killed by Muslim Ustashes.

No. 161

On May 16, 1942, the Commander of the Police in Belgrade sends to SS Major Helm in Zagreb new reports on Ustasha atrocities against the Serbs in Bosnia.

No. 162

The Sarajevo Operational Command reports to the Belgrade Police Commander on June 2, 1942, that an Ustasha non-commissioned officer had killed an entire family in Koševo near Sarajevo, but had been released.

No. 163

On June 4, 1942, the Commander of the Police in Belgrade informs the Reich Security Main Office in Berlin that an Ustasha non-commissioned officer had killed an entire family in Koševo near Sarajevo, but that he had been released.

No. 164

The branch office of the Commander of the Police in Loznica sends to SS Captain Rexeisen 6 photos of corpses washed onto the Serbian bank of the Drina river between Ljubovija and Zvornik.

No. 165

On November 20, 1942, the Commissariat for Refugees sends to SS Major Weinmann the statement by Glišo Mišković from Bešenovo, about the killing of 30 Serbs by Ustasha-Muslims in Stejanovci.

## DOCUMENTS

### No. 1

ON JULY 26, 1941, THE FIELD COMMAND ZAGREB REPORTS TO THE GERMAN GENERAL IN ZAGREB ON CRIMES AGAINST THE SERBS, THE REACTION OF THE CROATIAN POPULATION THERE-TO, THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE *WEHRMACHT* OF THEIR TOLERATING PERSECUTIONS, AND ABOUT SABOTAGE ACTS, PERSECUTIONS OF JEWS AND THE REACTION OF ITALIANS.<sup>1</sup>

Attachment 1<sup>2</sup>

Transcript!

Confidential!

Field Command Zagreb  
Major at the headquarters  
Ic<sup>3</sup>

Zagreb, July 26, 1941

For  
THE GERMAN GENERAL<sup>4</sup>  
Zagreb.

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<sup>1</sup> Archives of Vojvodina (hereinafter AV), Ф. 562, Personal Fonds of Slavko Odić (1915-2006), 1909-1983. (hereinafter Ф. 562), Dossier of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in Belgrade on Ustasha crimes (1941-1942) – archive unit 3.1.1.2. (134-135); hereinafter in Cyrillic letters AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 134-135.

<sup>2</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>3</sup> Intelligence Department [at a military command or staff].

<sup>4</sup> Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, with the rank of German General in Zagreb, representative of the German Army (*Wehrmacht*) in the Independent State of Croatia; B. Krizman, *Ustaše i Treći Reich*, Vols. I-II, Globus: Zagreb 1983; G. fon Horstenau, *Između Hitlera i Pavelića (Memoari kontroverznog generala)*, Translated from German [into Serbian] by N. Živković, Beograd: Nolit, 2007; Removed from office in September 1944, he committed suicide in the Allies-held prison in Nuremberg in 1945.

The mood among the population is still very restless. The facts, especially those from the province, are becoming known in wider circles, which greatly increases the feeling of insecurity.

The Croatian officers of the Orthodox faith who were released by the German Wehrmacht as Croats returned to their homeland to be arrested there by Croats (Ustashas) and threatened with death. The threats come in many ways from those people who were fired in the past because of communist activities, and now want to take revenge on company managers or executives. The Croatian army will probably not allow such actions.

When the families of Germans from the Reich were looking for their Orthodox relatives, it was determined that on the night between May 11 and 12, 1941, 380 inhabitants of the town of Glina were taken away, and so far it has not been possible to find out if they are alive, even with the help of the Field Command.<sup>5</sup> The new head of the hospital knows nothing, the new judge knows nothing, the commander of the local Ustashas knows nothing, and in addition to that, another doctor and a female physician, a shop owner, etc. have disappeared. During the personal visit of the undersigned, it could be seen that the entire business life of this small town is stagnant and that most shops are closed. Undoubtedly, the consequences will be a big drop in tax revenues. Similar phenomena were found in Sisak, although the scope was not so great. In one night, 36 inhabitants disappeared, and the owner of a large factory there was also killed.<sup>6</sup>

It is self-evident that these events are not approved by the majority of the Croatian population either. On the contrary, the Croatian population is even trying to help the mentioned circles, because these are families that have been living in Croatia for generations and which are related to both Volksdeutscher<sup>7</sup> and Croatian circles.

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<sup>5</sup> It is most likely Field Command (*Feldkommandantur*) Zagreb. This field command was one of the military-administrative commands of the German army on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, which were subordinated to the German general in Zagreb. Other field commands were stationed in: Karlovac, Bjelovar, Slavonski Brod (Brod na Savi), Osijek, Sarajevo, Bihać (Knin), Mostar, Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik (the last four after the capitulation of Italy). The local commands (*Ortskommandanturen*) were subordinated to them. These commands had exclusively military and garrison tasks within the *Wehrmacht*, and did not have military tasks toward the population as in occupied Serbia.

<sup>6</sup> The brutally murdered industrialist Miloš Teslić, as evidenced by the photos in this book (photographs 15 and 16).

<sup>7</sup> The term *Volksdeutsche* was used for members of the German national/ethnic minority. For Germans from Germany (German Reich), the name Germans from the Reich was used (*Reichsdeutsche*).

The population is of the opinion that leading figures such as Marshal Kvaternik,<sup>8</sup> who was brought up in the glorious tradition of the Austrian army, know nothing about these events, because they are purely Ustasha actions; numerous communists have taken the opportunity to settle inside their circles and are using this time to become successful in their own way.

And when under these circumstances the peasants flee to the forests to defend themselves there, it cannot be considered an action against the Croatian state or the German Wehrmacht, but only as an act of despair. Observed from the aspect of the German Wehrmacht, the most unpleasant accompanying phenomenon of all these events is the fact that the population of the Independent State of Croatia considers, which is expressed as well, how all this is happening with the knowledge and tacit tolerance of the German Wehrmacht. The population cannot understand that the German Wehrmacht, which has conquered this country, calmly observes how people who did not contribute anything to the founding of this state and just want to profit, behave in such a way, because it is clear to ordinary people that the Croatian state was founded by the German Reich, when no Ustasha movement existed.

The population is undoubtedly in possession of a large amount of weapons, which partly come from the stocks of the former Yugoslav army and are sold to the upset parts of the population.

The collection of weapons by the German Wehrmacht was interrupted in a certain way by the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia. A clear position on whether the order of the German Wehrmacht has been revoked has not yet been given. It would be desirable for the state if only the army, gendarmerie and police were considered to be the bearers of weapons, and the Ustashes only during service.

It should also be noted that in many cases, it has been determined that the local Ustasha authorities do not care about the orders of higher government services, but ignore them.

This whole development should be considered extremely worrying from the point of view of the security of the troops in Croatia. Numerous acts of sabotage on railway installations should be viewed as indications in

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<sup>8</sup> Commander of the Armed Forces of the Independent State of Croatia (Home Guard/*domobranstvo*) and Deputy of the Supreme Leader (*poglavnik*) Ante Pavelić until October 1942 Slavko Kvaternik. In German documents, his military title was marshal; he was removed in October 1942. At the 1947 trial, he was sentenced to death; D. Stuparić (Ed.), *Tko je tko u NDH. Hrvatska 1941.-1945*, Zagreb: Minerva, 1997, 226-227 (S. Ravlić).

this direction as well, regardless of the fact that so far the damage has not been of any great extent.

The economy will probably be the first to suffer grave consequences, because in many cases, companies are run by unprofessional and incompetent commissioners, who will spend the existing property, and then shut down the companies. The large drop in taxes from these companies, which can be expected, will confirm this opinion, regardless of the fact that the state has issued other tax decisions in the amount of twice as much as before, as reported here from business circles.

The deportation of the Jewish population to Italy has been stopped, because the Jews there are allegedly treated very well, and they are given the opportunity to be involved in business. These elements, due to their good knowledge of the country of Italy, will hold up on the basis of their strong economic influence and despite the local order for deportation from Italy. Also, it is reported that the local Italian business circles declare themselves accordingly, that they have no understanding for the action against the Jews taken at the request of Germany. The Italian economy is likely to profit from these ties.

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript  
Kalmar<sup>9</sup> personal signature  
Captain.

Field Commander represents  
I.V.  
signed by Knehe<sup>10</sup>  
Major.

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<sup>9</sup> Intelligence (I c) officer with the Military Commander in Serbia.

<sup>10</sup> Wilhelm Knehe, intelligence (I c) officer of the Field Command Zagreb. On the role of Major Knehe in the action of rescuing Serbian children from the camp, see: *Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević 1941-1945*, S. Szabo (Ed.), Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje, 2003.

No. 2

ON JANUARY 30, 1942, THE FIELD COMMAND ZAGREB REPORTS ON MASS CRIMES AGAINST THE SERBS IN GLINA, AROUND GLINA AND IN VRGINMOST FROM MAY TO SEPTEMBER 1941, AS WELL AS ON THE REACTION OF THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR ARTUKOVIĆ.<sup>11</sup>

Transcript!

Attachment 2<sup>12</sup>

Zagreb, 30 Jan. 42

Field Command Zagreb

I c 33/42 conf.[idential]

Ustasha atrocities<sup>13</sup>

Confidential!

Subject: Incidents in Glina and its vicinity.

Glina

On May 11, first 400 and then another 200 people, were taken away from Glina, mostly intellectuals and craftsmen, all those people who owned money.

Nothing more can be found about these people since then, it is not known whether they are still alive or dead.

This action was carried out, among others, by the following persons from Glina:

2 Vidaković brothers<sup>14</sup>

Mison<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 107-109.

<sup>12</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>13</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>14</sup> Nikola Nikica and Stjepan Stipo Vidaković. About the crimes in Glina, see: Đ. Aralica, *Ustaški pokolji Srba u glinskoj crkvi*, second edition, Beograd: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Josip Mison.

Tiljak<sup>16</sup> (merchant)  
2 Krestelica brothers<sup>17</sup>  
Lipek<sup>18</sup> (executed by shooting later)  
District Chief Imper<sup>19</sup>

The Ustashas were called from Zagreb, among others those under the command of Ivan Sarić,<sup>20</sup> who is currently in a commanding position with the Ustashas in Zagreb.

#### Gornji – Grabovac railway station<sup>21</sup>

Trains were searched there in July/August 1941, the Orthodox were pulled out of the trains and sentenced by a court martial right in front of the train station and then shot immediately. In many cases, the following were present:

Verovski Božo<sup>22</sup>  
Eugen Kvaternik (Dido)<sup>23</sup>

People from Glina were brought by trucks to this railway station, too, and also shot there.

About 5-6000 people were buried in the vicinity of the train station.

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<sup>16</sup> Mate Tiljak.

<sup>17</sup> The executioners of the Serbs were the three Kreštalica brothers, Nikola, Pavao and Stjepan.

<sup>18</sup> Nikola Lipak.

<sup>19</sup> Dragutin Imper.

<sup>20</sup> It is most likely Ivan Šarić, one of the organizers of the massacre of the Serbs in Kordun in May 1941; D. Korać, *Kordun i Banija u Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi i socijalističkoj revoluciji*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1986, 107-108.

<sup>21</sup> Banski Grabovac; D. Korać, *Kordun i Banija*, 118, 163, 169, 535.

<sup>22</sup> Božidar Cerovski, head of the Ustasha Police Directorate (*Ravnateljstvo ustaškog redarstva*), was sentenced to death in 1947; *Tko je tko u NDH*, (G. A. Blažeković and Z. Dizdar).

<sup>23</sup> Eugen Dido Kvaternik, head of the NDH police service, the Directorate for Public Order and Security and the Ustasha Surveillance Service, until October 1942; emigrated and died in an accident; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 223-225 (Z. Dizdar).

## Vrginmost

An Ustasha man in charge made it known in the village of Čemernica<sup>24</sup> that people (Orthodox) should go to Vrginmost, convert to the Roman Catholic faith in the church there, and then return home unhindered.

After that, on July 30, 1941, at around 11 am, a mass of about 1500 people left Čemernica<sup>25</sup> for Vrginmost with Croatian flags, with music and shouts: "Long live Pavelić." There was even a celebration in Vrginmost. At around 3 pm, three trucks, loaded with Ustashas, came from Glina, under the command of 2 brothers Vidaković (Stipo and Nikica), and then under the command of Mison.<sup>26</sup>

These Ustashas surrounded the place of celebration and then separated men and women.

Women and children were sent home and men were locked up in several houses. During the night, the men were driven to Glina and killed there, one group near the Grabovac<sup>27</sup> railway station near Glina, and another 300 people were even forced into the church in Glina and slaughtered in this church.

The corpses were loaded on trucks and buried near the Grabovac<sup>28</sup> railway station (in a forest).

There are people who saw this incident in the church in Glina with their own eyes and who could testify about this. However, no one dares to put his signature, because then he would be lost.

There are several places around Glina where many people are buried.

1. Among others, 3 km from Glina in the direction of Petrinja to the left and right of the village road near a mill.
2. In Bučica,<sup>29</sup> 8 km east of Glina, near a church on a hill. About 1000 people are believed to have been buried there.
3. In the field of the Ustasha Lipak (near Glina), where about 200 corpses are also thought to have been buried.

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<sup>24</sup> Čemernica.

<sup>25</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>26</sup> Mison.

<sup>27</sup> Banski Grabovac.

<sup>28</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>29</sup> Bučica.

Obiljaj, Mali-Gradec,<sup>30</sup> Perna and others.

In these villages, men, women and children were killed (slaughtered) and houses were set on fire.

23 people were brought to the hospital in Glina, among them children aged 4, 6 and 14, as well as several pregnant women.

It must be possible to determine the accuracy of these allegations in the hospital there.

During this incident, a large amount of grain was destroyed, and numerous cattle that were not driven away died. The taken cattle, which were not driven away, were sold out at the lowest prices, and the Ustashas kept the money for themselves.

The Field Command was informed about these incidents from various sides.

The Field Command knows one person in Zagreb who personally saw the last mentioned incidents and can bring reliable witnesses for the first mentioned incidents.

These incidents were also reported in August and September 1941. Mr. Artuković, Minister of the Interior, was reported to in detail. The Minister of the Interior even promised help, but he probably does not have the strength to overcome. Because in the following period, since then, there have been regular shootings of Orthodox people, although not on such a large scale.

Signed by  
Knehe  
Major

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript  
Kalmar  
Captain

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<sup>30</sup> Mali Gradac.

No. 3

ON JANUARY 30, 1942, THE FIELD COMMAND ZAGREB REPORTS ON THE MASS KILLINGS IN BIHAĆ AND VELIKA KLADUŠA, ON THE KILLING OF CHILDREN AND THE BAN ON THE BURIALS OF THE KILLED.<sup>31</sup>

ATTACHMENT 3<sup>32</sup>

Field Command Zagreb  
I c, 34/42 conf. [idential]

Zagreb, January 30, 1942

Confidential!

Separate events that happened on a large scale:

1.) In Bihać, as follows:

Shootings in a sand ditch, slaughter inside a police prison with the subsequent transportation of mutilated corpses on open trucks. The number of people killed in the Bihać District is estimated at around 10-12,000 people.

2.) In Velika Kladuša (37 km from Glina)

There, people were forced into a church and slaughtered there, and the church was then set on fire.<sup>33</sup>

3.) On the bridge from Poposki<sup>34</sup> to Velika Kladuša

16 children aged 6 to 14 were executed there.

The witness who reports this, transported a severely wounded child of about 12 years of age (a bullet wound to the left upper arm) to the hospital in Glina in his own car. Dead children had to remain there for a long time, family members were not allowed to bury the children immediately.

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript  
Kalmar personal signature  
Captain

Signed  
Major

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<sup>31</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 138.

<sup>32</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>33</sup> For the description of the crime, see: D. Sušić, *Parergon (Bilješke uz roman o Talu)*, Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1980, 202-203.

<sup>34</sup> Unidentified village.

No. 4

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION FOR THE INSPECTION OF MASS GRAVES FROM PEĆIGRAD OF AUGUST 20, 1941, AFTER VISITING SEVERAL MASS GRAVES NEAR VELIKA KLADUŠA, WITH A PROPOSAL OF MEASURES TO PREVENT SPREAD OF INFECTION.<sup>35</sup>

Translation.

Confidential!

Attachment 4<sup>36</sup>

Subject: Hygienic conditions of graves in Velika Kladuša

Strictly Confidential!

District administration  
in Velika Kladuša

On August 19 of the current year, based on an invitation from the said authority, and due to the safety situation, we have inspected 3 new graves, about 2 km away from Velika Kladuša. These graves are located in trenches (fortifications) dug by the Yugoslav army. On this occasion, we have determined the following.

- 1.) Most of the graves are bordered by a swamp into which liquid from corpses leaks.
- 2.) The ground above the graves is cracked and a terrible stench spreads from these cracks, as well as from the swamp.
- 3.) From the graves in question, and from the swamp, polluted water flows into a small stream.
- 4.) At about 1800 m from these graves there is another smaller cemetery, and from it at a distance of 100 m there is another cemetery. The hygienic conditions of these graves are the same as those first described.
- 5.) In the vicinity of these graves there are springs from which people draw water. There is a possibility that during heavy rains, these springs can be contaminated with fluids from the corpses. For health protection, it is necessary to take the following measures:

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<sup>35</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 139; translation from Croatian.

<sup>36</sup> Handwritten note.

- 1.) The entire trench (fortified place) should be buried in the length of 2 km, as long as there are graves there, whether it is on the direct line or extended. During this, it is necessary to fill in the trench and the swamp to the left and right of the graves and cover it with earth, in the same length as the length of the graves: about 100 m.
- 2.) In order to destroy germs and mosquitoes, it is necessary to pour lime milk over all graves, about 300 liters. In addition to that, a layer of 30 cm soil must be laid over. Lime milk is prepared in the following way: first, 100 liters of water is poured over 100 kg of quicklime, so this way the quicklime is turned into slaked lime. Another 300 liters of water is added to this, and in this way lime milk is made.
- 3.) Workers working on graves as well as the surrounding population must be prohibited from drinking water from springs near the graves until further notice.
- 4.) More workers than are currently employed there are needed to fill in and lay earth over the mentioned graves.
- 5.) If all the measures recommended here are carried out, there will be no danger for the environment from the spread of infection, as well as from malaria, when the surrounding wetlands are filled in at the same time.

1. Dr. Miroslav Schlesinger,<sup>37</sup> doctor for the treatment of endemic syphilis in Banja Luka based in Pecigrad<sup>38</sup>
2. Vladimir Hećimović, stud. of med.
3. Vladimir Palmović, stud. of med.

Pecigrad,<sup>39</sup> August 20, 1941

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<sup>37</sup> Dr. Miroslav Schlesinger (Serbian spelling Šlezinger; Našice, 1895 – Sutjeska, 1943); J. Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR*, Beograd: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980, 486-487.

<sup>38</sup> Pećigrad.

<sup>39</sup> Same as previous.

No. 5

ON AUGUST 29, 1941, THE DISTRICT CHIEF FROM VELIKA KLADUŠA SUBMITS TO THE MUNICIPALITY OF VELIKA KLADUŠA A FINDING ON THE SANITARY CONDITION OF THE NEW GRAVES AND DEMANDS THAT THE PROPOSED MEASURES BE IMPLEMENTED MOST URGENTLY.<sup>40</sup>

Independent State of Croatia

District administration of Velika Kladuša

Nr: 130/41 conf. [idential]

Vel. Kladuša, August 29, 1941

For

Municipal office (personally to the Mayor)

in Velika Kladuša.

I am submitting to you the previous finding regarding the sanitary condition of the new graves near Velika Kladuša. In the interest of the general health of the people from this area, you are called upon to apply all the above measures as a matter of utmost urgency. I consider the Mayor in person responsible for the execution. Implementation report to be submitted as soon as possible.

District Chief

Hibner personal signature

Independent State of Croatia

Municipal administration Vel. Kladuša. Ul. Nr. 165/41.

Translated by:

Bublik<sup>41</sup>

Sergeant

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript

Captain

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<sup>40</sup> B, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 140; translated from Croatian. This document is an integrated part of the previous document.

<sup>41</sup> Franz Bublik, interpreter at the Command Staff of the Military Commander in Serbia, Intelligence Department (I c).

No. 6

THE REQUEST OF DUŠAN GROZDIĆ, A MERCHANT FROM BJELOVAR, TO THE GERMAN COMMANDER OF BELGRADE ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1941, FOR THE RECOVERY OF HIS VALUABLES AND THE MONEY TAKEN BY THE COMMANDER OF THE CAMP IN BJELOVAR, FROM WHERE HE AND HIS WIFE HAD BEEN EXPELLED TO SERBIA.<sup>42</sup>

To Mister

COMMANDER of the German Armed Forces

BELGRADE.

I, Grozdić Dušan, a merchant from Bjelovar (Croatia), signed below, ran my fashion manufactory shop there for 33 years with exemplary behavior, where, as an honest citizen, I was elected for 16 years as a city representative, and for 20 years I was entrusted with an honorable position of a sworn assessor at the Court Table in Bjelovar.

On 12. VII of this year, at midnight, the Ustashas and a guard with bayonets on their rifles came and banged on my door to open it. I opened it, they came inside and with pointed rifles, one Ustasha said: "In the name of the Independent Croatian State, you are arrested", and he took out his watch and said: "Within 30 minutes, you have to take money, the value paper, and gold, and you go with us." While my wife and I got dressed, took the money and picked up the jewelry and with some clothes we went to the Bjelovar camp,<sup>43</sup> where we were greeted by other Ustashas as their victims, where they completely stripped us and stole our money, jewelry and two bank books, all in total value of 135,545 dinars, as I specify exactly below whatever they took from us.

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<sup>42</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 32-33, a copy translated into German; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 34, original in Serbian. According to the translation of the request, it was sent to State Counselor Harald Turner, Chief of Military Administration Staff of the Military Commander in Serbia, from where it was forwarded to the Belgrade District Military Command.

<sup>43</sup> The camps in which Serbs were interned for deportation to the occupied Serbia were in Bjelovar, Slavenska Požega and Caprag near Sisak. See: S. D. Milošević, *Izbeglice i prese-ljenici na teritoriji okupirane Jugoslavije 1941-1945. godine*, Beograd: Narodna knjiga, Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1981; F. Škiljan, *Organizirana prisilna iseljavanja Srba iz NDH*, Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2014.

I asked Captain Panava Dragutin, who was the commander of the camp, and I hear that he is still there today as commander – to return my money, jewelry and bank books, because I am close to 60 years old, and I can't make a living today, and support myself and my sick wife, property, store, three houses, the value paper, furniture, and everything else that amounts to a total of Din. 4,500,000. – four million five hundred thousand, the state of Croatia took away from me in its entirety.-

Captain Panava Dragutin, Commander, told me that my money, bank books, as well as jewelry were sent through the First Croatian Savings Bank to the National Bank in Belgrade, and when I come by the transport, I am to go to the National Bank, and my money, bank books, as well as jewelry would await me and that I would pick up everything there.-

On 8. VIII, of this year when I arrived in Belgrade with the transport, I went to the National Bank in Belgrade, showed the certificate, which had been given to me by Captain Panava, Dragutin, Com. of the Bjelovar camp and asked if my money, bank books and jewelry had arrived from the Bjelovar camp, they started laughing at me and said that I was robbed, that no money, jewelry and bank books will come: they appropriated yours, and they instructed me that this looted money, jewelry as well as deposits could only be obtained through the German Command, because the German Command does not allow the people to be robbed in this way.

Therefore, I am so free, Mr. Commander of Belgrade, to address a very polite request to you to be kind, so that the money, bank books and jewelry specified below, be returned to me through your mediation and your help, because I have been left completely without funds to live on, my wife is bed-ridden with a broken leg, and I am already old and cannot make earning, and the Croat Brothers took everything away from me and I am driven to the wall.

I hope, Mr. Commander, that you will take this matter into your fatherly hands and try to get my confiscated cash, bank books and jewelry back, so that my wife and I can survive, because we are in this way in despair.

I N B E L G R A D E, on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of September, 1941 [year]

Dušan Grozdić personal signature

## SPECIFICATION

In the cash they took .....	Din.	46.230.-
one bank book in the name of Milena at the Gradska štedionica <sup>44</sup> in Bjelovar .....	"	12,100.-
one bank book at the Gradska štedionica <sup>45</sup> in the name of D. M. Grozdić Bjelovar .....	"	<u>14.915.-</u>
Total .....	Din.	73.245.-
Jewelry:		
one gold men's watch with a gold chain worth.	Din.	12.000.-
one gold women's watch with a long chain "	"	18,000.-
one women's watch bracelet with diamonds .....	"	8,000.-
one men's Tula watch with a gold chain worth .....	"	8,000.-
one women's pearl necklace .....	"	4,000.-
one women's gold ring with a diamond worth .....	"	8,000.-
one pair of women's earrings with diamonds .....	"	4,000.-
one silver women's wallet .....	"	<u>300.-</u>
Total	Din.	62.300.-

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<sup>44</sup> City Savings Bank.

<sup>45</sup> Same as previous.

No. 7

ON OCTOBER 9, 1941, COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES POPOVIĆ INFORMS THE GERMAN COMMISSIONER FOR RELOCATION, SS MAJOR WEINMANN THAT THE USTASHA AUTHORITIES HAD RECENTLY KILLED ABOUT 500 SERBS ON THE STREETS OF SREMSKA MITROVICA.<sup>46</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY COMMISSIONER  
FOR MIGRATION AND REFUGEE  
PROTECTION<sup>47</sup>

Ustasha atrocities.<sup>48</sup>

Nr. 16031

Belgrade, October 9, 1941

Dear Mr. Commissioner,

Based on the received reports, which have been delivered to this Commissariat, the Ustasha authorities eliminated (killed) about 500 Serbs in the streets of Sremska Mitrovica a few days ago.

I kindly ask the above title to note this information.

With respect

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER:  
Andra Popović personal signature<sup>49</sup>

Mister  
Dr. Weinmann,<sup>50</sup>  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

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<sup>46</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Stamp in German. The document is authenticated with a round stamp of the same institution, in German.

<sup>48</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>49</sup> Retired lieutenant colonel, Eng. Andra Popović was the first Extraordinary Commissioner for Refugees and Migrants. Toma Maksimović was appointed Extraordinary Commissioner on October 20, 1941, and the work of the institution was finally regulated by the decree on the establishment of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrants of October 23, 1941 (*Official Gazette*, No. 124).

<sup>50</sup> The Commissariat for Refugees cooperated with the German Commissioner for Relocation, SS Major (*Sturmbannführer*) Dr. Ernst Weinmann with the Military Commander

No. 8

STATEMENT OF JOVAN BELAJČIĆ FROM OSIJEK IN THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES ON OCTOBER 9, 1941 ON THE DEPORTATION OF OSIJEK SERBS TO THE CAMP IN SLAVONSKA POŽEGA, FROM WHERE THEY WERE TRANSFERRED TO SERBIA.<sup>51</sup>

Translation

Ustasha<sup>52</sup>

MINUTES

of October 9, 1941.

Composed in the Office of the Extraordinary Commissioner for Refugees in Belgrade.

BELAJČIĆ JOVAN, son of the late MLADEN and the late JULIANA, director of the State Magistrate in Osijek, aged 55, married, father of three children, currently with an apartment in Belgrade, Hartvigova Street, no. 23, registered with this Commissariat, states:

On the night between September 26 and 27, of the current year at 11 o'clock, two Ustasha officers with one Ustasha and 1 police agent came to my apartment in Osijek, Cvetkova St. no. 21. One Ustasha officer's name was Klaić and the Ustasha said his name was Taborski.

The Ustasha Second Class Lieutenant Klaić ordered me to get ready immediately together with my family and that I would be transported to Serbia in one and a half hours. He further said that I had the right to take things weighing 50 kg with me. He especially emphasized that we should take as much money as possible and all the gold things with us.

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in Serbia. He was a member of the Operational Group of the Security Police and the Security Service (*Einsatzgruppe Sipo und SD*) and the liaison officer of this main police institution in Serbia with the Military Commander in Serbia. He performed the same duty after the reorganization of the police and the establishment of the institution of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service (*Befehlshaber Sipo und SD*, abbreviated: BdS) in January 1942.

<sup>51</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 49, translation from Serbian.

<sup>52</sup> Handwritten note.

I, my wife Darinka and daughter Vera, obeyed the order and prepared for the journey.

At 3 o'clock in the morning, another Ustasha officer, whose name is unknown to me, came and took us out of the apartment and loaded us into a truck waiting in front of the house. There were already several Serb families from Osijek in the truck.

We drove through the city on this truck, because the Ustashes picked up some other Serbian families as well.

On September 27, at 4 o'clock in the morning, we were transported by truck to the railway station in Osijek, where we were loaded into a cattle car, and then taken to Slavonska Požega, where we arrived the same day at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

On that day, 500-600 Serbs were taken from Osijek and its vicinity to Slavonska Požega. In Slavonska Požega, we were placed in a barrack.

The next day, that is, September 28, of this year we were taken to Serbia by an extra train and arrived at the Topčider railway station at midnight.

This statement has been read to me, I acknowledge it as my own and I signed it.

Jovan Belajčić, place for the stamp

Interviewed and certified by:  
Đuro J. Rodić, place for the stamp  
Head of Department

Minute taker:  
Zorka Šurlan, place for the stamp

THE RESOLUTION OF THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA MUSLIM LEADERS PUBLISHED IN SARAJEVO ON OCTOBER 12, 1941, BY WHICH THEY DISTANCE THEMSELVES FROM THE POLICY OF THE USTAŠA STATE, BECAUSE IT LEADS TO THE DOWNFALL OF CROATIAN MUSLIMS.<sup>53</sup>

Translation from Croatian of the Resolution composed on 12./X. 1941 in Sarajevo by the most prominent representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims<sup>54</sup>

Having in mind the difficult situation in which Muslim Croats find themselves in Bosnia and Herzegovina today, as well as taking into account the conditions that are deteriorating every day, as members of the honorable Islamic religion but also as individuals, below signed Muslims, we feel obliged to, at the proposal of the Main Board of "El-Hidaye", the organization Ilmijje (Mohammedan clergy), state the following facts and demand that the misery and misfortune in which they find themselves be alleviated.

1. / The position of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina today is extremely difficult. It is no exaggeration to claim that Muslims in these areas have not experienced more difficult times throughout history. Due to the action of irresponsible elements, as well as due to the insurrectionary activities of the Serbs, only Muslims are killed in the vast majority, because in these areas helpless Muslims live mixed mostly with Greek-Eastern<sup>55</sup> elements, while the insurgents are recklessly attacking those who are the most accessible to them.

As a result of the riots, peaceful citizens and innocent people suffer, tens of thousands of human lives are lost, and all property is destroyed. Villages are being torched, residents are being forced to flee, that is, to be relocated

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<sup>53</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 4-8, translation from Croatian.

<sup>54</sup> See: *Muslimanske rezolucije*, in: B. Petranović, M. Zečević, *Jugoslovenski federalizam. Ideje i stvarnost. Tematska zbirka dokumenata*, Vol. One, 1914-1943, Beograd: Prosveta, 1987, 697-713; H. Matković, „Bosansko-hercegovački muslimani u programu ustaške emigracije i NDH”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 3, 2006, 1034; D. Sušić, *Parergon*, 13-14, 37, 41.

<sup>55</sup> By a ministerial order of July 18, 1941, the name Orthodox faith was abolished in the Independent State of Croatia and the name Greek-Eastern religion was introduced.; M. Koljanin, „Preveravanje Srba u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj”, in: *Pokatoličavanje Srba u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, Zbornik radova, Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2019, 24.

and are deprived of all means to accumulate in larger cities. Thousands of orphaned children who have lost their parents beg for help and wander around for protection.

Noting these facts, we emphasize that these are not any victims that patriots forced to suffer for their homeland, given that this is just general chaos that is spreading and leading to the downfall of Croatian Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Despite pleas from all sides to put an end to this situation and despite many consoling statements from the responsible factors, there is no improvement, but only worsening of the situation every day, and those territories that have not been directly affected so far are endangered by some special misfortune.

The worst thing, however, is that actions have been taken by certain authorities, and they still are, which are provoking a sharp reaction of the insurgents, and in this way the annoyed and unprotected population is innocently exposed to even more misfortune. All this shakes every belief in security and gives grounds for the fact that based on factual events, as well as partly due to the propaganda of irresponsible elements in the broad ignorant layer, one comes to the belief that this is a system implemented in a planned manner.

2. / Many Catholics consciously shift the responsibility for all the evil deeds that have been committed lately to the Muslims, and they present all the events as a mutual conflict between the Muslims and the Greek-Eastern elements. The same opinion is shared by parts of the Greek-Eastern population regarding the responsibility of Muslims. When things are properly known, however, it is seen that Muslims are innocent and therefore most vigorously reject these accusations.

The fact that people with Muslim names are among the perpetrators of various crimes cannot have as a consequence that the blame and responsibility falls on the Muslims.

Muslims have already distanced themselves from these crimes that were committed, and in the Resolution of August 14, of this year, they have adopted at the annual general assembly of "El-Hidaye", the organization of Ilmijje, the following point was adopted:

"4. / With a pain in our heart and with deep compassion, we remember all those Muslim victims who fell innocently in the riots that are happening in some places these days. We condemn all those individual Muslims who have committed any kind of incident or any kind of violence on their own.

We conclude that such deeds could have been committed only by irresponsible elements and rude people, from whose criminal acts we and all Muslims, distance ourselves. We demand from all Muslims that in the spirit of the sublime teaching of their Islamic faith and in the interest of the state, they strictly stay away from all misdeeds. We ask the state authorities to establish legal security in all territories as soon as possible and not to allow anything to be done arbitrarily so that innocent people should not suffer.”

We hereby conclude that crimes on the Muslim side could have been committed only by the mob and criminal individuals that exist in every community. However, we note the fact that even they did not do anything on their own initiative until they were given weapons, uniforms, powers and often orders.

Therefore, in no single case are the Muslims guilty of these crimes, nor are they the instigators of them.

We further state that for the sake of shifting responsibility for the misdeeds committed against the Muslims, both the fez and Muslim names have been abused. Namely, the fez, which was introduced as a piece of uniform for all Bosnian soldiers, was also worn by non-Muslims, who have committed various crimes and who, in order to deceive their victims, addressed each other with Muslim names.

The Muslims did not have any evil intentions towards anyone, which is best evidenced by the fact that the Muslims, who were Yugoslav soldiers, surrendered their weapons after the end of the war.

Even in their past in the Turkish era, when they were the only masters, Muslims tolerated all religions without exception and never persecuted anybody. That is why even today, Muslims must not be labeled as instigators of all riots and crimes, nor as intolerant of the Greek-Eastern element, as it is deliberately subverted from many sides.

3. / In these difficult times, the intolerance of some Catholics towards Islam also comes to light. This is reflected in the way of writing, in private conversations and public speeches, as well as in the unequal treatment of the Catholic and Islamic religions. All this becomes obvious no matter how many statements were made from the highest places about the equality of both religions. We are ready to support these statements with concrete examples.

After establishing this factual situation, we ask all responsible political leaders and all Muslim religious and political representatives to address the following in all competent services:

- 1./ to introduce real security of life, honor, property and religion for all citizens in the state, without any exception,
- 2./ that the innocent population really gets strong military protection,
- 3./ to further prohibit the taking of any action, which by its nature could provoke uprisings and bloodshed among the people,
- 4./ that all perpetrators, whatever violence or criminal offense they have committed, regardless of the religion to which they belong, be brought to justice and punished according to the law, as well as those who ordered or facilitated such evildoing,
- 5./ that laws are enforced only by regular authorities and the regular army,
- 6./ to prevent any religious intolerance and to punish most severely those who, in this respect, make any demonstrable incident,
- 7./ to provide sufficient material assistance to those who were neither guilty nor obliged to suffer in these riots as soon as possible.

Sarajevo, October 12, 1941

1. Hadži Mehmed Hadžić, Chairman of El-Hidaye
2. Muhamed Pašić, Headmaster of the Sharia Gymnasium
3. Mustafa Varešanović, imam in the Jamiat of the city of Sarajevo and President of the Association of Imams in the Jamiat
4. Hafiz Hasib Fazlić, President of the Union of Muslims
5. Ahmed Burek, Headmaster of the Gazi Husrevbeg Madrasa
6. Dr. Šaćir Sikirić, Rector of the Islamic Theological Sharia School
7. Tajib Saračević, Headmaster of the lower district madrasa
8. Mesihović Šaćir, retired member of the Ulema Majlis
9. Mahmud Bahtijarević, retired member of the Ulema Majlis
10. Ibrahim Čadordžić, President of the Mohammedan District Board in Sarajevo and President of the Association of Sharia Judges
11. Dr. Kasim Muftić, Chairman of Vakif
12. Dr. Kasim Turković, member of the former Vakif-Maarif Assembly
13. Edhem Mulabdić, President of “Narodna uzdanica”<sup>56</sup>
14. Mehmed Ali Čermović
15. Hafiz Muhamed Pandža, member of the Ulema Majlis
16. Hafiz Ibrahim Ridžanović, member of the Ulema Majlis

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<sup>56</sup> The name means 'National Mainstay'. – *Subeditor's note.*

17. Haji Alija Aganović, member of the Ulema Majlis
18. Abdulah Dervišević, müderris (high school teacher) and President of the district committee of “El-Hidaje” in Sarajevo
19. Ešref Berberović, President of the Muslim Association “Trezvenost”<sup>57</sup>
20. Edhem Čejvanija, President of “Hujret”
21. Salim Džino, member of the board of “Merhamet”<sup>58</sup>
22. Hadži Mustafa Merhemić, president of the association of former land-owners
23. Kasim Dobrača, member of the Main Board of “El-Hidaje”
24. Hafiz Ramiz Jusufović, Secretary of the Association of Muslim Imams
25. Mehmed Mujezinović, Secretary of the Main Board of El-Hidaje
26. Hafiz Ibrahim Redzic, retired Sharia judge
27. Faik Musakadić, President of the Muslim Society “Bratstvo”<sup>59</sup>
28. Muhamed Hazim Tulić, professor<sup>60</sup>
29. Ahmed Tuzlić, substitute teacher
30. Salim Čatić, professor, secretary of “Narodna uzdanica”
31. Hamad Kapadžić, professor
32. Hafiz Ibrahim Trebinjac, substitute teacher
33. Mustafa Drljević, professor
34. Čazim Nožić, professor
35. Mahmud Barjaktarević, professor
36. Nedim Filipović, substitute teacher
37. Derviš M. Korkut, curator of the National Museum
38. Ahmed Kaumović, professor
39. Besim Korkut, professor
40. Dr. Behaudin Salihagić, court judge
41. Bekir Omersoftić, Deputy State Prosecutor
42. Osman Sokolović, retired Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce
43. Džemaludin Hafiz Hadžijahić, imam and khatib at the Emperor’s Mosque<sup>61</sup>
44. Mujezinović Hafiz Mustafa, teacher in the women’s madrasa

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<sup>57</sup> The name means ‘Sobriety’. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>58</sup> The name means ‘mercy’ or ‘compassion’. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>59</sup> The name means ‘brotherhood’. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>60</sup> In the former Yugoslavia, the occupation *profesor* mostly applied on university graduates working as teachers, mostly in secondary schools. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>61</sup> *Careva džamija* in Sarajevo. – *Subeditor’s note.*

45. Abdulah Fočak, principal of the maktab (primary religious school)<sup>62</sup>
46. Dr. Vejsil Bičakčić, chief physician in the sick fund and representative of the association “El-Kamer”
47. Fejzulah Hadžibajrić, Member of the Main Board of El-Hidaje
48. Hussein Djozo, member of the main board of Al-Hidaje
49. Muhamed Fočak, Member of the Main Board of El-Hidaje
50. Hafiz Akif Handžić, imam at the state hospital
51. Hafiz Ibrahim Prohić, principal of the maktab (primary religious school)
52. Muhamed Traljić, student<sup>63</sup>
53. Halid Čaušević, student
54. Kemal Čaušević, student
55. Hazim Čabanović, publicist
56. M. Sejid Prašo, student
57. Hasan Barjaktarević, student
58. Soka Ahmed, religious teacher
59. Bukvić Kasim, student
60. Asim Hadžišabanović, industrialist
61. Mulić Abdulah, teacher
62. Husein Kadić, landowner
63. Mehmed Šahinagić, landowner
64. Eng. Asim Šeremet, retired senior agricultural advisor
65. Ahmed Mešinović, merchant
66. Edhem Fočo, merchant
67. Asim Aslanagić, merchant
68. Sulejman Gorušanović, merchant
69. Sulejman Muhasilović, merchant
70. Mehmed Kučukalić, merchant
71. Uzeir Hadžihasanović, merchant
72. Hamdija Zulukarpašić, merchant
73. Jusuf Čengiće, merchant
74. Salih Foča, merchant
75. Mustafa Ričakčić, merchant
76. Šerif Vranić, merchant

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<sup>62</sup> In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the word reads mekteb. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>63</sup> The term *student* pertains to those who attend the institutions of higher education; the words for pupils/students of primary and secondary school are *učenik* and *đak*. – *Subeditor’s note.*

77. Derviš Artić, industrialist
78. Mustafa Softić
79. Hamdija Mujičić
80. Kasim Skopljak
81. Hafiz Omer Mušić, teacher
82. Salem Muharemagić, teacher
83. Haji Hasan Nezirhodžić, merchant
84. Hamdija Delić, merchant
85. Muhamed Kamura, merchant
86. Ismet Njemčević, merchant
87. Ahmed Tabaković, merchant
88. Fejzulah Hadži Šabanović, industrialist
89. Edhem Bičakčić, former director of the city savings bank
90. Muhamed Nanić, industrialist
91. Edhem Đulizarević, artisan
92. Ismet Sulejmanović, artisan
93. Hamdija Đukić, merchant
94. Ahmed Tufo, merchant
95. Skaka Abdulah, artisan
96. Hasan Zulfikarpasić, merchant
97. Dr. Asim Musakadić, physician
98. Hasan O. Užičanin, artisan
99. Dr. Husein Mašić, judge
100. Nasih Repovac, judge
101. Dr. Muhamed Kulenović, president of the judicial panel
102. Osman Sikirić, delegate to the Banovina Council in Sarajevo<sup>64</sup>
103. Muhamedbeg Fidahić, Councilor of the High Court in Sarajevo
104. Osman Ferta, Sharia judge
105. Munir Tarabar, trainee at the Sharia Court
106. Hafiz Sulejman Kulenović, Sharia judge
107. Osman Omerhadžić, Sharia judge
108. Ahmed Selimović, Sharia judge

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<sup>64</sup> From 1929 to 1941, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was administratively divided into nine provinces (*banovine*), all named after large rivers. Sarajevo was the capital of the Drina Banovina. – *Subeditor's note.*

No. 10

ABWEHR'S NOTE, SENT TO THE CHIEF OF THE WEHRMACHT SUPREME COMMAND AND ABWEHR CHIEF ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1941, ABOUT THE USTASHA MASS KILLING OF SERBS OF ALL AGES IN THE VICINITY OF SARAJEVO, AS THE ONLY CAUSE OF THE UPRISING FOR WHICH GERMAN SOLDIERS WOULD SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES.<sup>65</sup>

Foreign Office/Abwehr<sup>66</sup>

Department of Foreign Affairs Nr. 9927/41 conf.[idential] I c Berlin,  
30 September 1941

Note!

To be handed over to Mr. Chief of O. K. W.<sup>67</sup> Subject Title: Behavior of the Ustahas  
Source: Report of K.O.<sup>68</sup> Zagreb Nr. 1770/41 of 18 September

5 attachments  
9 photographs According to the report of the Sarajevo City Command<sup>69</sup>, on September 7, members of the Ustahas near Raljevo imprisoned 80 to 100 Serbs, men, women and children in two houses, set the houses on fire, and the Serbs were burned alive.

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<sup>65</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2 (the document is not numbered, it is in the dossier placed after sheet 591).

<sup>66</sup> Central institution of the German military intelligence service (Foreign/Office, Amt Ausland/Abwehr). Abwehr was part of the High Command of the Army (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, abbreviated: OKH) and was subordinate to its Intelligence (I c) Department.

<sup>67</sup> High Command of the German Armed Forces, Wehrmacht (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, abbreviated OKW).

<sup>68</sup> K.O. abbreviated from *Kriegsorganisation* (war organization), Abwehr institutions in neutral countries or German allies. K.O. Zagreb (later: *Abwehrstelle*, abbreviated: Ast.) was the central institution of Abwehr in the Independent State of Croatia.

<sup>69</sup> German Military Command in the city of Sarajevo (*Stadtkommandantur*).

Hand over  
to Mr. Head of  
Foreign Office/  
Abwehr  
(also for Z. L.)

Signed  
Bikner

For accuracy:<sup>70</sup>

Several other Serbs were separated and executed on the same occasion. Nine photographs are attached as confirmation.

Lieutenant General Laxa<sup>71</sup>, as the Special Plenipotentiary of the Supreme Commander, confirms this event in the attached report. He issued an order for the perpetrators to be arrested and executed by shooting.

In a report for the 718<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division<sup>72</sup>, the commander of the 738<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment points out that such violence incites the population to revolt; and in the end, the German soldier will again have to be responsible for the consequences.

Also K.O. Zagreb is of the opinion that Ustasha killings and torchings are the only cause of the uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Yugoslavia (D)<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Followed by the marks of the various departments and institutions of Abwehr and the Wehrmacht to which the document was addressed.

<sup>71</sup> General Vladimir Laxa, at that time was the commander of the Bosnian and Adriatic divisional area of the NDH ground forces; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 231-232 (M. Pojić and M. Rupić).

<sup>72</sup> Units of the 718<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel General Johann Fortner were mostly stationed in eastern Bosnia, but its headquarters were in Banja Luka. The division was subordinated to the Higher Command 65, with its headquarters in the occupied Serbia.

<sup>73</sup> Handwritten note.

CAPTAIN HÖFFNER REPORTS ON NOVEMBER 5, 1941, THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A RESOLUTION FROM THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA MUSLIM LEADERS AND CONVEYS HIS OPINION ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTION, THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE MASS KILLINGS OF THE SERBS AND THE NEED FOR AUTONOMY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.<sup>74</sup>

Arthur Höffner<sup>75</sup>

Captain

Svačićev trg 3

Zagreb.

Explanations accompanying the German translation of the attached Resolution of Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims of October 12, 1941.

The Resolution was handed to me in Croatian by a prominent Muslim, who, as I would like to state immediately, does not belong to the small number of Muslim intellectuals who declare themselves as Croats, but have always held the view that the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina, given the specificity of its population can be permanently resolved only on the basis of the self-government of these provinces, as it already existed within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The signatories of the Resolution do state that they speak as Croatian Muslims, but this, as has been presented to me, happened only for tactical reasons, so that they would not actually be portrayed as enemies of the state, after the Ustasha-regime, without being asked, and based on its own absolute power, described Muslims as “Croats of the Islamic faith”, although no reasonable man who is familiar with the situation cannot doubt that the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina became a separate ethnic national group

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<sup>74</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 8-11.

<sup>75</sup> The retired Captain Arthur Höffner was a transport officer in the staff of the German General in Zagreb Edmund Glaise von Horstenau and one of his best rapporteurs. See: *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije*, Volume XII, Book 1, Dokumenti Nemačkog rajha, Beograd: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1973, 46, f. 6; See also Captain Höffner 's report of August 27, 1941 on Ustasha crimes against the Serbs; 328-330.

due to their religion and the blood influence of the Ottomans centuries ago, although perhaps their ancestors were indeed once Croats or Serbs. Even if individuals do feel to be Croats or Serbs, these are just exceptions.

Having said this, I return to the initial topic.

The intention to take a stand against the unheard-of violence, which the Ustashas caused with their looting and murder acts which, both in scope and horror, are unprecedented in the history of the Balkan peoples, existed among Muslims several months ago, but one purely political reaction against the crimes of the Ustashas seemed to be too dangerous to the leading figures, in terms of the consequences that could be expected. Finally, they agreed that the action should begin with the Mohammedan clergy at the head, ostensibly under the green flag of the Prophet, so that a possible Ustasha counteraction could encounter the well-known religious fanaticism of broad sections of the Muslim population.

It can be noticed that Reis Ulema,<sup>76</sup> as the religious<sup>77</sup> leader of the local Muslims, did not put himself at the head of the signatories. The explanation for this is in the fact that Reis Ulema Spaho<sup>78</sup> once got his high position only because of the political position of his brother, the late Minister Dr. Spaho, against the will of Bosnian Muslims, who considered him morally unworthy to perform this high clerical duty<sup>79</sup>.

As can be seen from the attached Resolution, the first to sign it was Haji Mehmed Hadžić, the president of “El-Hidaje”, an organization of the Mohammedan clergy. He completed his studies at the most famous Mohammedan high school, the University of Cairo, he was assessed as a man extremely clear headed, and he stood out by speaking publicly in Cairo against the oppressive system of the English.

As to the content of the Resolution, it should be noted that it unequivocally and uncompromisingly demands the liquidation of the Ustasha system.

And the fact that Muslims, who have always been opportunists since they are no longer in power in the Balkans, decided to reveal their cards in such a delicate political situation, so this fact must be given great attention, because the insanity of the Ustasha regime could go so far as to respond to the Resolution with violence against Muslims, especially since, according

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<sup>76</sup> *Reis ul-ulema* in Serbian, *reisül-ulema* in Turkish, i.e. Grand Mufti – *Subeditor's note*.

<sup>77</sup> In the original: *kirchliche*, of the church.

<sup>78</sup> Fehim Spaho.

<sup>79</sup> This probably refers to the fact that he was an alcoholic; D. Sušić, *Parergon*, 23.

to my source, signatures are now being collected for it throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. With one reckless step of the Ustasha government, the political situation in Croatia and Serbia could become even more unfavorable for the Reich than is the case anyway.

In the Resolution, the Muslims tried to make the participation of Muslim elements in the Ustasha misdeeds smaller than it really was. It is true, however, that the prominent Muslims really had nothing to do with them. On the other hand, it must be taken into account that the Muslim mob in Bosnia are extremely numerous. This is explained by the fact that, of all groups of peoples living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Muslims are most susceptible to degeneration, which can be related to the fact that their community is not conditioned by blood ancestry, but is based on religious grounds, which is why the Muslim element, which is mostly of Slavic origin, was much more exposed to unhealthy mixing of blood with oriental hordes that penetrated the Balkans during the Turkish period than was the case with the Serbs and Croats. Another cause of degeneration of Muslims is endemic syphilis, because it is very difficult to battle it due to the customs associated with the Mohammedan religion.

The degeneration of the Muslims is also manifested in the lesser ability to earn a living, which finally leads to proletarianization with all its consequences. The fact that, however, even this Muslim mob composed of proletarians in no way began to kill on its own, proves the fact that the population in these territories has always been peaceful and that Bosnia and Herzegovina, thanks to the pacification achieved during the four decades of Austro-Hungarian governance, was rated in terms of security of life and property as generally much more favorable than many civilized countries in Europe. Even the Serbian regime, which lasted for over two decades, and which had previously almost completely destroyed the exemplary governance of Bosnia and Herzegovina, did not have a harmful impact worth mentioning in terms of security.

It was only up to the Ustasha regime to ignite the beastly instinctual cruelty and greed of all the elements that felt less worthy in these territories and to take them into its service.

It is therefore absolutely justified when the Resolution states that Muslims do not bear any guilt in the fact that even the mob of the Islamic faith, after being generously supplied with weapons, ammunition and uniforms, did not resist the temptation to use the offered opportunity to plunder and

kill without any danger, on the other hand, this mob was even pardoned for this, through the calls of Minister Dr. Budak and many other Ustasha leaders on the radio, to persecute Serbs until their eradication as a patriotic obligation.

The ringleaders for the crimes committed against the Serb population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, according to my Muslim source, were mostly Croats who came from outside, from Lika, from Kordun and from those areas of Herzegovina that were inhabited by Catholics. The latter are under the influence of the Franciscan order, which is politically leading in these areas, and which was always considered tolerant in the past, but currently it believes that its Christian mission is to eradicate Serbs, even in cases where mass conversions of the Serbs to the Catholic Church have already been forced.<sup>80</sup>

Among the ringleaders who stood out with their particular cruelty, there were very often Ustashes from the ranks of the Ustasha Supreme Leader's bodyguard battalion,<sup>81</sup> and some of them were listed by their names.

One of them committed a horrible murder in broad daylight in a hospital in Banja Luka against a Muslim hoca<sup>82</sup> who became insane some time ago, snatching him from the hands of his guards, throwing him to the ground and trampling him to death. Namely, the insanity of the hoca was manifested, among other things, in the fact that he shouted "Long live King Peter", which is why they eventually took him to the hospital to avoid incidents. When the Ustasha heard the hoca's shouts, he attacked the man, despite all the explanations of the case by the guards, and killed the insane man.

The name of this Ustasha is Joso Babić, he belongs to the bodyguard battalion of the Supreme Commander and he went unpunished even though prominent Muslims filed a lawsuit and even though the participation of the Mohammedan population in Banja Luka in this case during the funeral of the hoca was demonstratively expressed.

According to my source, the cruelty with which the murders were committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the leadership of the Ustashes surpasses everything that has been recorded so far in the bloody history of

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<sup>80</sup> M. Koljanin, *Preveravanje Srba u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 46-56.

<sup>81</sup> *Poglavnik's* bodyguard battalion, Ustasha unit subordinated directly to the Supreme Leader/Commander (*poglavnik*) of the NDH Ante Pavelić; A. Obhodaš, M. Werhas, B. Dimitrijević, Z. Despot, *Ustaška vojnica. Oružana sila Ustaškog pokreta u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj 1941.-1945* (prva knjiga, travanj 1941. – rujan 1943/Book One, April 1941 – September 1943), Zagreb: Infinitus, 2013, 251-259.

<sup>82</sup> *Hoca* and *khoja* are some of the spellings for the term *khawaja*, Islamic religious teacher/lecturer. – *Subeditor's note.*

the Balkan peoples. The execution by shooting was quickly abandoned, as it was considered a waste of ammunition.

Therefore, other types of death were chosen. Humans are simply slaughtered like animals. In other cases, thousands of people were sent to the afterworld by smashing their skulls with hammers or axes. People were forcefully driven like cattle into houses and barns, which were then set on fire and the people were left to die in flames. Near Bosanski Petrovac, where over 8,000 corpses lay unburied around before the Italian action, around the traces of burnt hay, 70 charred corpses were found lying all around, and as could be seen, they had been tied to a haystack with wire and died like on stake. It happened that the parents, in order to save them, let their small children slip through the windows of the burning houses, which were surrounded by the Ustashas. However, the Ustashas brought pitchforks for hay and manure, picked the children with them and threw them back into the flames. One can hardly imagine such cruelty, in front of which even non-humans would be horrified, and even the churches were used to force people like cattle into them and kill them there.

To all this, my source of information remarked: “And all this was happening in the twentieth century in a country occupied by the armed forces of those two great powers that want to be guarantors of a better, more moral new order on this continent and which sacrifice the best blood of their peoples to achieve this goal.”

The number of victims of the massacre of the Serbs is estimated at 350,000 to 400,000 people, and the number of those on the Muslim side as victims of the Serbian counteraction is estimated at about 40,000 people. An action is underway on both the Serbian and Muslim sides to collect statistics on the number of victims. At the same time, it must be taken into account that during this winter, countless thousands of people were left to die of cold and hunger, wandering in the woods or around their burnt doors as refugees without bread and a roof over their heads.

If this, on the German side, is marked as the unfortunate consequences of a revolution and if one tries to present things in such a way that as far as the Serbs are concerned, it is about insurgent guerrillas and communists who were killed by the Ustashas because they did not want to submit to the new political order in Croatia, this is either a conscious untruth or it is a sad lack of recognition of facts, which the German people cannot absolve from their responsibility before history. There is no doubt that the regime change in Croatia would have taken place without mentioning the worthwhile sacrifice

in blood, if only the leaders of the Ustasha movement had not declared a hunting season against the local Serbian population.

Namely, there would be no uprisings in Serbia on such a large scale, which the communists were given the opportunity to use for their own purposes, if the Ustashas had not deported as beggars countless thousands of local Serbs, confiscating their property, and driven even more across the border on the Drina.

The takeover of power by the Ustasha regime in Croatia did not stem from a revolutionary idea, whose victory was won through struggle, this was an unexpected and barely predicted result of the senseless act of the Belgrade coup government of March 27, 1941 and the reaction of the German Reich that followed as a consequence, which enabled the leaders of the Ustasha movement to take their ministerial seats without significant support.

And instead of undertaking now to organize the state that the Reich gave them as a present, and to win over the population through their own good example to the idea of a new community of peoples in Europe based on social grounds, the Ustasha leaders seized the opportunity to treat the local Serbs, who were repeatedly oppressed by the Belgrade regime in exactly the same way as the Croats, in a hellish way they sought to express their years of accumulated hatred, after being too big cowards for two decades and unable to force their Serbian oppressors to the other side of the Drina in a manly battle, and they preferred to, as emigrants from their safety abroad, drive innocent railway passengers or users of public payphones to the afterworld by planting insidious infernal machines as a manifestation of their “national protest” directed against Serbian violence.

The results of the seven-month Ustasha rule are devastating in all areas. First of all, because of the destruction of every legal order, it caused a moral crisis, which the history of the Croatian people has never known before. In the absence of supporters, the Ustasha movement, without choosing, seized from the dregs of society and provided refuge in its ranks to the entire criminal milieu of the country, which had already appropriated the executive police power. The decent population has been tyrannized in a sadistic way and with exactly the same methods, as was the case with the Bolsheviks, who have only been surpassed by the Ustashas in terms of not valuing the people, given that they themselves do not recognize the authority of their own leaders and are outspoken anarchists.

Although the Ustasha regime is supported by the Reich government for foreign policy reasons, this will not help it, because there is no doubt

that in the chaos it has caused in the country's economic life due to looting and destruction of values, it will fail hopelessly.

It is up to the government of the Reich to end, if possible, the great torments of the majority of the population of this country, terrorized by non-humans, by correctly knowing the true facts and the measures that will prove necessary based on that. That this should happen before the great trust, created on April 10, 1941, and the great respect, which the German people enjoyed in the broadest strata of society of this country, even among many Serbs, is reduced to zero, is an imperative, considering the leadership to which Germany lays claim in the new Europe.

Apart from a few explanatory contributions on my part, in the above allegations I have mostly conveyed only the opinions and information of my Muslim commissioner, which I was logically unable to dispute.

Zagreb, November 5, 1941 –

No. 12

CAPTAIN HÖFFNER REPORTS TO THE OFFICE OF THE GERMAN GENERAL IN ZAGREB ON NOVEMBER 10, 1941, ABOUT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CROATIAN ARMED FORCES AND THE USTASHA UNITS, FAVOURITISM TOWARD THE USTASHAS, THEIR WEAK COMBAT CAPACITY AND THE USTASHA MASSACRES OF SERBS AS THE ONLY CAUSE OF THE UPRISING.<sup>83</sup>

Arthur Höffner  
Captain

Zagreb, November 10, 1941  
Svačićev trg 3.

Office of the German General in Zagreb.

Subject: Situation in the Croatian Armed Forces.<sup>84</sup>

As could be expected when the legal decree on the creation of the Ustasha militia<sup>85</sup> was published, rivalry with this privileged military institution of the Ustasha movement became, in the new Croatian armed forces, an insurmountable obstacle to the development of a dedicated military spirit willing to take responsibility.

The preconditions for this in these armed forces are in themselves aggravated by the fact that the officer corps on the one hand is composed of old, mostly from their profession more or less alienated officers of the former Austro-Hungarian army, and on the other hand of younger officers of the former Yugoslav army, educated in a completely different spirit, and is therefore completely heterogeneous. It would be all the more important for the Supreme Command of the Croatian Armed Forces to do everything possible to bridge the contradictions by helping to develop a single Croatian army spirit in the officer corps and in the troops. For this, in the first place, it was necessary to provide the new armed forces in the country with the general respect necessary for the fulfillment of their tasks.

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<sup>83</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 12-13.

<sup>84</sup> See: M. Colić, *Takozvana Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, Beograd: Delta-press, 1973; N. Barić, *Ustroj kopnene vojske domobranstva Nezavisne države Hrvatske 1941.-1945*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2003.

<sup>85</sup> These are Ustasha units organized into the Ustasha army (*vojnica*); see: A. Obhodaš et al., *Ustaška vojnica*, Vols. 1-2; B. Dimitrijević, *Ustaška vojska Nezavisne Države Hrvatske 1941-1945*, Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2016.

In fact, however, the opposite is happening. While the press widely talks about the completely insignificant combat actions of militia formations against the insurgents in Bosnia, and while the fallen members of the militia are glorified, the public never hears anything about the actions of the army, which, as it is known only in informed circles, practically carries complete burden of battle, given that Ustasha formations prefer to avoid any danger if possible, and see as their main task the killing of unarmed or disarmed Serbs.

The Ustasha militia has repeatedly committed treason by leaving its combat sector in the middle of the night in imminent danger, without informing nearby parts of the army, which enabled the insurgents to carry out attacks from the side and encirclement, which caused significant casualties to military troops regarding the dead and wounded.

The fact that such shameful acts of the Ustasha militia could take place unpunished can be subsumed under the fact that it never obeys the command of the army, considering that only the right to dispose of and issue orders to the militia is reserved for the Supreme Leader. The Ustasha militia does not even carry out the orders of Marshal Kvaternik, no matter how much he insisted that he be named “Krilnik”, that is, of a militia general and no matter how much he valued this title more than his position as marshal.

When General Marić,<sup>86</sup> in his capacity as Chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army, in order to encourage the troops in battle tried to reward their special efforts through public recognition in the press, this was decisively rejected by Marshal Kvaternik, and he [Kvaternik] even had the order issued by his Chief of Staff to the troops about submitting and sending regular lists of losses, be annulled behind the man’s back.

This sufficiently proves that Marshal Kvaternik, who possesses unbridled ambition, but not the ability to be both a soldier and a politician in one person, deliberately suppresses everything that could raise the reputation of the military and contribute to the public realizing that it is the army, not the militia, whose soldiers must shed their blood and give their lives to defeat the uprising which is essentially the result of the Ustasha movement, as the uprising had come about solely because of the mass killings of domestic unarmed Serbs by the Ustasha hordes.

And the fact that under such circumstances the combat spirit of the Croatian troops engaged in Bosnia is declining day by day, they really cannot

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<sup>86</sup> At that time, General August Marić was Chief of the General Staff of the Ministry of Home Guard (*Ministarstvo domobranstva*); *Tko je tko u NDH*, 256 (M. Pojić).

be blamed, and yet these soldiers are required not only to die as unknown heroes but also to die unmentioned as such.

It seems important to me to inform this administration about the moment, when, for the purpose of pacification of Bosnia, the German armed forces will largely cooperate with Croatian troops.

There are also clear indications that the leadership of the Ustasha movement, including Marshal Kvaternik, does not trust the Croatian army. On the other hand, however, the state leadership, apart from reactivating a significant number of officers who are completely unsuitable for service in the armed forces, did nothing to ensure the sympathy and obedience of the army.

The antagonism today, which, even if disguised, exists between the armed forces and the Ustashas, is undoubtedly the fault of the latter, given that they are the ones who imposed the troops to bear the main burden of the battle they have provoked, and the Ustashas even make fun of them for that.

This administration will be informed that Marshal Kvaternik, despite the contrary advice of his General Staff, designated Sisak, Slavonski Brod and Sarajevo as locations for corps commands, and Petrinja, Banja Luka and Travnik as locations for territorial commands. As can be seen, for Zagreb, where high military command has since long ago been based, none of the advice has been taken into account. After the establishment of the newly created Supreme Leader's bodyguard regiment<sup>87</sup>, which includes only completely reliable, i.e. loyal to the Ustasha regime elements, the intention is for the Bosnian regiment, as the last body of military troops, to be moved away from Zagreb, because it is no longer trusted.

Considering that, on the other hand, morally even completely worthless people have been taken into militia formations, which is rooted in the fact that there are constant intrigues in command posts and therefore quarrels and mistrust, which causes constant changes of people in leading positions, so we can only state the fact that this state cannot rely either on the army or the militia, which is why we must reckon with the danger that this house of cards will collapse overnight and that chaos will ensue.

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<sup>87</sup> Battalion, *bojna*.

No. 13

PROTEST LETTER BY THE MUSLIM LEADERS FROM BANJA LUKA TO TWO MUSLIM REPRESENTATIVES IN THE NDH GOVERNMENT ON NOVEMBER 12, 1941, IN WHICH THEY COMPLAIN ABOUT THE MASSIVE KILLINGS AND LOOTING, THE PROSELYTISM OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH WHICH ALSO THREATENS MUSLIMS, POINTING OUT THAT THE UPRISING WAS USED BY THE COMMUNISTS AND REQUESTING LEGAL AND PROPERTY SECURITY.<sup>88</sup>

12 Nov. [ember] 41<sup>89</sup>

Translation into German of a protest letter from the leading Muslims of Banja Luka sent to their representatives in the Croatian government.

Gentlemen

Dr. Džafer Beg Kulenović, Deputy Prime Minister in the Government of the Independent State of Croatia

and

Eng. Hilmija Bešlagić, Minister of Transport, both in Zagreb.

Gentlemen Ministers!

Since the beginning of the creation of our Independent State of Croatia, we the Muslims have noticed with the greatest concern how certain Ustashas and other responsible and irresponsible factors are committing the grossest mistakes and crimes. Elementary human rights have been violated. Security of life and property, religious freedom and freedom of conscience have ceased to apply to a large part of the population of these territories.

Murders of clergy and other leading figures without trial and verdict, mass shootings and torture of often innocent men, women and children, massive expulsion of entire families from their homes and property from their beds in the middle of the night within just 1 to 2 hours, their deportation to unknown places, appropriation and looting of their property, forced conversion to the Catholic faith, are all facts that fill a normal person with

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<sup>88</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 14-17, translation from Croatian.

<sup>89</sup> Handwritten note.

horror and that have had the most severe impact on us Muslims from these parts.

We neither expected nor wanted such actions and methods of governance in our region. During our turbulent past, we did not use such means even in the most difficult conditions, not only because Islam forbids it, but also because we have always been, and still are, of the opinion that such methods in every country lead to the elimination of public peace and order and endanger its existence. In our opinion, such violence should not be carried out even against the worst enemy, and we doubt that an example in the history of any nation could be found for what was happening in our country at all.

The results of this policy (if such actions can be called policy at all) are, as any reasonable person could have guessed, horrible. Religious tolerance, which in our country in Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite confessional divisions, was at its height, has dropped terribly. The insults and provocations by a part of the Catholics have often become so widespread against us the Muslims, that this seriously incites us to thinking.

Relations between both parts of our people, which were very good, are now on the way to becoming completely bad. The mutual efforts of those Croatian nationalists, who aimed to establish brotherhood between both parts of the people, and which have already shown good results, are now on the way to suffering complete failure.

One part of the Catholic clergy believes that their hour has now struck and is unscrupulously taking advantage of this. The propaganda for the conversion has taken on such proportions that it is reminiscent of the Spanish Inquisition. Under their pressure and with tolerance from public authorities, a mass conversion of Christians to the Catholic faith took place, so that those who had been deprived of all civic value and all national kinship, became equal citizens and national Croats, and only because they formally converted to the Catholic faith.

The equality of Islam, which is often emphasized in written words and many statements from the highest places, is often questioned in practice. The conversion to Islam, which we never propagated, never received the protection given to the conversion to the Catholic faith. Many intellectuals now had to pay for such a similar attempt with their lives, as was the case in Travnik. We often hear from the Catholics derogatory songs that insult the religious feelings of Muslims and prophesy the same fate as Christians [*Translator's note:*

under “hrišćani”/“Christians”, i.e. Christen, in Bosnia are meant members of the Greek-Eastern Church, in contrast, Catholics are referred to as “kršćani”, i.e. those who acknowledge the cross, “križ”].

One part of the Ustasha militia, not only the “irregular” Ustashes but also the regular ones, committed severe incidents and attacks not only against Christians but also against Muslims, and this caused horror in our ranks. The case of the horrific murder of the village hoca Edhem efendi Hadžić in Banja Luka, in the middle of the hospital yard and in broad daylight, is a horrible example of an orgy committed by the Ustasha Josip Babić. The most unfortunate fact, however, is that to this day it is not known whether the criminal was arrested at all, although the entire population in Banja Luka, as well as all other Muslims requested the information, and still do.

The uprising in our region, which is spreading more and more, is a consequence of the above-mentioned acts and mistakes. This uprising bears all the hallmarks of civil wars. Also, the insurgents have torched and brutally killed men, women and children, often in order to take revenge on those who are completely innocent for their misfortune. The uprising has now spread all the way to the gates of our city, and its consequences are becoming more and more noticeable. Our city has already been without water for three days, the shortage of heating materials and foodstuffs is putting more and more pressure on us, and we must expect even more severe consequences.

The communists took advantage of the dissatisfaction of a large part of the population and put themselves at the head of the uprising. During the persecution of the communists, injustice was done to us Muslims. We will not claim that there are no communists among the Muslims in the cities, but however, those Muslims who were never communists were also arrested because of them, if they expressed themselves negatively about various injustices committed. In contrast, many Catholics who were well-known communists were not only hidden, but have often been rewarded with various positions and lucrative and easy jobs.

It fills us with special anger that those elements that caused the uprising also involved a part of the Muslim ordinary people in this action, which we regret and condemn. We know enough cases in which the Ustashes committed massacres and murders with a fez on their heads. This was in Bosanski Novi, where the Ustashes came in four trucks “from over there” (Catholic Croats on the other side of the Sava, *Translator’s note*) with fezzes

and slaughtered Christians together with the Muslim mob. The same thing happened in Bosanska Kostajnica, where 862 Christians were killed in the same way during one day. The same thing happened in Kulen Vakuf, and here the Ustasha from Vrtoč, Miroslav Matijević, stood out especially shamefully. About 950 Christians were killed here, which gave the insurgents a reason to carry out their revenge on September 6 of this year, in which they set Kulen Vakuf on fire, and 1,365 Muslim men, women and children had to pay for this with their lives.<sup>90</sup>

We know of cases where the Catholic Ustashes attacked Christians with mutual invocations of Muslim names, such as: “Hit Mujo! Hold him, Huso! Watch out Meho!” and the like. We are also aware of cases where Christians are told in whisper that we the Muslims are the ones who kill and slaughter them in order to eradicate them. If we wanted to eradicate, kill and convert Serbs and others, we could have done this centuries ago, while we had more power than today and when such a crime could be more easily justified.

After such a severe antagonism was caused between us Muslims and Christians, we are now called upon as soldiers to quell this uprising, in which we kill Serbs and at the same time we get killed until we destroy and eradicate each other, without knowing when this will end and what consequences this will bring. So it came to pass that this struggle, which we had not provoked, has already escalated so much, that many of our villages have been torched and plundered, and that their inhabitants, men, women and children, naked and barefoot, hungry and thirsty, seeking help and protection from the mobilized and volunteers, wander around and flee to our overcrowded cities, so it is difficult to help them.

Protection for our villages is completely insufficient, especially in those areas that are under Italian occupation. There, the Italian army is calmly watching the torching of Muslim villages, as was the case these days in the villages of Ključ, Petrovac and Sanski Most, where not even our army provides assistance.

And yet what is worst: The perpetrators of this unrest are retreating into the background, parading around in uniforms and mostly practise looting of Serbian and Jewish property. We see this best here in Banja Luka, where the property of evicted and refugee Serbs and Jews has been made a source of plunder and enrichment for individuals, their families and friends.

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<sup>90</sup> On these crimes, see: M. Bergholz, *Nasilje kao generativna sila*, 129-298.

At the same time, the question of the honesty and past of these persons was not raised, and neither were the interests of the state taken into account. Professional companies were given to non-experts, even those of great value, who were given without any assessment at bargain prices and without a guarantee to those people who have no merit for the Croatian state.

This was ordered by those who did not have any authorization for such decisions, and they usurped the rights. When an investigation was launched in Banja Luka over these irregularities, in the interest of public morality and justice and in the interest of the state, it was the man who unfortunately holds the highest place in the country in “Ponova”<sup>91</sup> (Reconstruction), at the request of the main defendants in all these cases, hurried to obstruct the same investigation. We reject with indignation the false claims that we wanted to get hold of these companies.

Gentlemen Ministers, we address you as our representatives in the government of the Independent Republic of Croatia and as the first advisers to the Supreme Leader with a request to report all this to the Supreme Leader and use all your influence to put an end to this terrible situation in such harsh times.

We hereby join every action of our people that represents the same goals, and above all the action of the Sarajevo Muslims from October 12, 1941, and together with them we ask and demand:

1) introduction of genuine security of life, honor, property and religion for all citizens in the state without any exception,

2) that the innocent population truly receives strong military protection,

3) further prohibition of undertaking any action which by its nature could encourage the people to rise and shed blood,

4) that all perpetrators, whatever violence or criminal offense they have committed, regardless of the religion they belong to, are brought to justice and receive the most severe punishments under the law, as well as those who ordered or facilitated such evildoings,

5) that laws are enforced only by regular authorities and the regular army,

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<sup>91</sup> The State Directorate for Reconstruction was a newly created institution that managed the property of killed or expelled Serbs and Jews; see: N. Kršljanin, „Pravni režim nepokretnosti u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj”, in: B. Begović, Z. S. Mirković, *Pravni poredak Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*, Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu, Pravni fakultet, 300-305.

6) to prevention of any religious intolerance and strictest punishment of those who, in this regard, commit any provable incident,

7) provision sufficient material aid to those who have suffered through no fault in these riots as soon as possible.

Banja Luka, November 12, 1941

Haji Hafiz Mustafa Nurkić, retired mufti

Hakija Bešliagić, Mayor (brother of the Minister of Transport, com. [ment])

Hafiz Idriz Skopljak, muderris<sup>92</sup>

Eng. Sulejman Aga Salihagić, president of the association of landowners.

Hasan Beg Džinić, former mayor

Halid Beg Džinić, President of the Chamber of Commerce and Crafts

Dr. Asim Beg Džinić, lawyer

etc.

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<sup>92</sup> Teacher in a *madrassa*, higher religious school. – *Subeditor's note.*

No. 14

SERGEANT BUBLIK REPORTS TO THE INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE MILITARY COMMANDER IN SERBIA ON NOVEMBER 17, 1941, ABOUT THE MAIN ROLE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA, EUGEN KVATERNIK, IN CARRYING OUT TERROR AGAINST SERBS.<sup>93</sup>

Croatia<sup>94</sup>

Transcript.

Sergeant Franz Bublik, translator with the Commander in Serbia  
Command Staff, Department I c.

Belgrade, November 17, 1941

For Command Staff, Department I c

Report

(Confidential)

Subject: Croatian Secretary of State Eugen Kvaternik and his influence on the persecution of Serbs.

I thank a German staff officer in Zagreb and some other sources from there for the following account of the situation in Croatia and the disastrous role that Police Minister Kvaternik has in the persecution of Serbs in Croatia:

And while the father, Marshal Kvaternik, portrays himself as a completely honorable man and an impeccable officer, who in no way should be associated with incomprehensible actions against that part of the Croatian population that is considered "Serb", his son Eugen, as the head of Croatia's security,<sup>95</sup> is marked as personally responsible as an instigator, initiator, accomplice and patron of the terrible persecution of the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia. If the elderly Marshal can be blamed for something, it is that he accepts that certain government services in Zagreb are covering up and tolerating bloody orgies of their subordinate military police and

<sup>93</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 22-25.

<sup>94</sup> Handwritten note, the second word is illegible.

<sup>95</sup> See: D. Kovačić, *Redarstveno-obavještajni sustav Nezavisne Države Hrvatske od 1941. do 1945. godine*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009.

Ustasha organs, without using his authority for a reasonable and humane showdown between Croats and Serbs. Eugen Kvaternik, a man about 28 years old, masterfully knows how to distance himself from these events before the members of the German Wehrmacht, which of course does not prevent him from releasing his incomprehensible hatred and his incomprehensible efforts behind the scenes to destroy everything that smells of Serbian. He has a large share in the decimation of members of the Orthodox faith, as well as in their persecution and oppression. This also applies to his accomplices, the State Secretary for Croatia, for Reconstruction, Director Rožanković<sup>96</sup> and further Colonel K. Jendrašić.<sup>97</sup>

The Director for Reconstruction, Rožanković, has the task of confiscating all movable and immovable property of the Serbs living in the Croatian state and Orthodox Croats, as well as the property of the Jews without exception for the benefit of the state and to expell, intern or even imprison the former owners.

It seems that the task of Eugen Kvaternik is to forcibly destroy the class, which was thus deprived of its property, either in the camps<sup>98</sup> or outside of these, and to make it disappear over time. He pursues this goal with such perseverance as would be worthy of some nobler thing. In the infamous camps and prisons, which are mostly subordinated to the Minister of Police K.[vaternik], the greatest misery, hunger and misfortune reign. Detainees of dungeons and camps are abused, tortured and tormented in the most brutal way by Ustashas who have been appointed as guards. A few examples: A 76-year-old man was thrown into a Zagreb prison, whose son escaped arrest by a timely, spontaneous escape. In order to extort a confession from the father about his son's current place of residence, it was done in such a way that during the interrogation, the old man's nails were pulled out by pliers, one by one, every day alternating toes and fingers. One mother had a tooth extracted every day in a camp on a similar occasion, despite the fact that neither in the first nor in the second case, the pitiful creatures were able to give any information about the place of the accidental last-minute escape of their children. There are also Jews in the camps, who live in special accom-

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<sup>96</sup> Josip Rožanković, State Director of the National Bureau for Reconstruction.

<sup>97</sup> Stjepan Jendrašić, since June 1941, president of the *Povjerenstvo za preuzimanje ratnog materijala* (Commissariat for Taking over War Material); *Tko je tko u NDH*, 171 (M. Pojić).

<sup>98</sup> See: M. Koljanin, "The Role of Concentration Camps in the Policies of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in 1941", *Balkanica*, XLVI, Belgrade 2015, 315-337.

modation. The treatment of them, the accommodation and the nutrition of the Jews are far better than in the case of the Serbs, although those Jews who were brought to the concentration camp for alleged loaning money, dishonesty, fraud and similar crimes are mostly imprisoned in the camp. The remaining Jews move freely and unhindered in the cities of Croatia. They are prescribed to wear only one yellow badge on the left side of their chest marked “Ž”<sup>99</sup> to identify themselves as Jews.

And while the relatives of the interned Serbs are not allowed to supply them in the camp with the most necessary things, while they are freezing, starving, poorly dressed and have inappropriate footwear, the Jewish camp inmates are allowed to receive everything.

There are two types of camps in Croatia. Those prisoners who were mostly without property came to the emigrant camp and are under the jurisdiction of the State Secretary Rožanković. Given that obviously not much could be taken from them, they are not taken into account for any possible role of complainants against the state and claimants for repossession of property.

If, after all, they remained alive and survived not small difficulties in the camps, from time to time in a legal or some other way, they were expelled across the borders of Serbia.

The second group of camps are concentration camps, which are within the jurisdiction and power of the Minister of Police. The very choice of camp guards, as a tool of the highest instance, is worth paying attention to. Even the most brutal Ustasha leaders with sadistic tendencies and dogsbodies find themselves in great harmony and cooperation here. One seemingly harmless wink from above, and it has already been decided about the life of a Serb there. Shooting “while fleeing” or “for rebellion, resistance, incitement” and the like, are the reasons that are then stated for the death of the victim. Former landowners and Orthodox intelligentsia have been gathered in these concentration camps. They are imputed communist or some other activity detrimental to the state, and a slightest excuse is resorted to in order to shoot a bullet at a prisoner for whom a foreign organ of authority has happened to show interest in, thus ending his life.

Indeed, lists of names are kept in these concentration camps, yet among the prisoners there are those whose names do not appear on any list or card index. Those are the people whose death sentence has already been pronounced

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<sup>99</sup> From the first letter of the word ‘Židov’ (Jew).

in advance. They change camps several times, until one day they leave the last one and no longer appear in any other. To someone on the other side, any research where the unfortunate person is with this practice seems completely impossible, especially since the perpetrators and those who know something about it, erase every trace.

Before the capture of the broader coastal area of Croatia by Italian troops, there were concentration camps in Gospić<sup>100</sup> and on the island of Pag, one at each of the two places, which held well-to-do Serbs and their intelligentsia. There was a constant exchange of prisoners between these camps and others. The commander of the Gospić camp was a particularly notorious executioner, whose cruelty and lack of appraisal for human life will remain in the horrible memory of all those who were lucky enough to get out of this hell alive.

His arbitrariness and autonomy during the execution of the victims who were delivered to him, seems to have been experienced as a great burden from the highest Croatian instances, because he was put before the Ustasha court, which sentenced him to death, whereby a witness of a future charge, who had rich knowledge and insights about the then-current order in Croatia, was removed from this world. In any case, Gospić or Pag were the final stops in the lives of many wretched and innocent people. This commander of the camp in Gospić, who was personally known to the compiler of this report, one day assembled a railway transport of about 1,700 prisoners. Men, children and women were crammed into the closed cattle cars – 80 or more people per car and sent under strong security escort in the direction of the island of Pag. The entire transport never arrived to Pag, or to any other camp. The whole transport was stopped somewhere on the railroad, the cars were emptied and somewhere in a remote area, the people were done away with by machine guns.

Tens of thousands of people disappeared without a trace, on the Adriatic coast and the island of Pag in just a few months. After capturing the area, the Italian military authorities disbanded the camps set up there by the Croatian administration, and released the prisoners.

Reasonable Croats, as well as other objective people, leave room for a doubt that it cannot only be a matter of fierce hatred which inspires today's rulers in Croatia and encourages the complete destruction of the Serbdom

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<sup>100</sup> See: Đ. Zatezalo, *Jadovno. Kompleks ustaških logora 1941*, Vol. 1, Beograd: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2007.

in the country, but that other motives must play a crucial role here. Doubts are expressed that the Croatian state is trying to repair its insufficient finances by appropriating Serbian property.

If we take into account in this sense the fact that on the territory of today's state of Croatia 2 to 2½ million people of the Orthodox faith lived, of whom several hundred thousand were well off, and whose property was completely confiscated and who were expelled or interned and deprived of life, it is difficult to reject this version without further consideration.

Signed: Bublik  
Sergeant

No. 15

ON NOVEMBER 28, 1941, THE ADMINISTRATION STAFF OF THE MILITARY COMMANDER IN SERBIA SUBMITS A CONFIDENTIAL REPORT ON COMMUNISTS IN THE RANKS OF THE USTASHAS TO THE HEAD OF THE GERMAN POLICE IN THE NDH, BEISNER, REQUESTING VERIFICATION.<sup>101</sup>

November 28, 1941

Reg. [ister] No. VB 158/41

Communists in the ranks of the Ustashas

Sent 28. XI. 1941<sup>102</sup>

Reference: without 1468/41

Ustasha<sup>103</sup>

For  
Liaison officer  
Commander in Serbia  
at the German  
Embassy in Zagreb  
In the hands of SS Major Beisner<sup>104</sup>

Zagreb.

I enclose a confidential report, prepared by order of Department I c of the Commander in Serbia.

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<sup>101</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 36.

<sup>102</sup> Stamp of the document dispatch.

<sup>103</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>104</sup> SS Major (*SS-Sturmbannfuhrer*) Wilhelm Beisner is here referred to as liaison officer (*Verbindungsfuhrer/Befehlshaber*) at the German Embassy in Zagreb. He was formally the liaison officer for the Operational Group of the Security Policy and the Security Service (*Einsatzgruppe Sipo-SD*) in Serbia. In fact, Beisner was the head of the German police in the NDH, that is, the head of the Operational Command and of the Security Police and the Security Service in the NDH (*Einsatzkommando Sipo-SD*) in Zagreb. In the same way, in January 1942, he was connected with the service of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service (BdS) in Belgrade, but he was substituted in April of the same year. Like the German MP in the NDH, Siegfried Kasche, he was a great supporter of the Ustasha regime.

I consider it expedient to check the circumstances and, if necessary, to inform Marshal Kvaternik accordingly.

For the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia  
Chief of Administration Staff

By order of:

<sup>105</sup>

SS Major

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<sup>105</sup> Initials.

No. 16

SERGEANT BUBLIK'S REPORT TO THE COMMAND HEADQUARTERS IN SERBIA ON NOVEMBER 26, 1941, ABOUT THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE SERBS IN PAKRAC, THAT THESE ARE LED BY FORMER COMMUNIST OFFICIALS WITH THE HELP OF CATHOLIC CLERGY, THAT LOCAL USTASHA LEADERS ARE GETTING RICH BY LOOTING, AND THAT MEASURES AGAINST JEWS ARE MILDER THAN THOSE AGAINST SERBS.<sup>106</sup>

26. XI. 41.

Transcript.

Sergeant Franz Bublik, translator  
at the Commander in Serbia, Department I c

Confidential.

For the Command Staff of Department I c.

Subject: Communists in the ranks of the Ustashas.

In Pakrac, about 140 km southeast of Zagreb, the fact is that former radical communist officials, now on a different side, manage the fate of the district and at their own discretion can decide on life and death, but also on the property and existence of relatives who are Orthodox, has caused the greatest dissatisfaction. And indeed, in the distortion of rights and arbitrary measures, the Pakrac District has surpassed all others. Executions, killings, murders, expulsions from property, confiscation of property, deprivation of livelihoods, imprisonment of innocents, persecutions and harassment of all kinds were on the agenda until recently. It is interesting to note that there are young Catholic priests in all the official premises of the Ustashas in Pakrac, but also elsewhere, at any time of the day or night, who seemingly provided spy services to the local authorities and helped them with their advice. One view of this, which is also held by Croatian circles of the population, is that the Catholic clergy, as informants of the Ustashas, must be considered co-responsible for many bloody incidents.

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<sup>106</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 37-39.

Day laborers, shirker-shoemakers, tailors, auxiliary workers, lower clerks and others, who in normal life did not bear any proof of special abilities, were suddenly promoted – from the current of the coup – to high official and administrative positions and are now convinced that by rage and horrific persecutions of the Serb population they can compensate for the lack of material and professional knowledge. The bloodthirstiness of these local Ustasha leaders was joined by the urge to use the unique opportunity for personal enrichment. Other people's property, which was confiscated on behalf of the independent Croatian state, largely ended up in the pockets or apartments of the confiscating authorities, who themselves occasionally did not refrain from looting, in order to preempt similar actions by their own friends.

Considering that in the first months of its existence, the Zagreb government gave its subordinate bodies freedom in every respect and let them do what they wanted, tolerating and covering up their attacks, the Ustasas inevitably developed into a state-recognized “robbing and a murderous organ of authority” to whom all state means of force were at disposal. It was only later that some insignificant restrictions were ordered in this regard, which were not respected, and which did not carry any systemic change worth mentioning.

The Jews<sup>107</sup> were mistreated only with hesitation, and they were pushed out of their economic and social positions slowly and gradually, which justifies the assumption that they met only small tactical requirements in this matter in order to later provide them with an alibi, by referring to the simultaneous acting against the Jews. In reality, Croatia's measures, in relation to the freedom of movement of the Jews, lag far behind the measures of other partners among the Axis powers. Of course, Jews were arrested, convicted and taken to concentration camps, but they had mostly come into conflict with some paragraph of the law earlier and deserved their punishment themselves. No city in Croatia can see so many marked Jews moving freely on the streets as in Zagreb. Contrariwise, every passer-by suspected of being a “Serb” is immediately arrested.

While the communist Ustasha authorities in Pakrac imposed a commissioner manager on all Jewish and Serbian businessmen and companies, these measures were mitigated against the Jews to such an extent that they referred to the commissioner and left the vacated jobs to the Jews again, while

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<sup>107</sup> See: I. Goldstein, S. Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, Zagreb: Židovska općina Zagreb, Novi Liber, 2001.

on the contrary, Serbs were imposed further harsher measures if some other business enterprises were still owned by Serbs.

The Communists, who joined the Ustashes in the days of the Croatian coup in Pakrac, and who were entrusted with administrative functions, brought Bolshevik tendencies to these formations, which were conceived as a people's militia, and contributed to an outstanding degree to the shedding of innocent blood.

The names of the former communists and the current Ustasha rulers are: Grčić, Nemeth and Kovačević.

Photographic documents can be easily found in Pakrac, where those named were photographed with a red flag several years ago as members of the CPY<sup>108</sup> on the occasion of May 1 celebration.

Signed by Bublik  
Sergeant.

For accuracy:  
transcript:  
Marschal<sup>109</sup>  
Stenotypist

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<sup>108</sup> Communist Party of Yugoslavia (*Komunistička partija Jugoslavije – KPJ*). – *Sub-editor's note.*

<sup>109</sup> Marschall.

No. 17

REPORT OF THE DISTRICT CHIEF FROM BIJELJINA TO THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION IN ZAGREB ON NOVEMBER 29, 1941, ABOUT THE ATTACK OF THE CHETNIKS (INSURGENTS) ON KORAJ, THE NUMBER OF THE DEAD AND THE ACCOMMODATION OF REFUGEES.<sup>110</sup>

Transcript

Translation.

Independent State of Croatia – District Administration in Bijeljina

Nr. 7054/41

Subject: Chetnik attack on Koraj

Bijeljina, November 29 1941

Directorate for Public Order and Security

Zagreb.

Regarding today's telephone report on the attack by Chetniks on Koraj, Koraj Municipality, in the territory of my district, I report the following:

The municipal notary from Koraj, who escaped the insurgents' attack on Koraj, informed me from Čelić, where he is together with the other refugees, that this attack was carried out on the 25th of this month at around 7 am. According to his statement, there could have been about 3,000 insurgents, while based on the evidence obtained, there were actually about 400. According to the notary, about 300 people could be counted as killed in this attack, while, according to the received reports, it is estimated that there are far less.

The refugees are now in Čelić, Brčko District, and urgent steps have been taken to provide medical assistance to the wounded, as well as to find the necessary accommodation for the remaining refugees.

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<sup>110</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 215. This document is attached to document no. 72 in this book, the one of March 18, 1942.

The sent army liberated Koraj, and on this occasion, one officer was killed, as well as 4-5 Home Guards, while 12 Home Guards were wounded.

Upon arrival of more precise data, it will be reported later.

Delivered to:  
Ministry of the Interior  
Directorate for Public Order and Security  
County of Posavje  
County Police of Brod na Savi<sup>111</sup>

District Chief:  
[illegible]

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<sup>111</sup> Slavonski Brod.

No. 18

REPORT ON THE ATTACK OF INSURGENTS (CHETNIKS – COMMUNISTS) ON NOVEMBER 27, 1941 ON THE VILLAGE OF KORAJ IN THE BIJELJINA DISTRICT, WHEN THE VILLAGE WAS LOOTED AND BURNED, AND A LARGE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS WERE KILLED, AS WELL AS ON THE KILLING OF SERBS AS THE CAUSE OF THE ATTACK.<sup>112</sup>

Transcript

Translation.

On November 27, 1941, at around 7 o'clock, about 3,000 Chetniks – Communists,<sup>113</sup> approached the village of Koraj, District of Bijeljina, the seat of the station<sup>114</sup> of the same name, among whom a large number of women and children were noticed. These insurgents surrounded the village of Koraj from all sides except that the road to the village of Čelić remained open. Of the mentioned number of insurgents, it is estimated that half of them were well armed, and according to the action of the machine guns, it was determined that they were armed with 4 heavy and 2 light machine guns. The combat started at 7 o'clock between the insurgents and the armed militia, as well as with the gendarmerie, and lasted for approximately two hours. As the militia and gendarmerie felt weak against the superiority of the insurgents, they began to leave, that is, to retreat in the direction of the village of Čelić. At about 11 o'clock on the same day, a company of Home Guards came from Čelić to help Koraj; they entered the combat with the insurgents and managed to drive them out of Koraj, and this company also had losses: 1 lieutenant and 10 Home Guards, who fell in the combat. In addition, they had the wounded, who were taken to the hospital in Brčko. This company – as early as on the way to Čelić – had been attacked and kept from rushing to Koraj's aid in time, so the insurgents had enough time to kill many inhabitants and burn and destroy almost two thirds of the village of Koraj.

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<sup>112</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 211-213, translation from Croatian of the unidentified report no. 64633.

<sup>113</sup> See: Z. AntoniĆ, *Ustanak u istočnoj i centralnoj Bosni*, Tuzla: Univerzal, 1983, 332-334.

<sup>114</sup> Probably: gendarmerie station.

About 350 to 400 people were killed on the spot, including many women and children, but it should be assumed that this number of the dead is much higher, because many are among the ruins of burned houses. About 50 people were injured. About 50 people were captured, and among them, the commander of the gendarmerie station, Sergeant Sulejman Sjerčić. As far as the check could determine, Sergeant Sjerčić was wounded in the foot, then surrounded and captured.

The number of burned houses is about 200 and almost all the remaining houses, about 900, were demolished and almost all were looted. The damage is estimated at several million kunas<sup>115</sup>.

State institutions, the school and the town hall were torched and destroyed, while the gendarmerie station building was smashed and demolished, furniture was destroyed and the gendarmes' state-provided and private foodstuffs were looted in such a way that it was not possible to use anything left, therefore the station was temporarily abandoned.

The gendarmes who survived were deployed in the platoon until the Koraj station gets re-established. All archives and documents were destroyed and burned in front of the station.

According to the statement of the present peasants from Koraj, there are both dead and wounded on the side of the insurgents, counting about 200 people, but the insurgents collected their dead and wounded and drove them away in carts.

It has been ascertained that other peasants and women and children from the villages of Tutnjevac, Puškovac, Tohuta,<sup>116</sup> Mrtvice,<sup>117</sup> Maleševac,<sup>118</sup> Korenita, Bobetina Brda,<sup>119</sup> Bukovice,<sup>120</sup> from the area of Zabrdje, Districts of Bijeljina and Brčko, also took part in the attack on Koraj with Chetniks and Communists.

The insurgents did not use anything from weapons and ammunition, because the militiamen spent some and took some during their withdrawal to Čelić. The village of Koraj had about 150 armed militiamen; these militiamen offered very little resistance to the insurgents.

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<sup>115</sup> *Kuna* was the official currency in the Independent State of Croatia. – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>116</sup> Tobut.

<sup>117</sup> Mrtvica.

<sup>118</sup> Maleševci.

<sup>119</sup> Bobetino Brdo.

<sup>120</sup> Bukovica.

The villagers from the village of Koraj who survived the attack are still not able to give accurate information regarding the described attack, as they are horrified and upset.

The gendarmerie station in Koraj had 11 auxiliary and one gendarme in training, as well as the station commander.

The general opinion of the inhabitants of the village of Koraj is that this attack on the village of Koraj came about for the reason that on November 22, 1941, under the leadership of Commissar Burha Begić from the Municipality of Koraj, not far from the village of Koraj, about 25 Greek-Eastern hostages were killed during the clearing of the terrain, the army handed them over to the police in Koraj, and their commander Burhan Begić was the one who appropriated the command from the commander of the Koraj station, Sergeant Šjerčić.

At the same time, I report that after this attack on the village of Koraj, a large part of the inhabitants, who have saved their lives, moved to Čelić, as well as to Brčko and Bijeljina, since neither the army nor the gendarmerie have been stationed in Koraj, because there is currently no suitable building or room and that the village of Koraj is deserted.

On November 30, the County Administrator (*veliki župan – Translator's note*) of the Posavje County arrived on the scene, saw the crimes of the Chetnik-communist gangs, and promised full help and protection to the surviving inhabitants.

Nr. 64633.

No. 19

ON JANUARY 20, 1942, THE POLICE INSTITUTION FROM BROD NA SAVI REPORTS TO THE USTASHA INSPECTORATE ABOUT THE INSURGENTS' ATTACK ON THE VILLAGE OF KORAJ, THE NUMBER OF KILLED INHABITANTS AND DESTROYED HOUSES, AS WELL AS THE RETURN OF THE SURVIVORS.<sup>121</sup>

Transcript

Translation.

District police authority<sup>122</sup> in Brod na Savi

Nr.: Prs. 134/42

Brod na Savi, January 20, 1942

Subject: Insurgent attack on Koraj.

Reference to Prs. Nr. 117/1942.

Ustasha Inspectorate  
Office I.<sup>123</sup>

Zagreb.

On November 27, 1941, the insurgents attacked the village of Koraj, Bijeljina District.

The attack was carried out at around 7 in the morning, from all sides.

There were about 1,600 insurgents, and about 700 of them were armed, followed by armed women and children.

The insurgents were from the villages of Tobut, Mrtvica, Maleševci, Korenita, Vodičino Brdo,<sup>124</sup> Bukovica, Piperi<sup>125</sup>, Zabrada,<sup>126</sup> Priboj, Petima,<sup>127</sup> Puzekara,<sup>128</sup> Tutnjevac.

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<sup>121</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 214, translation from Croatian.

<sup>122</sup> Probably in original: *Župska redarstvena oblast* (District Police area).

<sup>123</sup> See: D. Kovačić, *Redarstveno-obavještajni sustav*, 147-155

<sup>124</sup> Bobetino Brdo.

<sup>125</sup> Piperi.

<sup>126</sup> Zabrdje.

<sup>127</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>128</sup> Unidentified.

Our defense had a total of 150 militiamen or gendarmes. The combat lasted for 2 hours, when our side had to retreat due to the superiority of the insurgents in the combat. As the defense had to leave the village, the insurgents penetrated the village itself and slaughtered everything that could not escape, so that a total of about 400 people were slaughtered, women, children and the elderly.

On our side, there were 50 wounded and about 50 captured. Of the 900 houses in the village of Koraj, 200 were burnt to ashes and 700 completely demolished. Only the mosque (house of God of the Muslims) remained intact.

All the refugees from the village of Koraj asked to settle in Brčko, where they are still today, only slowly returning to their homes.

The attack came unexpectedly, so that only a company of Home Guards could come later, and then the Chetniks withdrew.

The head of the District in Bijeljina reports that he does not have any further details about this massacre, because the refugees are only now gradually returning to their homes and he was asked to collect all the details and deliver them as soon as possible.

## No. 20

REPORT OF THE VOLKSDEUTSCHER LOCAL GROUP OF BRČKO, TO THE DISTRICT LEADERSHIP ON DECEMBER 7, 1941, ON THE USTASHA REVENGE FOR THE INSURGENTS' ATTACK ON KORAJ, THE BURNING OF SEVERAL SERBIAN VILLAGES, MASSIVE KILLINGS AND LOOTING, AS WELL AS THE ANNOYANCE OF THE POPULATION DUE TO INSECURITY.<sup>129</sup>

### Transcript

German ethnic group  
in Croatia  
Local group Brčko.<sup>130</sup>

### Report.

The local service reports the following on the situation in Brčko and its surroundings on December 1:

“After the insurgents had burned the village of Koraj, the Ustashes took revenge measures and burned several Serb villages, namely Mrtvica, Ratkovići<sup>131</sup> and partly Pukiš.<sup>132</sup> Shortly afterwards, a unit of foreign Ustashes (allegedly from Zagreb) appeared in Brčko, who together with the District Chief Montani and the local Ustashes, without being selective, arrested the Serbian<sup>133</sup> people, imprisoned them, horribly abused them, shot about 10 of them or beat and threw them into Sava river. Due to this act, many prominent Croats, including the former mayor Dr. Marić, filed an objection, and the last-mentioned man was even arrested for that.

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<sup>129</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 209-210.

<sup>130</sup> The towns/villages settled by members of the German national minority in the Independent State of Croatia were distributed in five regions. Brčko belonged to the Sava region – the Danube river; A. Miletić, “The Volksdeutschers of Bosnia, Slavonia and Srem regions in the struggle against the People’s Liberation Movement (1941-1945)”, in: *The Third Reich and Yugoslavia 1933-1945*, Belgrade: The Institute for Contemporary History, 1977, 564.

<sup>131</sup> Ratkovići.

<sup>132</sup> Pukiš.

<sup>133</sup> Većeslav; see: Z. Antonić, *Ustanak u istočnoj i centralnoj Bosni*, 86, 130.

About 60 Serbs were expelled to Gunja at night, locked in a train car, and only the following evening – after they had made a statement after severe abuse that they wanted to convert to the Catholic faith voluntarily – were they released. The next night, the Serbian church, after boards were nailed on it the day before, was looted and burned. The Serbs were given a deadline after which all of them had to declare themselves as members of the Catholic faith or they would have to hang a written statement on the windows that they are Orthodox and that they want to remain Orthodox. Without exception, under these circumstances, all Serbs declared that they were ready to convert, and handed over all the icons and oil cups, that is, the symbols of the Orthodox faith, to the district administration.”

Yesterday, on the 6th of this month, a unit of Ustashas from elsewhere, together with domestic Ustashas, started a new “cleansing action” towards the village of Čelić. Today at dawn, rumors arrived here that the farm of our compatriot Adam Friedrich, which is located near Čelić, was attacked and set on fire. After that, comrades Schnepf, Scheinost, Knebl and Münz drove to the scene to make sure of the facts.

Thereby, they determined the following:

“The farm of our compatriot was not damaged, combats took place in its immediate vicinity, without it being possible to establish whether the insurgents were really nearby. Comrade Friedrich explicitly claims that he has never seen any Chetniks before, but he could only state that the surrounding farms – even of the Ruthenians living there – are being looted and burned, and that piles of bodies are marking their path. He himself buried about 28 bodies near his farm. The men sent there were able to establish that about 30 to 40 more bodies lay near his farm, and that indeed all the rural estates and settlements in the direction of Koraj were burning. An individual shot was also heard this morning.

Tonight, we have received a notification from the District Chief that the “Stolin” factory has been attacked, with a request to alert our people.

After we investigated the matter in full haste, it turned out that there was no talk of any attack, but that the Ustashas on their way back shot around the neighbourhood and caused confusion. It seems that these alarming news were staged on purpose, so that one planned action against the said factory could be carried out more easily later.

The fact that only one reason has been decisive in all these actions is clearly shown by the loot brought from all these places to Čelić and even to

Brčko, where the “seized” goods, such as brandy, wine, foodstuffs, etc. could be shared among the population, that is, sold at very low prices.

Here in Brčko, an unusual whisper appears among Croats, as well as among Muslims, which puts the blame for these conditions, unrest and misfortune on the Germans. It is heard: “Is this the famous German order?”, “We expected something better”, etc. Also, after the “Matejček” scandal, questions are heard more often, emphasizing, “why don’t the Germans do something here and help the man in his rights” and “are such conditions desirable for the Germans”, etc. These same circles are increasingly appearing before our local leadership with demands “to do something to get either the German Wehrmacht or a Volksdeutscher unit here, in order to finally put an end to these conditions.”

We hope that the above text has given a clear picture of the situation here, and now we leave it to the district leadership to undertake what it deems appropriate.

Brčko, December 7, 1941

WK.

EXCERPT FROM A REFUGEE'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE CRIME AGAINST THE SERBS IN THE VILLAGE OF ROGULJE, ZRINJ MUNICIPALITY, DVOR NA UNI MUNICIPALITY IN DECEMBER 1941. THEREAFTER, THE SURVIVORS FLED TO THE FOREST.<sup>134</sup>

One refugee states:

In December 1941, 16 Serbs and women were killed in the village of Rogulja,<sup>135</sup> Zrinj<sup>136</sup> Municipality, Dvor na Uni<sup>137</sup> Municipality. The bodies of the living from Rogulj were sawed, the women's legs were cut off to the knees and then they were forced to ride. Some women, on the other hand, had to stand in the Zrinjski River all night, so they died of cold. Those who are still alive from this village have fled to the forest.

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<sup>134</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 40. This is an excerpt of document no. 84 in this book.

<sup>135</sup> Rogulje.

<sup>136</sup> Zrinj or Zrin.

<sup>137</sup> Dvor na Uni District; on the crimes of the Ustashas from Zrinj/Zrin see: D. Korać, *Kordun i Banija*, 132, 452-453.

No. 22

PRESIDENT OF THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL NEDIĆ INFORMS CHIEF OF ADMINISTRATION STAFF TURNER ON DECEMBER 5, 1941, ABOUT THE KILLING OF THE SERBS AND THE BURNING OF THE VILLAGES OF BAČUGA, GLINA DISTRICT, AND THE MASS KILLING AND LOOTING OF NINE SERB VILLAGES FROM GLINA TOWARD KARLOVAC, EMPHASIZING THAT THIS HINDERED THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT ACTION AIMED AT PACIFICATION.<sup>138</sup>

PRESIDENT  
OF THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL

Military Commander of Serbia  
Administration Staff  
Reg. [ister] Nr. 5568/41  
7. XII. 1941<sup>139</sup>

I No. 12879  
Belgrade, 5. XII. 1941.

To  
Chief of Administration Staff  
Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia 140  
Mr.  
State Counselor  
Dr. Harald Turner  
Belgrade

It is by a confidential, completely trustworthy source, that I was told that on the 19<sup>th</sup> of last month, about 1,500 Ustashas, together with 5 armored vehicles that came from Zagreb, occupied the purely Serb village of Bačuga, Glina District, Croatia, and that they completely looted it, and in addition, they also shot 13 Serb peasants right at the beginning of their action.

On the same day, in the vicinity of Glina, nine Serbian villages were completely burned to ashes, the Ustashas herded the population like cattle all together, killed them and then threw the bodies into the torched houses. Even today, semi-charred bodies lie around the burned villages. This area, which was devastated by the Ustashas on that occasion, covers approximately

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<sup>138</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 73.

<sup>139</sup> Stamp of receipt.

<sup>140</sup> Illegible handwritten note, except for the signature Turner and the date 19/12.

90 sq km. The mentioned villages are located along the road from Glina to Karlovac.

Submitting the above to your esteemed knowledge, please, Mr. State Counselor, be kind and advocate that the persecution of domestic Serb elements in Croatia finally be stopped once and for all, because the news about it in Serbia continues to create bad blood and every action of the Serbian government in calming the situation down is thus made difficult, if not impossible.

141

President  
of the Ministerial Council  
General  
Nedić personal signature<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Round stamp of the Ministry of Interior.

<sup>142</sup> Signature: Neditch.

No. 23

ON DECEMBER 27, 1941, PRESIDENT OF THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL NEDIĆ INFORMS CHIEF OF ADMINISTRATION STAFF TURNER ABOUT THE MASS KILLINGS OF SERBS AND THE BURNING OF VILLAGES FROM BRČKO TO TUZLA, AND ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BRČKO, ASKING HIM TO TAKE MEASURES TO STOP THE PERSECUTIONS OF SERBS BY THE CROATIAN AUTHORITIES.<sup>143</sup>

144

PRESIDENCY OF THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL  
No. 1450

Belgrade, December 27, 1941

Subject: Atrocities in Croatia.

Reg. [ister] Nr. 048/41<sup>145</sup>

30. XII 1941

Attachments: 2

For Dr. Weinmann<sup>146</sup>

Chief of Administration Staff at

The Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia,

Mr. State Counselor, SS General

Dr. Harald Turner,

Belgrade.

The Extraordinary Commissioner for Refugees and Migrants submitted the following under Nr. 22969 of 26<sup>th</sup> of this month:

“According to the latest reports from refugees, there is still no end to the atrocities in Croatia. From the attached record of the interrogation of Đorđe Vujnović, you will see that on the Brčko-Tuzla road, all the villages,

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<sup>143</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 69; original. See document no. 22 in this book.

<sup>144</sup> Illegible handwritten note.

<sup>145</sup> Stamp of receipt.

<sup>146</sup> Handwritten note: Dr Weinmann.

which were mostly inhabited by Serbs, were torched and that according to rumors, over 2,000 peasants were killed there.

The Serbian church in Brčko and the Serbian school, built in 1858, were torched and destroyed. In addition, gravestones in the Serbian cemetery were destroyed, and the cemetery is to be plowed by order of the Croatian authorities.

I would like to inform you of this report, if you would be kind enough to use your powerful influence with the authorities in charge to stop further persecution of the Serbs in Croatia.”

By submitting a translated transcript of the said minutes, I have the honor to ask you, if you would be kind enough to take urgent measures to prevent oppression and persecution of the unprotected Serb population in Croatia and mass killings and massacres by the Croatian authorities in the future.

President of the Ministerial Council  
Colonel General,  
Nedić personal signature<sup>147</sup>

One attachment.

148

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<sup>147</sup> Signature: Neditch.

<sup>148</sup> The document is authenticated by a round stamp of the Presidency of the Ministerial Council, in German.

## No. 24

MINUTES WITH THE STATEMENT BY ĐORĐE VUJNOVIĆ FROM OBUDOVAC, DECEMBER 22, 1941, ABOUT THE FORCED CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM AND KILLING OF SERBS IN BRČKO, ABOUT THE MASS KILLINGS OF SERB CIVILIANS IN THE VILLAGES BETWEEN TUZLA AND BRČKO AND ABOUT THE KILLING OF ALL JEWS IN BRČKO.<sup>149</sup>

### Minutes

of December 22, 1941

made at the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrants in Belgrade.

Present VUJNOVIĆ Đorđe, a native of Brlog, Otočac District, 33 years old, now escaped from Obudovac, where he was the municipal treasurer, states:

“On the night of December 2, all Serb men were arrested in Brčko and taken to Gunja. There, they were requested to convert to the Catholic faith. About 300 of them were brought in, where they were physically abused by the Ustasha authorities who were sent from Zagreb to Brčko. All those who did not consent to the conversion were detained in Gunja Prison, and the rest were taken back to Brčko. Representatives of these 200 arrested Serbs went to the district chief and reported to him that they were ready to convert to Catholicism, after which they could return to their homes.

The same night, that is, on December 2, 1941, a five-member family of Luka Gojković was slaughtered on the pontoon bridge between Brčko and Gunja, and the bodies were thrown into the Sava river. Three days later, the Orthodox church was demolished by the Ustasha authorities and the Muslim scum and Gypsies, the Orthodox cemetery was also devastated, and all the gravestones were smashed.

In late November, all Serb villages on the road between Tuzla and Brčko were set on fire by the Croatian army, allegedly because the population provided refuge to Chetniks operating in Mount Majevisa and farther inland in Bosnia. On this occasion, a large number of inhabitants were deprived of life, mostly children and weak old people, who were no longer able to escape to the forests in time. The Serbian church in the village of Brezovo Polje was also destroyed.

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<sup>149</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 70-71; translation from Serbian.

In connection with what has been said above, I would also like to add that all Serbs who did not give their consent to convert to Catholicism were taken from Brčko to the unknown, and nothing more is known about their fate.

On December 17 of this year, Mr. Većeslav Montani, the district chief, summoned to Brčko 20 people from each Serbian village in the Municipality of Obudovac and told them that they had to decide within 8 days whether they wanted to convert to the Catholic faith or not. On this occasion, the gendarmerie commander, whose name I do not know, informed the people present that they had to choose between three things: either to convert to Catholicism, or to be expelled, or to flee to the forests, but in case they fled to the forest, their villages would be torched and all the people found in the houses would be killed.

I know that all these people are determined not to accept the Catholic faith, even at the cost of their lives.

In all these persecutions and acts of terror against the Serbs, both in Brčko and in the whole district, the following men stood out: Marko Tubić, the warden of the camp<sup>150</sup> in Brčko, who had lived there before, Rašif, a Muslim from Brčko, a postal clerk named Dane Babić, Bačić Ante, senior district clerk, the lawyer Dr. Cebalo, the merchant Ilija Reba.

These were the main ringleaders and perpetrators of the persecution of the Serbs.

In addition, I would like to add that on December 12, 1941, 300 Jews from Brčko, i.e. all the Hebrews in Brčko, were slaughtered and thrown into the Sava river. They were all killed with knives.<sup>151</sup>

As the municipal treasurer in Obudovac, I had to flee, because I found out that I had been denounced to the authorities in Brčko that I was carrying out propaganda among the people so that no one would convert to the Catholic faith.

Based on the municipal pass – permit, I reached Zemun unhindered, and from there by boat to Belgrade.

Please consider me a refugee.

Completed:

Interview conducted by: Minute taker

Branko Vukdragović	Stana Tepavac	Đorđe M. Vujnović
place for the stamp	place for the stamp	place for the stamp

<sup>150</sup> Head of the district (*kotar*) Ustasha organization, *logornik*.

<sup>151</sup> See: E. Tauber, *Holokaust u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, 2014, 217-220.

No. 25

ON JANUARY 6, 1942, A MAJOR FROM THE ADMINISTRATION STAFF IN SERBIA SUBMITS TO SS MAJOR BEISNER IN ZAGREB THE REPORT OF PRIME MINISTER NEDIĆ FOR THE COMMANDER IN SERBIA, WITH A REQUEST TO CHECK THE ALLEGATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.<sup>152</sup>

Ustasha atrocities<sup>153</sup>

Reg. [ister] Nr. 206/41. VB Ma.

Belgrade, January 6, 1942

For  
Liaison Officer of the Commander in Serbia  
at the German Embassy in Zagreb,  
SS Major Beisner,  
Zagreb.

Sent on 6. 1. 42<sup>154</sup>

Subject: Report of Prime Minister Nedić to the Commander in Serbia  
Reference: none  
Attachments: 1

The following attachment is a report that General Nedić submitted to State Counselor Turner.  
State Counselor Turner requests that the allegations are checked.  
We ask to receive another report again, as soon as possible.

For the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia  
Chief of Administration Staff  
by order of<sup>155</sup>  
SS major

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<sup>152</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 72.

<sup>153</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>154</sup> Stamp of dispatch.

<sup>155</sup> Initials.

EXCERPT FROM THE REPORT OF CAPTAIN HÖFFNER FROM THE OFFICE OF THE GERMAN GENERAL IN ZAGREB, DATED JANUARY 8, 1942, ON THE SITUATION IN THE CROATIAN CONCENTRATION CAMP JASENOVAC.<sup>156</sup>

Excerpt from the report of Captain Arthur Höffner on the situation in the Croatian concentration camp Jasenovac dated 8 January 1942.

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A doctor who is employed in this camp describes the situation there as infernal. The camp is located in the floodplain of the Sava river and it accommodates about 10,000 people, of whom 100 die every day from exhaustion and disease.

People have lice, they are dirty and as a daily ration of food they often get only one potato. The internees are treated inhumanely and the only thing they want is quick death.

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<sup>156</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 62.

No. 27

STATEMENT OF A SERB FROM PAKRAC WHO ESCAPED FROM THE JASENOVAC CAMP, I.E. STARA GRADIŠKA, AFTER BEING DETAINED FROM THE END OF DECEMBER 1941 UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF JANUARY 1942.<sup>157</sup>

L. III<sup>158</sup>

12 May 1942

Hz/Br. – 539

15/5

VB of K.<sup>159</sup>

160

III A for GA

(atrocities)

TRANSLATION

My life in the clutches of the Ustashas from December 23, 1941 to January 15, 1942.

The journey to the Jasenovac camp, life in the Jasenovac camp, the Stara Gradiška penitentiary and my escape from it.

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On 23.12. at 11 pm, the Ustashas knocked on my window and told me that I had been arrested on the orders of their officers.<sup>161</sup> I got up and two Ustashas and one policeman, Marko Kobetić, took me to a gathering place in the warehouses. Other arrested men were also here, the Serb inhabitants

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<sup>157</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2 (519-530), translation from Serbian; AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2 (531-535), original. The document was published in translation from German and was compared with the original. See document number 59 in this book.

<sup>158</sup> L. III, head (*Leiter*) of the III Department (Security Service, *Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) in the Police Operational Group (EG Sipo-SD), from the end of January 1942 in the institution of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade, i.e. in Serbia (BdS). SS Major Hans Rexeisen was at the head of Department III.

<sup>159</sup> V.B. is abbreviation for liaison officer/commander (*Verbindungsführer/Befehlshaber*) which was the official designation of SS Major Weinmann. And the initials with the date 15/5 are probably his.

<sup>160</sup> On the original handwritten note in translation: Atrocities of Croats in Croatia. It is further unclear. The following are the marks of the case handler, section III A in the BdS institution. The scope of work of the Department included law, administration and internal policy.

<sup>161</sup> In the original: “*po naređenju satnika*” (“by order of the captain”).

of Pakrac. The picking up lasted until 4 o'clock in the morning. Of the arrested Serbs, I know of the following by name:

Blagojević Mihajlo, merchant	
Štulić Jovo	" Vučković, tax clerk
Marković Pajo	" Vučković Nikola, mun. [icipal] treas. [urer]
Marković Vlado	" Tomić Branko
Marković Braco, student	Lončar Vlado, forest ranger
Marković Bibe	Ilić Vlado, judge
Todorović Kosta, butcher	Sudar Gavro, landowner
Todorović Milan	" Lukić Mile,
Utješinović Jovo,	a peasant from Koreničani
Radić Đuro, tailor	Mišćević Božo, pensioner
Milaković Jovo	" Mišćević Rade, teacher
Orozović Lazar	" Kovačević Dušan, tailor
Pokrajac Stanko, fin.[ancial] clerk	Todorović Ico, butcher
Šepelj Mane, fin.[ancial] clerk	Pavlović Jovo, shoemaker
Gavrilović Lazar, pensioner	Vukašinović Vukašin, clerk
Šušnjar Lazar, pensioner	Bosanac Vaso, landowner
Blanuša Nikola, merchant	BANJA LIPIK
Vukobradović Ljubomir, innkeeper	Divjak Joco, hotel keeper
Mirković Raden landowner	Radaković, blacksmith
Ugrica landowner	Radaković, landowner
Bjelic Nikola, surveyor	Radaković, "
Suvajdžić Nikola, electrician	Vrhovac Stevo, miller
Šakić Luka, pensioner	Dakić Stevo, landowner
Labus Marko, landowner	Dakić Pero, landowner
Labus,	" Dakić Mišo,
Savić Ranko, merchant	" Dakić (father),
Blanuša Đuro, coppersmith	Arbutina Simo, muni.[cipal] notary
Hinić Nikola, pensioner	Kovačević, innkeeper
Bogojević Nikola, landowner	Mirković, innkeeper
Orozović Đuro, tailor	Vukmirović Todor, pensioner
Krlić Mirko, court clerk	

On the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup> at 6:30 the door of the warehouse where we were imprisoned opened and several Ustashas with chains entered. They asked us who tried to escape during the arrest. Two men answered, Šepelj Mane

and Radić Đuro, who were tied with chains and went to the train station with the others. We walked in rows of four and were followed by almost all the inhabitants of Pakrac, armed, with weapons at the ready, together with the Ustashas. The night was clear and terribly cold with frost. Of those arrested, only four had their own blankets, while the rest did not have these because they had been told they were only going to be interrogated. We reached the station, where we boarded a freight car and were transported to Lipik. Several arrested Serbs from Lipik came into our car. There were exactly 74 persons in it. Then we were taken to Nova Gradiška. It was very difficult for the older people, because they could not sit down and had to stand all the way. We arrived in Nova Gradiška at 10 o'clock in the morning, and then we were lined up in front of the car in pairs. At first it was not clear to us why we were placed in front of the car. It was the evening before Christmas, so we believed that a lot of people gathered at the train station because of that. However, one could see that the locals had been informed about our arrival. The day before, there was a combat between Ustashas and Partisans<sup>162</sup> in the wider vicinity of Pakrac, during which several Ustashas from Gradiška were killed. To appease the residents and families of the dead, they were told that many Partisans had been captured.<sup>163</sup> In order to prove that, they arrested Serb residents from Pakrac and Lipik and brought them to the station in Gradiška, where people were told that we were the captured Partisans. At the head of our group was an invalid without one leg and one arm. When the citizens saw him, they asked him if he was also in the forest, to which the Ustasha replied: "You believe that if someone does not have arms or legs, he does not have a tongue and cannot be in the forest?" A similar case happened with Milan Todorović, who was recognized by a townsman and asked: "You were in the forest too? You didn't have anything smarter to do?" To which Milan replied, "Don't be crazy, we were all taken from our beds."

When he said that, the Ustasha struck him on the head with the butt. It was clear to all of us why we were in Nova Gradiška. After being set up for an hour, we boarded the train car again. The route now led to Jasenovac, "the Serbian cemetery" or, as the Croats themselves call it, "the death camp", or rather "the metropolis of Croatian culture". We arrived in Jasenovac on December 24 at around 4.30 and remained closed without food and water until half past 9.

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<sup>162</sup> In original: "*šumskih*" ("forest men").

<sup>163</sup> In original: "*da su ti ljudi pohvatani u šumama*" („that those men had been caught in the woods”).

On December 25, at half past nine, the real Golgotha and our suffering began. The Ustashas came and opened the railcar. These were Ustashas from the Jasenovac camp, who took us over from the Ustashas from Nova Gradiška. We left the station in rows of two to the Catholic church and from there to Ozren Bačić's brickyard, where the Jasenovac camp is located. On the way from the station, 30 Ustashas escorted us. The inhabitants of the part of Jasenovac earlier settled by the Serbs who no longer live there and have been replaced by Croats, stood in front of Serbian houses and mocked us with the most insulting words. We entered the camp.

The camp consists of two parts. The first part consists of the brickyard and a sawmill<sup>164</sup>. The Ustashas call this part "prijavka"<sup>165</sup>. The second part, which extends behind the first, is bounded on one side by a wire fence, and on the other by the Sava river and one sandbar. In the second part, a two meters high embankment was erected. This embankment appears to have been erected for fear of flooding. The soil for the embankment was taken from the camp and the camp itself looks like a cauldron. In front of the embankment, 7 little houses were built on pillars with mounted machine guns and permanent guard. Escape from the camp was absolutely impossible. People lived in barracks that were so precisely built that rain and snow could easily pass through their construction. As the rain fell in the fall, water that could not drain away accumulated, and in order for people not to lie in the water itself, the boards had to be placed two fingers apart. There used to be straw on the boards, but when we arrived, there was only straw dust through which one could see the frozen boards. Poor and innocent Serbs spent their last hours in life there only because they are called Serbs, and had to feel the thousand-year-old culture of the treacherous Croatian nation.

We arrived in double rows and stood in front of the office of the former company. We stood there for a few minutes and then an Ustasha under the name "Ljuba the First Lieutenant" came. He stood in front of us, looked at us all and shouted angrily: "Don't they know that there are more camps in Croatia other than Jasenovac, and do they think that I have to kill all the Serbs." He then said that everyone had to hand over whatever they had with them, except clothes and shoes. Two Ustashas came with a basket and started collecting the handed things and money. Other Ustashas with rifles and two machine guns were standing around us. When it was over, Ljuba said: "Did you hand everything over? If I find a single kuna or something, a

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<sup>164</sup> In original: "*i lančare*" ("and chain factory").

<sup>165</sup> Reception/check-in desk. – *Subeditor's note*.

bullet will follow.” There was silence and no one said a word. Every further moment was harder, and the cold was getting stronger and stronger. Two by two were searched, they had to strip themselves naked. Jovan Štulić was found with 10 kunas, which he himself did not know about, but he was punished. During that time, the Ustashas drank brandy brought by a Jew<sup>166</sup> who constantly poured it for them. When the search was over, Ljuba said the following: “The Chetniks sent to me the message that I should roast for them a black billy goat for Christmas, and look, they sent me such beautiful roasts.” The Ustashas were still drinking, and to us every minute was getting heavier and we were terrified. Ljubo jumped on it, his hair fell over his eyes, his hat was down on his forehead and he shouted: “Who is a lawyer here?” Mr. Ilić Vladimir, head of the court in Pakrac responded. “Step forward!” When he stepped forward, he asked the man: “How many Croats have you sentenced to death?!” The answer followed: “I am not a county judge, but a district judge. I have judged according to the law and justice.” To this, Ljuba said: “You condemned many of our Croat brothers and drove them to their deaths.” He took his carbine and called him to stand in front of the brick pillar that was in front of all of us, and aimed at him. As the man had not taken off his coat and glasses, he ordered him to take them off, raised his rifle and fired at him 3 times, at which point the man dropped down. The first victim fell and the impression made on us was indescribable. Then two young people came and asked if anyone from Lika was among us. They all responded, including:

Šepelj Mane  
Pokrajac Stanko  
Mirković Rade  
Šakić Luka  
Labus Marko  
Šušnjar  
Labus junior

They were all called to step out of the line. When they arrived in front of us, two by two of the wretched men were taken into a circle of six Ustashas. The first two were Šepelj and Pokrajac, who entered the circle of six Ustashas and were stabbed with knives approximately 40 cm long, until they dropped dead with utmost moaning. Their calls for help were indescribable and their

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<sup>166</sup> In original: “Židov”.

last words were addressed to their wives and children. In the same way, the other named above were killed. When this was happening, three Ustashas came, scrutinized us and chose 11 people they liked:

Todorović Kosta	a man from Lipik
Gavrilović Lazar	Mirković,
Bogojević Đuro	innkeeper from Lipik
Krlić Mirko	Dakić from Lipik, I don't know which one
Lukić	
Kovačević from Lipik	
a peasant from Koreničani	

Like the preceding group, these men had to take off their coats and stay in their shirts when they [the Ustashas – Translator's note] started cutting the necks with knives. They did this with greatest skill, from which it could be concluded that they had enough practice in this business. Of these men, Kosta Todorović was not slaughtered well enough, and at his great request, the Ustasha refused to finish him off, and a doctor came from the infirmary and put iodine on his severed neck and applied an adhesive bandage. But not even 10 minutes passed when another Ustasha came, who wanted to slaughter him by force. This time the pleas did not help and he was completely slaughtered. All these slaughtered people were lying on a pile in front of us. We all had to watch and laugh and every one of us was scrutinized thereby. There was a remark about Divjak Joca and he was immediately pulled out of the line. The poor man saw what was awaiting him and, praying, he said that he was related to a sub-prefect. The Ustasha replied: "This is the kind we need." He had to take off his coat and shirt, lie down on the already slaughtered men and show with his hand where his heart is. Then one Ustasha sat on his head, another one on his legs and two on his arms and they took out his heart. The Ustasha who took out his heart, licked the knife and said that the Serbian blood was sweet. Blanuša Đuro and four others, who could not watch, were also slaughtered. At that, Lieutenant Ljuba told us: "You have been saved, you have been pardoned by the Supreme Leader." An Ustasha named Slobodan,<sup>167</sup> who was the warden of the Serbi-

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<sup>167</sup> Slobodan Micić from Janja near Bijeljina, see: A. Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945*. Dokumenta, Vol. 1, Beograd, Jasenovac: Narodna knjiga, Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 1986, 220; I. Goldstein, *Jasenovac*, Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2019, 233, 236-238.

an part of the camp, approached and took us to another part of the camp. It is a real tomb of the living. When we arrived, we stood in that cold until the evening in small groups in front of the barracks. The scariest picture was provided to us by our friend Sima Arbutina, a notary, a tall man with brown hair, whose hair turned completely gray after these horrible scenes. The next day, the poor notary went insane. At around 6 in the evening, they forced us into a barrack with the other detainees. The barracks were made for 200 people, but this evening there were 526 people inside. So we remained throughout my stay in the camp.

The first night, between the 25<sup>th</sup> and the 26<sup>th</sup>, passed in peace. It was most difficult for M. Blagojević, who was ill and weak from the journey and was constantly asking for water. There was no drinking water in the camp at all. Whoever was thirsty, took the snow. The snow was also used for washing. The 26<sup>th</sup> or second day of Catholic Christmas passed peacefully in the camp itself, but there were killings at the entrance like on the first day. All day long, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., we stood outside watching the old detainees of the camp clean up lice, which were plentiful in the camp. The day was terribly cold. To our great surprise, the old detainees of the camp showed no interest in life outside the camp. This is no wonder, because after two days I saw that, apart from those who were set aside for special work, ordinary detainees in the camp could spend a maximum of 1 month and a half in such circumstances. During my stay in the camp, my diet was as follows: nothing in the morning, water with a little corn flour at noon, bitter without salt and fat, potato soup without potatoes in the evening. We got 5 dcl at noon and 4 dcl in the evening of such food. I can also emphasize that there was no bread during all the time.

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, a group of 80 people from the vicinity of Banja Luka arrived, who were immediately tied and driven to a field outside the camp, where they had to sing. The dead were buried there and they were all killed there with mallets. For us detainees, that day passed in peace. On the 27<sup>th</sup>, 80 of us from the camp were assigned to dig graves and bury those who had been killed the day before. That field was about the size of one jutro<sup>168</sup> and was full of grave holes. The holes were wide for two people and long for 10 people. Digging would be done until water emerged, usually after depth of 2 m. The dead were placed inside with their feet facing each other, while the next row lay with their heads facing each other. So the dead were put inside

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<sup>168</sup> Approximately, an acre. – *Subeditor's note.*

and trampled so as to make more room. They were put inside naked. There was a space of approximately 40-50 cm above to be covered with earth. The graves didn't have their edges so you wouldn't know where each one was. The graves were separated from each other by the length of one spade. While we were returning to the camp, we saw that the Ustashas were taking out two bodies from the Sava river, they were Ustashas, which is why 75 people were taken from our camp the next day. We couldn't lie down that night or the previous one because there was no room.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> we got up as usual to work. New barracks were erected. I hear that according to the plan, 40 barracks were to be built, but only 9 were built. 75 people from our barracks were chosen that day, tied up and brought in front of a barn where they were killed with mallets. These were the victims for the two Ustasha corpses mentioned earlier.

The 29<sup>th</sup> passed in peace and the 75 people who were killed the day before were buried. The night passed easier for us, because there were fewer people and it was easier to stand and there was less depression. I consider it my duty to state this observation here as well. On the same evening, Jovo Štulić, a merchant from Pakrac, said in front of me, and I believe in front of Nikola Zjalić or Jovo Milaković, that in case anyone leaves here alive, he would leave his entire property to his brother's children, because his wife who is a Croat was to blame for all this, that he was here in the camp.

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, due to cold and hunger, some people could not go to work. There were 130 of them who did not go to work and did not leave the barracks, and because of that they were killed in the following way: at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Ustashas came and drove everyone out of the barracks. Those who could not walk because of weakness or because their legs were swollen were beaten dead in front of the barracks. The others, who were able to walk, were tied with wire, driven to the front of a barn and beaten dead with mallets. They were hit on the temple with the mallets. The next day they were buried where everyone else was. From Pakrac among them were the following, whom I remember:

M. Blagojević,  
Štulić Jovo  
Hinić Nikola  
Marković Vlada  
Bosanac Vaso  
Vukmirović Todor

Vučković Nikola  
Ranko Savić (father)  
Malešević Mile

the latter had been in Koprivnica and told me the following: From Koprivnica they took us first to Gospić, from Gospić to Jadovna.<sup>169</sup> We stayed in Jadovna for a month. One morning they tied us two by two with a thick wire, and in the middle they tied everyone again with a wire and they drove them so, as they said, somewhere to Mt. Velebit. There were about 4,000 people in this party. I don't know what happened to those people, but the Ustashas boasted that they had killed them like this: twenty people were brought to the abyss, tightly tied with wire, then killed with mallets, and when the first ten gathered together, they would pull the others into the abyss and so our poor Serbs left their bones in Mt. Velebit. The 500 survivors were sent to Gospić, from there to a place near Karlovac, and from there 3 came to Jasenovac: Professor Mudrić, his son and me, Mile Malešević. Many of us from Pakrac and Lipik were killed in this party, but I do not know their names. So that day passed and we had even more place to sleep. For the first time that night, we were able to stretch out. It was our first lying position since the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup>.

The 31<sup>st</sup> 12/41 and 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>/I 42 were calm and without killing, we just had to work from morning to night in indescribable cold. Those were terrible days. Our legs were swelling and people were simply thinning from hunger.

On the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup>, we were all called in front of the office, and that is where the selection of the men who were to go to Stari Jasenovac for some so-called brushing started. Tailors and shoemakers were selected for Stara Gradiška, and the rest were kept in the camp. We heard about the first ones, those envisaged for the so-called brushing, from a Jew, who was like an Ustasha, that they, like the previous ones, were killed. Among them from Pakrac were the following:

Miscević Rade  
Blanuša Nikola  
Todorović Milan  
Utješinović  
Ugrica

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<sup>169</sup> Jadovno.

Vučković, t.[ax] clerk  
Tomić Branko  
and all others who will not be named afterwards.

From Pakrac, the following were chosen for Stara Gradiška:

Orozović Lazo	Radić Đuro
Orozović Đuro	Kovačević Dusan
Milaković Jovo	Pavlović Jovo
Sudar Gajo	

On the 5<sup>th</sup> at around 10 o'clock in the morning, we were taken to the Jasenovac station, from there to Okučani, and from there on foot to Stara Gradiška. As we were passing through the village of Novi Varoš, where Đuro Radić was born and where his parents lived, he begged for some bread being brought by his family, but the Ustashas said that whoever brought him bread would die.

Of those from Pakrac in the Jasenovac camp, the following survived:

Marković Pajo	Suvajdžić Nikola
Marković Braco	Todorović Ico
Marković Bibe	Vrhovac Stevo
Zjalić Niko	Vukobradović Ljubomir
Lončar Vlado	

We arrived in Stara Gradiška at 9 o'clock in the evening, and we had not got anything to eat during the whole day. When we arrived, we asked and got some potato soup. Here, like in Jasenovac, we did not get bread. The food was the same as in the camp itself. The only change was that we lay in rooms and got straw. We did different jobs here, but we did not sew as we had been assigned in Jasenovac, but we carried wood, threw snow and garbage and performed various jobs. Work outside the penitentiary was allowed only to the Jews those who were emigrants, who did not speak our language. Exceptionally, local Jews were also allowed to work outside the penitentiary if necessary. Fortunately for us, Mrs. Radić managed to send a package of bacon and sausages through one soldier. There was a Jew there who gave assignments to work, so when the package arrived, Radić also gave that Jew some bacon and sausages, for he has had the same food as we had. It was

self-evident that this had a background, since we were constantly thinking about escaping. And we succeeded in that.

On January 15<sup>th</sup>, at our request, we were assigned to work outside the penitentiary. Work was done on loading potatoes and cloth in Okučani. Therefore, one convenient opportunity to escape was there. We were so weak and lacking strength that we were afraid that, once given an opportunity to flee, we would not have enough strength. We came to the station in Okučani, started working and around 10 o'clock Milaković Jovo and I noticed, without a previous agreement, that Radić Đuro was not there and we got very frightened that we would be shot dead. Somewhat later, the Ustashas noticed that they did not pay enough attention to us, because when we arrived in Okučani, a Croat Ustasha commented that he knew us, that we were decent and honest people and that he did not know why we were imprisoned. When the Ustashas noticed that Radić was not there, they said that they would find and shoot him (swearing words not missing). When the work was finished and we left for Gradiška, there was a big crowd at the very entrance and fortunately many Ustashas and soldiers were coming from a combat somewhere. Our Ustashas had a conversation with the newcomers about the events and we took the opportunity. I sent Milaković to ask a peasant for bread, and he got into the sleigh just as the peasant was leaving. When I saw that, I froze completely, because I didn't think that Milaković would leave. I had no choice. Our Ustashas did not pay any attention to us, I jumped into the station building and started to run towards Novska. When I crossed the railroad switch, I turned and continued to walk along the main road in the direction of Lipik. I came under Bela Stena<sup>170</sup> and slept in a peasant's home, and from there, as I knew the surroundings well, being a hunter, I continued to Brusnik, a place located in the Papuk mountain above Pakrac. I stayed there with my customers for a while, until I recovered and from there I went to the vicinity of my hometown. After 3 months, I finally managed to escape from the damned clutches of the Ustashas as if I had been the greatest of bandits and not an innocent and honest Serb, and I have managed to save my bare life in the happy and blessed Mother Serbia.

B 700 – 701<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Bijela Stijena, village in Mt. Psunj near Okučani. – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>171</sup> Coded name of the Commissioner.

COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES MAKSIMOVIĆ SUBMITS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN ON JANUARY 15, 1942, A STATEMENT BY JULKA ŠKARA FROM TOPUSKO, ABOUT THE CRIMES OF THE USTASHA AUTHORITIES.<sup>172</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY  
COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION  
OF REFUGEES

<sup>173</sup>

Ustasha<sup>174</sup>

Nr. 1046

Belgrade, January 15, 1942

CABINET L/L

Subject: Questioning

JULKA ŠKARA from Topusko

Dear Mr. Commissioner!

Attached, I am sending You 2 minutes relating to the interrogation of JULKA ŠKARA from Topusko/Croatia, illustrating inhumane acts and numerous massacres by the Ustasha authorities.

With special respect  
EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ<sup>175</sup>  
Toma Maksimović personal signature

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<sup>172</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 76.

<sup>173</sup> Unclear note.

<sup>174</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>175</sup> Until the war, Toma Maksimović was the director of the *Bata* factory in Borovo. After the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia, he was arrested, but managed to arrive in Serbia, where he organized work on taking care of refugees. S. C. Čirković, *Ko je ko u Nedićevoj Srbiji 1941-1944. Leksikon ličnosti. Slika jedne zabranjene epohe*, Beograd: Prosveta, IPS, 2009, 305.

<sup>176</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees in German.

## 2 Attachments

To Mister  
Dr. Weinmann,  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

No. 29

STATEMENT OF JULKA ŠKARA FROM TOPUSKO, GIVEN ON JANUARY 5, 1942 AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES, ABOUT THE CRIMES OF THE USTASHA AUTHORITIES.<sup>177</sup>

MINUTES  
of January 5, 1942.

Composed at the Commissariat for Relocation and Protection  
of Refugees in Belgrade.

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Mrs. ŠKARA JULKA, an innkeeper from Topusko, Vrginmost District, widow of the late STANKO ŠKARA, 42 years old, mother of two children, now in Belgrade – Ulica kralja Ferdinanda no. 19, stated the following:

With my late husband Stanko Škara, I ran a restaurant in Topusko called “Janje”.

On May 23, 1941, my husband, along with 10 other citizens in Topusko, was arrested by the Ustashas. These were: Dr. Vurdelja Branko doctor, Vorkapić Jovo restaurant owner, Vujošević Milutin merchant, Bijelić Nikola innkeeper, Popović Pero farmer, Škara Nikola baker, Obradović Matija innkeeper, Vorkapić Stoja farmer and merchant, Bastajić Pajo retired professor and Mamuzić Ilija farmer.

In addition to the above, another 25 prominent Serbs from the Topusko area were arrested. On the same day, all 36 arrested Serbs were taken by truck to Vrginmost. Here they were kept in prison for 3 days and then taken to Sisak where they remained for 11 days. They were taken from Sisak to Petrinja, where they remained in prison for 9 days. They were abused in the Petrinja police prison and were also beaten by Ustasha children (aged 8-10). The children alternated in these evildoings. They spent the whole 9 days in Petrinja. One day at night, they were taken from Petrinja in the direction of Sisak, from where all trace of them is lost. From the Ustasha Krpan Dujo, who worked as a driver, I learned that from Petrinja they were all taken by car to the “Brezovića” forest, near Sisak and then killed.

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<sup>177</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 66-68, translation from Serbian.

After the death of my husband, I ran my own restaurant in Topusko. Every day, 6 Ustashas would come to my restaurant and I had to feed them for free. Apart from them, there were other Ustashas whom I also had to feed.

All these Ustashas, fed by me for free all the time, came from the area of Topusko and from Topusko itself. Among them was Longer Đuro, a farmer from a Croatian village near Topusko. I know the others only by their appearance, their names are unknown to me, the only thing I remember is that two of these Ustashas came from Vranovina and the other two from the Staro Selo near Topusko. Londer<sup>178</sup> Đuro took away 4,000 dinars of cash, 3 pieces of gold rings, 1 pair of gold earrings and one gold chain for a watch. I begged him to compensate me for taking away the valuables, to which he boldly replied that I should thank God that my head remained on my shoulders.

During this time, the Ustasha Zvinščak from Zagreb came to my inn several times. His baptismal name is unknown to me. He brought other Ustashas to my inn, whom I had to feed for free. As he entered the inn, he came up to me with a bayonet attached to his rifle and led me from one thing to another that I had to hand over to him. The mentioned Zvinščak was one of the most bloodthirsty. One of the most horrific acts he committed, among others, was to put mothers and children in a line and then kill them all with a single bullet.

In that way, his victims were Joka Roknić with her two children and one of her relatives with one child. He took these victims to a nearby forest called "Kose", and shot them all there. When Joka Roknić saw that he wanted to shoot her, she begged him to shoot her two small children as well, so that they would not be left to their own fate, to which he replied that he would not comply with her request. He said that these children must live only in order to be exposed to torture and suffering. The father of these children had previously been killed in the Serbian church in Glina.

On July 2 or 3, 1941, the Ustashas arrested all Serbs living in Topusko. I was present among those arrested. We were all imprisoned in the Serbian church. I was locked up in the parish house. At the same time, the Ustashas arrested peasant women and peasants from the surrounding Serb villages, and they were all imprisoned together with us in Topusko. Houses and homes were all devastated, furniture and livestock taken away. We stayed imprisoned there for 3 days. At night, young women and girls were gathered

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<sup>178</sup> Longer.

in the parson's barn and raped there by the Ustashas. Thus, every night, Miss Branka, the daughter of the previously murdered Dr. Vurdelja, was taken away and raped. She might have been 17 years old. She was raped by the Ustasha officer Karlič Đorđe. He was allegedly an officer of the former Yugoslav army and thus came to Zagreb. In addition to the above, many other young women and girls were raped. I know for sure that girls were raped then, with the surname Batalo, whose baptismal names I do not know. All these girls are from Topusko.

That same night, the Serbs were taken to the Orthodox church and killed there. In the church in Topusko, the following were killed by the Ustashas: Škundrić Ilija, a merchant from Topusko, Prentović Miloš, a gendarmerie non-commissioned officer from Topusko, Kordić Milutin, a farmer from Topusko, and both of his sons, whose names I do not know. A non-commissioned officer named Nikola, a native of Bosnia, who wanted to travel to Bosnia via Topusko, was also killed in the church in Topusko. The farmer Nikola Kordić from Topusko, aged 78, died the same way. Due to his advanced age, he could not come to the church on his own, which is why he was brought in a cart. In addition to these, the Ustashas slaughtered another 15-16 boys aged 14-18 in the church. For example, Zlokas Dušan, son of Simo from Topusko, 14 years old. I can't name the others, but I knew all the boys by sight. We, who were imprisoned in a farm house, witnessed the terrible cries that could be heard from the church.

After this horrific murder, the Ustashas completely destroyed the Serbian church in Topusko. The church was destroyed by the wall painter Malinac Mato from Topusko, who received a reward of 30,000 dinars for this; he transported the material from the devastated church to his house.

We, the remaining 68 people, were taken from Topusko to Petrinja and there we were placed in the warehouse of the Tenzer joinery factory, where we stayed for only 2 months. In Petrinja, the Ustasha officer GRGEC put the wind up us. He showed us every day the place where we would be killed and buried. He showed that to our children as well. He assured us that we would all be killed by a blow to the head with a mallet, because it would be a waste to spend bullets on us.

After 2 months, I was released, but only on the condition that I never settle in Topusko again, but in the nearby villages. Under the same condition, several other people from Topusko were released with me. After that, I found an apartment in the village of Gređani near Topusko. After some time, I moved to Topusko with my cousin Marija Gregorić, who is a Croat and of

the Roman Catholic faith. I was with her until December 31, of 1.[ast] y.[ear], after which I traveled to Belgrade via Petrinja and Zagreb. I decided to move to Serbia through persuasion of Kapac Luka, an innkeeper, Ivo Babić, an innkeeper and his brother Stevo Kunić, the manager of the Topusko Spa. They are all Croats, but they are well-disposed to the Serbs and they protected me.

Kapac Luka told me, among other things, that the Ustasha first class lieutenant Grgec had received an order from the Supreme Leader Pavelić that all Serbs in Kordun, given that order could not be established in Bosnia, must be killed. In this way, Kordun would be cleansed. This order is being executed by Nikica Vidaković, the Ustasha commissioner from Glina. He is the commissioner for Glina and the whole surrounding, and above all he takes care that this order is carried out.

Kocman Anton, teacher in Topusko, Briješki Ilija, baker in Topusko, Malinac, wall painter from Topusko, Sanički Đuro, farmer from Hrvatsko Selo near Topusko, Mato, baker from Hrvatsko Selo near Topusko and his brother Đuro (his name is unknown to me) , Putrić Tomo, son of the president of the municipality from Topusko, Briješki Tomo, carpenter from Topusko, Prus Stevo carpenter from Topusko and his brother Slavko, Prus Ivo, tinsmith from Topusko, Longer Đuro farmer from Hrvatsko Selo, Zvinščak Ustasha from Zagreb, Dr . Klimer, a doctor from Topusko, all these people killed the Serbs in Topusko and its vicinity, robbed them and torched their homes. They also raped women and girls.

In the end, I declare that all Serbs from Topusko and the surrounding area had to convert to the Catholic faith under the terrible terror of the Ustasha authorities. Young Serbian women, who were forced to convert to the Catholic faith, had to join the Ustasha ranks and sing Ustasha songs with them, even though all of their homes were looted and even though their fathers and brothers had been killed.

The above minutes have been read to me, and I acknowledge these as my own, which I confirm with my signature.

Interviewed and certified by: Minute taker:  
Đuro J. Rodić, Stana Tepavac,  
place for the stamp place for the stamp

Signature:  
Julka Škara,  
place for the stamp

No. 30

REPORT FROM BRČKO, JANUARY 15, 1942, ON THE MASSIVE ARREST OF MUSLIMS AND OTHER VIOLENCE OF THE DISTRICT CHIEF MONTANI, AS WELL AS ON THE COMMUNISTS' ATTACK ON THE JASENOVAC CAMP.<sup>179</sup>

Ustasha<sup>180</sup>

Subject: Report from Brčko.

Transcript.  
January 15, 1942

Just now, the information arrived that in Brčko, on January 13, 1942, over 300 Muslims were arrested upon the order of District Chief Montani.

The Ustashes announced two reasons for their arrest:

- 1.) because they are communists
- 2.) because they are members of the association "Ismail", which directly or indirectly works to make Bosnia and Herzegovina a free independent state.

Note:

We have already reported that the Ustashes from the Montani's milieu announced that in the Brčko District Chief Montani would first kill Serbs, then Jews, Muslims thereafter, and finally the Volksdeutscher.

[The cases of] the Jews and the Serbs have already been resolved, now the truth of the rumors has been proven including that insofar the Muslims are the target.

January 16, 1942

Just now, the information arrived that District Chief Montani had Muslims arrested as punishment for the Muslims who fled, those he had arrested as communists and sent to work on the roads. When those 300 Muslims

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<sup>179</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2 (the document is not numbered. In the document, it comes after sheet 78).

<sup>180</sup> Handwritten note.

were arrested, Ustashas were standing at every other house in the whole of Brčko.

Note:

Noteworthy is the speech given by Montani's Deputy District Chief in a drunken condition in the New Year's night, wherein he said that, since the Serbs were soon to be done with and the Muslims now had to believe in it, that it would be good if all Muslims converted to the Catholic faith.

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Subject: Jasenovac Concentration Camp. January 9, 1942

According to the Croatian police, 37 communists shot at the Jasenovac camp. Among the communists were some Croats as well as several Hungarians. 2/3 of the communists were killed during the defense, 4 escaped, and the rest were wounded and arrested. According to the statement of the police agents, in this case these were dangerous communists. Several Ustashas were wounded and killed in this attack, too. No one escaped from the camp.

mm.

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript:  
Marschal  
office clerk.

REPORT FROM BRČKO, JANUARY 19, 1942, ON THE KILLING OF THE SERBS FROM FOUR VILLAGES, ON THE SUFFERINGS OF THE IMPRISONED MUSLIMS AND SERBS IN BRČKO, AND ON THE NEW KILLING AND LOOTING OF THE SERBS.<sup>181</sup>

Ustasha<sup>182</sup>

Transcript.  
January 19, 1942

Subject: Report from Brčko.

The Serbs from Gredice<sup>183</sup>, Sandići, Mrtvica have mostly been expelled or killed (even 90-year-olds). Several Croats who moved to Brčko used to live in Gredica. The Serbs from the vicinity of Presovo-Polje<sup>184</sup> also experienced the fate described above.

Of the Muslims we reported on a few days ago, who are in prison in Brčko, many have taken their own lives, and so have some Serbs, of whom 80 to 90 have been arrested in recent days. Since the prisons were full, they were pushed into a shed, which was only covered. Many of them died.

A retired Serbian police officer, named Mitar, appeared before District Chief Montani and asked him to readmit him as a police officer. Formerly of the Greek Orthodox faith, he has now converted to Catholicism. Instead of any answer, he was arrested, beaten, his hands were broken and then his wife was also arrested. It is presumed that they were both killed, because on the 16<sup>th</sup> of this month, the Ustashes broke into their house, broke down the door and took all the inventory.

The Ustashes, who leave Brčko every day at around 9 am, return at 4 pm, always carrying with them loot in large packages, as well as cattle, pigs, etc.

Serbs from Donji [Žabar] and Gornji Žabar, Obudovac, Lončari, are very peaceful and they wrote the following to Ibrahim Gunjevac, a Muslim inn-keeper in Brčko:

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<sup>181</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 78.

<sup>182</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>183</sup> The name used by the locals is Gredica. – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>184</sup> Brezovo Polje.

“We are peaceful, so that the Croatian army as well as the German Wehrmacht can come at any time, but when the Ustashas come, there will be combat.”

The Ustashas are now killing Serbs from certain peasant farms. So these days, they went from Brčko to the entire valley of the river Brezina and killed all Serbs.

Since there is a lack of wood in Brčko, District Chief Montani issued an order that all Serb' forests can be felled. The Turks, Gypsies and Croatian peasants bring fresh logs to Brčko for sale, which is sawn for firewood.

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Confirming the accuracy of the transcript  
Marschal  
office clerk.

LETTER FROM THE SERBS OF JABLANICA TO THE GESTAPO IN SARAJEVO ON JANUARY 19, 1942, IN WHICH THEY SEEK PROTECTION AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PROCLAMATION BY THE USTASHA MILITIA AT KONJIC ON THE COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SERBS FOR ANY ATTACK BY THE INSURGENTS.<sup>185</sup>

Ustasha terror<sup>186</sup>

Transcript.

Jablanica n/N.<sup>187</sup>, January 19, 1942

For  
Gestapo

Sarajevo.<sup>188</sup>

On the occasion of the well-known events in Jablanica on August 3, 1941, only thanks to Your<sup>189</sup> intervention, hundreds of innocent children, women and men, who were to be killed in a horrible way for no reason, were saved at the last moment. However, their murderous intentions were thwarted and prevented. The memory of these days, the speed of Your action, energy and sacrifice on that occasion remain in the indelible memory of all these innocent people, and us, too, because this gesture of Yours is truly unique in the history of humaneness.

Immediately after that, when you left our town, you gave us some advice and instructions on how to proceed. In the first place, this was aimed at

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<sup>185</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 79. See documents nos. 33 and 62 in this book.

<sup>186</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>187</sup> On the Neretva river.

<sup>188</sup> The Sarajevo Gestapo was part of the Operational Command of the Security Police and the Security Service (*Einsatzkommando Sipo-SD*), headed by SS Major (*Sturmbannführer*) Alfred Heinrich. This command was not subordinated to the German police in the Independent State of Croatia, i.e. to the Operational Police Command (EC Sipo-SD) in Zagreb, which was superseded in January 1942 by the institution of Police Attaché Hans Helm. The command in Sarajevo was directly subordinated to the Police Operational Group (EG Sipo-SD) in Serbia, i.e. from January 1942, to the institution of the Police Commander (BdS).

<sup>189</sup> Unlike the English practice, in the Serbian, Croatian and German languages, capital letter is used when addressing another person formally and/or with respect; hence the forms 'You', 'Your' and 'Yours'. – *Subeditor's note.*

fulfilling all our obligations peacefully, to obey the existing laws, to remain loyal and not to leave our homes. In that case – we were told – we can still count on Your protection and contact You at any time.

After Your departure, the situation returned to normal. Everyone – who is aware of today’s difficult circumstances – did their job, everyone obeyed the authorities and their instructions, and there was not a single case of any Greek-Easterns coming into conflict with the law, let alone that a single one of them from these parts, went into the woods and joined the Chetniks or Communists.

The feeling of security and Your protection quickly restored our faith that similar punishments and unfounded reprisals would no longer happen and that they would not apply to us – the Greek-Easterns.

A few days ago, however, the command of the Ustasha Militia<sup>190</sup> in Konjic (December 24, 1941) issued a call, aimed at the Greek-Eastern population of the Konjic District, in which Serbs were warned that for whatever happened in the Konjic District, regardless of the perpetrators, all Serb villages and our property will be torched and the safety of our lives will be called into question.

The issuance of such a proclamation centering only against the Serbs worried and surprised us all, all the more so because no one from our milieu went to the forests. In addition, it is a known fact that among the outlaws from our region there are 65% Muslims, 30% Croats and only 5% Serbs, of whom the latter are those who have long since defected in order to save their lives.

When both of these circumstances are taken into account, as well as the fact that – regardless of the perpetrators – reprisals will be applied only to the Greek-Eastern civilian population, it is clear and obvious that this proclamation is absolutely tendentious and has no preventive character, its goal is to cleanse and destroy the peaceful and honorable Serb population here.

We are convinced that this proclamation was issued on its own initiative by the Ustasha command in Konjic, without the approval and consent of the higher authorities. If this system of reprisals against the civilian population is necessary in order to prevent further actions of outlaws, we will respect this and submit to a higher power and reconcile with our destiny. But is it fair and humane in this case that only loyal, peaceful people without any guilt must suffer?

If one of the civilian population has to be ruined, we want everyone without difference to bear the punishment and the consequences in propor-

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<sup>190</sup> *Ustaška vojnica*, Ustasha army.

tion to the guilt. We do not ask for anything other than to be equal, both before God and before state laws. If we make even the slightest mistake about the existing legal order or contribute to causing unrest, we have nothing against the most severe punishments being applied against us.

Returning to Your promise, that we may turn to You at any time and that we may count on Your protection at every opportunity, we use this precious promise of Yours and ask You to take us under your protection in this matter, to hear our righteous plea and to find an opportunity to prevent the implementation of this proclamation, for which we will be infinitely grateful.

With great respect:

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript:

Marschal

Office clerk.

No. 33

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE USTASHA MILITARY COMMAND IN KONJIC TO THE SERB POPULATION OF THE KONJIC DISTRICT, ON DECEMBER 24, 1941, THAT IN THE EVENT OF SABOTAGE OR MURDER THEY COMMITTED, BOTH THEY AND THEIR PROPERTY WOULD BE DESTROYED.<sup>191</sup>

Ustasha terror<sup>192</sup>

Transcript.

Command of the  
Ustasha Militia<sup>193</sup>  
Konjic.

Konjic, December 24, 1941

Proclamation to the population  
of the Greek-Eastern faith  
in the Konjic District.

Serbs!

This is the last time you are warned not to touch the life and property of either Croats – Catholics and Muslims – or the property of the Independent State of Croatia.

Wherever it happens from now on, if any of you endanger the life and property of Croatia or state property, such as rails, bridges, roads, and the like, or damage or destroy private property, or if any of the Croats – Catholics and Muslims – is attacked or killed by your hand, in all these cases, all Serbian villages and all your property will be torched without mercy and without any consideration and razed to the ground, and all of you will be punished by the Ustasas.

You have been asked countless times, both by the Croatian government and by all Croatian authorities, to remain meekly at your homes and to do

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<sup>191</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 50, translation from Croatian. See documents nos. 32 and 62 in this book.

<sup>192</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>193</sup> *Ustaška vojnica*.

your job peacefully, and the state and all authorities have guaranteed you the safety of your life and property, but all these proclamations and admonitions have remained unsuccessful.

This is the last warning for you, to be careful not to touch the life and property of the Croatian people and state, if you do not want yourself, your families and all your property and possessions to be destroyed.

Ustasha Militia Command<sup>194</sup>

Arrived to Jablanica  
January 12, 1942

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript:  
Marshal  
office clerk.

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<sup>194</sup> Same as previous.

EXCERPT FROM THE REPORT FROM JANUARY 19, 1942 ON THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE INSURGENTS AND THE USTASHAS AND HOME GUARDS IN KOMETNIK, WHICH WAS FOLLOWED BY A MASSACRE OF SERBS FROM KOMETNIK IN VOČIN.<sup>195</sup>

Transcript from a report dated 19 January 1942.

“Serbian settlement Kometnik:

About 1 km away from Vočin<sup>196</sup> stands a chestnut forest, where there is a hay barn belonging to the company Fa SH. Guttmann AG. 150 insurgents hid therein. The Ustashas in Slatina<sup>197</sup> were informed about it, as well as the Home Guards. When the Ustashas were about 50 m in front of the hay barn, machine gun fire was opened on them. Only the Ustashas were shot at, and one was killed and 4 were wounded. The Ustashas and Home Guards retreated while the insurgents were still firing from there, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. After 4 o'clock, they retreated towards Kometnik. There they seized foodstuffs and then retreated back to the mountain ravines.

The next day, the Ustashas appeared in Kometnik, 17 houses were set on fire, among them several barns for hay and stables, and all the men from the municipality were forced to gather. About 250 men, women and children were killed in the garden of the municipal office, who were also arrested and then released again. With 19 sledges, they drove the killed people to the Vičinka river<sup>198</sup>, that is, 500 m away from the Vočin<sup>199</sup> station, where the remaining men and women, some of whom were later released, had to bury the dead, and then the Ustashas took them back to Kometnik. It is not known what happened to these remaining people.”<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 77.

<sup>196</sup> Vočin.

<sup>197</sup> Podravska Slatina.

<sup>198</sup> Unidentified site.

<sup>199</sup> Vočin.

<sup>200</sup> For more on the conflict and the crime, see: M. Radanović, *Slavonijo, triput si gorila...*; *Kotar Podravska Slatina u Drugom svetskom ratu 1941-1945*, Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2019, 141-164.

EXCERPT FROM A REPORT OF JANUARY 19, 1942, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE USTASHAS TOOK AWAY WOMEN AND CHILDREN FROM THE VILLAGE OF LISIČINE AND LOOTED FOOD AND LIVE-STOCK.<sup>201</sup>

Transcript from a report dated 19 January 1942.

„Lisičina<sup>202</sup> settlement:

These days, the Ustashas came to this settlement again, loaded women and children on 30 carts and allegedly took them to Zdenci. This befell the women whose husbands were not at home.

From there, the Ustashas drove a lot of foodstuffs to Osijek, numerous poultry, piglets, lard, etc.”<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2 (the document is not numbered, in the dossier it comes after sheet 77).

<sup>202</sup> Lisičine.

<sup>203</sup> See: M. Radanović, *ibidem*.

No. 36

ON JANUARY 26, 1942, THE COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES SUBMITS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN THE STATEMENT OF A CROAT WOMAN ABOUT THE JASENOVAC CAMP, THE STATEMENT OF VLADO MARKOVIĆ ABOUT THE TERROR AGAINST THE SERBS IN BRČKO, ASKING FOR HELP.<sup>204</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY COMMISSIONER Ustasha<sup>205</sup>  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION OF REFUGEES

Nr. 2003  
Belgrade, 26-I 1942

CABINET L/L

Subject: Terrible situation in the Jasenovac concentration camp and the last Ustasha action of terror in Brčko.

Dear Mr. Commissioner,

Attached, I am sending You a translation of the statement by a woman, Croatian by birth, which describes the state of horror in the Jasenovac concentration camp.

I am also enclosing the minutes of MARKOVIĆ VLADA, which describes the action of terror of the Ustasha authorities in Brčko. They arrested innocent women and children and abused them in an inhumane manner. These abuses are described by a refugee, whose family lived there and who turned to me for help and protection.

I kindly ask You, greatly respected Mr. Commissioner, to be so kind as to free these families from the terrible evil-doing by Your generous intervention, before they are taken to the concentration camp.

All these families are placed in a storehouse that is not heated. Quickest rescue action is therefore necessary, or otherwise all of them will die of cold and hunger.

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<sup>204</sup> AB, 562, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 80.

<sup>205</sup> Handwritten note.

I warmly recommend myself and with the expressions of the greatest respect I sign:

2 Attachments.

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER  
Toma Maksimović, personal signature

To Mister  
Dr. Weinmann,  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner

Belgrade

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<sup>206</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees, in German.

STATEMENT OF A CROAT WOMAN, GIVEN IN BELGRADE ON JANUARY 1, 1941, WHO LEARNED FROM HER RELATIVE, A CROATIAN COLONEL, THAT THE DETAINEES IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP WERE MASSIVELY SUFFERING FROM HUNGER, DISEASE AND THAT THEY WERE BEING KILLED.<sup>207</sup>

On December 31, 1941, after a short stay in Croatia, Mrs. *N.N.*, a Croat by birth, came to Belgrade, she is married to a Serb in Belgrade and lives here permanently. Her wish is that her name is not mentioned because she has a mother and a child in Croatia. She declares:

On December 26, 1941, terrible persecution of Serbs in Slavenska Požega, Pakrac, Nova Gradiška and the surrounding area began again. At night, the Ustashas gathered the Serbs and drove them to a camp in Jasenovac, while the women and children were carted away in an unknown direction. Even those Serbs who converted to the Catholic faith were taken away. One of her relatives, a colonel in the Croatian Armed Forces, told this woman about the conditions in the Jasenovac concentration camp; it was his duty to set up a concentration camp and to inspect it.

He recounts: In the concentration camp in Jasenovac, Serbs are housed in wooden barracks, which are located on wet and damp terrain, so that water is up to their knees. If they lie down, they cannot stay in the water, but stand on their feet all night, and the water reaches their knees. Early at dawn, the Ustashas wake them up with rifle shots, that is, they shoot at them. The one who is hit by a bullet falls dead, and the others drag themselves miserably through the mud, the one who falls into the water is beaten dead by the Ustashas. As long as people can walk, they work on the dam on the Sava and at the same time serve as a bridge for the Ustashas over the mud, in such a way that two pairs of people stand to their chests a few meters away; they have to hold planks on their shoulders, and the Ustashas walk on them like on a bridge. These tortures last all day long, as soon as someone falls as a result of these torments, they are immediately beaten dead or buried alive.

They get only two potatoes a day, and lately only 1 piece. As for the potatoes, everyone gets them as long as the stock of boiled potatoes lasts, as soon as this stock is eaten, no one cares about how many people got nothing.

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<sup>207</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 81.

No one outside the camp is allowed to approach these detainees, let alone the one who would like to deliver something to them. People are in torn clothes and barefoot; if someone wore better clothes, everything was taken away from him, even before he came to the camp. In addition, there was an epidemic of typhus. Patients with typhus are thrown into a special barrack, where they are left to their fate without food and without medicines until death occurs.

According to this colonel, even the strongest and healthiest people in this camp cannot endure longer than 14 days. After the liquidation of the camp in Gospić (2 months ago), there were 18,000 people in Jasenovac, and now there are 3,000 of them, although no one has been released from the camp, and new ones keep arriving. Everyone else has died of cold and starvation or was killed. Now, allegedly, this camp should be filled with Serbs and Jews lately.

In Belgrade, January 1, 1942.

No. 38

VLADO MARKOVIĆ'S STATEMENT AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES ON JANUARY 24, 1942, ABOUT THE MASS ARREST OF THE SERBS IN BRČKO, TORTURE, FORCED CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM AND IMPRISONMENT OF A GROUP OF SERB WOMEN.<sup>208</sup>

MINUTES

of January 24, 1942

made at the Commissariat for the Protection of Refugees in Belgrade.

VLADO MARKOVIĆ, 28 years old, of the Orthodox faith, a refugee from Brčko, stands before us without being summoned, and declares:

With the arrival of District Chief VEČESLAV MONTANI, the former district chief in Gradačac, the persecutions and arrests of Serbs in the town of Brčko began, as well as in the district of the same name. With his arrival, the situation in the Brčko District worsened.

The arrests of Serbs began immediately, without explaining to them why they were being arrested. In the period from 5-10<sup>th</sup> November last year, 77 Serbs were thrown into prison in Brčko, held there for 10 days, and then transferred across the Sava river, to the village of Gunj.<sup>209</sup> The Serbs in Brčko, including myself, were imprisoned in the Trade Academy, and there they were beaten up by the Ustashas. The Ustashas came as a kind of punitive expedition, called "Black Troops"<sup>210</sup>. We received severe blows to the backs and hands with a stick; I was beaten so badly that I still have a scar on my right palm.

District Chief Montani himself informed the Ustashas that we were all Chetniks and that we were coming from the forest. We were transported from the Trade Academy across the Sava river to the village of Bonja,<sup>211</sup> where we were held for 24 hours. After our family members in Gunj<sup>212</sup> gave their

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<sup>208</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 82.

<sup>209</sup> Gunja.

<sup>210</sup> „Crne bojnice“ in Croat. – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>211</sup> Gunja.

<sup>212</sup> Same as previous.

written consent to convert to the Catholic faith before District Chief Montani, we were released. After that, 300 Muslims were arrested in Brčko on suspicion of being involved in a communist conspiracy; after the interrogation, they were all released and replaced again by those Serbs who had been transferred to Gunj<sup>213</sup> across the Sava river.

I was not arrested, because I had left Brčko shortly before the new arrests. On that occasion, 30 Serbian women were arrested. Due to the overcrowding of the prison, they were placed in the attic.

During my stay in Brčko, no murders took place.

I would not have anything more to say, I can take the oath for everything previously stated.

Interviewed and certified by:  
Branko Vukdragović,  
place for the stamp

Vlado Marković,  
place for the stamp

Minute taker:  
Tatalović,  
place for the stamp

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<sup>213</sup> Same as previous.

No. 39

ON JANUARY 26, 1942, COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES MAKSI-MOVIĆ SUBMITS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN THE STATEMENT OF STUDENT NADA TRNINIĆ ABOUT THE TERROR OF THE USTASHAS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN CROATIA.<sup>214</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION OF REFUGEES

Nr. 2004

Belgrade, January 26, 1942

Ustasha<sup>215</sup>

CABINET L/L

Subject: Hearing of TRNINIĆ NADA

Dear Mr. Commissioner,

Attached, I am sending You a transcript of the interrogation of NADA TRNINIĆ, an agriculture student, illustrating the inhumane actions of the Ustashas in concentration camps in Croatia.

With special respect,

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER:  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ  
Toma Maksimović personal signature

To Mister  
Dr. Weinmann,  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 83.

<sup>215</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>216</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees.

No. 40

STATEMENT OF NADA TRNINIĆ FROM SARAJEVO AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES ON JANUARY 22, 1942, ABOUT THE DETENTION IN THE USTASHA CAMPS IN GOSPIĆ, KRUŠČICA AND LOBORGRAD AND ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THESE CAMPS.<sup>217</sup>

MINUTES

of January 22, 1942.

Compiled at the Commissariat for Resettlement and Protection of Refugees.

Without being summoned, TRNINIĆ NADA came, an agriculture student from Sarajevo, 20 years old, daughter of Slavko and Desanka, née Čaliđ,<sup>218</sup> of the Orthodox faith, now in Belgrade – Jovana Petkovića ulica no. 4, and declared:

I lived with my parents in Sarajevo. On July 23, 1941, I was arrested by the police and taken to the police prison. I stayed there until July 26, without being questioned at all. The prison cells were full of Serbs from Sarajevo and the surrounding area.

On July 26, 1941 – at midnight, 126 Serbs and 6 of us Serb women were taken to the train station and transported to Gospić to a concentration camp. With me were: Jakšić Bojna, agricultural engineer, Čović Ankica, housewife, Vujović Mara, tailor – all from Sarajevo. The names of the other two Serb women are unknown to me. I remember that, of the Serbs, the following were also transported to Gospić: Slobodan Begović, a high school graduate, and Mučibabić, a carpenter, both from Sarajevo. The names of other Serbs are unknown to me.

We arrived in Gospić on the morning of July 28. From the train station, they took us to the District Court prison, where we stayed in the prison yard, because all the prison cells were full of Serbs. The warden of the prison told us that we women would stay here, while the men were taken to a concentration camp near Gospić.

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<sup>217</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 84-86.

<sup>218</sup> Čavić. See: N. Trninić-Šević, *U ustaškim logorima*, Novi Sad, Petrovaradin: Alfa-graf, 2004. A copy of her statement is published herein, together with other statements.

In the meantime, a message came from the camp warden that the camp could no longer accommodate anyone due to overcrowding, so there was no more room for newcomers. In the prison yard, we found a large crowd of people, including several Serbian priests. We spent 2 full days in the yard, where we slept on the cold stone. One day it was raining hard. Our request to come under the roof to protect ourselves from the pouring rain was not granted by the prison warden. We were soaked to the skin.

I remained in prison until August 20, 1941. In the meantime, Ustashas appeared in the prison yard every day, counting out 200 Serbs whom they tied in pairs, and then tied them all together with one chain and took them toward Mt. Velebit. The Serbs who were taken away, were replaced by the same number of new ones. They all came from quite different parts. Among them were peasants who were only poorly dressed, that is, they wore trousers and were barefoot. All the Serbs who had arrived by my transport were immediately taken to Mt. Velebit the next day, nothing was ever heard of them again. In general, the fate of those who were taken to Mt. Velebit was never made known.

Two days after we had arrived, we, the women, were taken away or divided into prison cells. The men remained in the prison yard. They were not allowed to move around the yard, they just had to lie down or sit. If someone wanted to defecate, they had to call the guard. Ten days after our arrival, a man called a guard to defecate. This happened at night. The Ustashas jumped up and shot the man because he was allegedly inciting the people. Then they went from cell to cell and told everyone that they would shoot dead anyone who just tried to move. In general, only the word “shoot” could be heard at every step.

The next day, around 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Ustashas shot another man in the prison yard, only because he stood up from his sitting place. The name of the shot person is unknown to me.

There are several dark cells on the second floor of the prison. Serbs were taken to these cells, where they were first horribly abused and then killed. Several times the Ustashas came to our cells and threatened us by death.

In Gospić, we were given food only once a day. We got a piece of black bread and a little pea soup. We were all mostly hungry.

On August 20, the prison in Gospić was evacuated, and we were taken to Jastrebarsko. Here we were placed in a grain warehouse. Serbs, Croats and Jews from all over were here. The guard was kept by the Ustashas, while Serbian and Jewish women had to cook. This warehouse was surrounded by

a barbed wire fence and we were allowed to move inside this area. A stricter regime was introduced for the Serbs (men only). They were locked in the basement of this warehouse, while Jews and Catholics were allowed to move freely. The food was better than in Gospić. We got black coffee in the morning, potato soup at noon and boiled potatoes in the evening. We didn't get any bread at all. There were about 2,000 people here together.

On September 2, 1941, we the Serb women, as well as the Jewish ones, were taken to the concentration camp in Kruščica near Travnik. The Serbs and Jews came to the camp in Jasenovac, while Catholic Croats remained in Jastrebarsko.

In Kruščica, we were accommodated in 2 houses and 4 barracks. The Ustashas supervised us here as well. The regime in Kruščica was the worst, the food here was very bad and insufficient. The warden of the camp was a certain Mandušić, about 30 years old, the Ustashas who were guards, they were all very young, young men aged 16-18. They came from the surrounding villages and treated us very brutally. They slapped us for no reason and very often. Our families sent us packages with clothes and food. These packages were never handed over to us, but the Ustashas kept them for their own purposes. They would eat the food, and they would either burn the clothes or keep them to themselves. My aunt sent me a package worth 700 dinars. The package contained food and clothes. I never got this package. We did not dare to complain to anyone about this behavior of the Ustashas. Once a day we were given potato soup without bread. There was very little food, so we were literally starving. Twice a week we were given bread from the Jewish community in Sarajevo. Like I said, we didn't dare complain to anyone about the bad treatment or bad food, let alone of being hungry.

Several rapes by Ustashas in the camp are noteworthy. One day, the Ustashas ordered the girls to wait at 8 o'clock in the evening in front of the barracks to do some work. Considering, however, that no one was allowed to leave the barracks at 8 o'clock in the evening, it was immediately clear to us what the Ustashas were up to. Several elderly women immediately went to the camp warden and complained about the behavior of the Ustashas, and he immediately stopped their order.

On October 5, 1941, we were all transferred from the Kruščica camp to the Loborgrad camp near Zlatar. Here we were placed in an old castle. In this camp, the control was taken over by the Germans, and the treatment was very good in every respect. Some improvement was felt. They treated us politely. The food was pretty good. We were allowed to contact our relatives.

We received all the packages that were sent to us in full order. I would like to emphasize that the detainees lost a lot of weight physically due to hunger, which is why their mortality, especially among older women, greatly increased. I do not know the name of the camp warden, or of the Ustashas who guarded us. There had been a certain Ustasha officer in the camp in Jastrebarsko, Pudić, who behaved very brutally. I do not know the names of other Ustashas.

There was a certain Ustasha Mandić in the camp in Kruščica. And he treated us extremely brutally and inhumanely. I also don't know the names of the other Ustashas, I only know that they were from the surrounding villages, aged 16-18. They were all very brutal and cruel. I emphasize that about 30 women from Loborgrad were taken to Gornja Reka<sup>219</sup> near Koprivnica.

On December 31, 1941, I was released from the camp at the intervention of the German authorities. I was taken from Lobor to Zagreb, where I was placed in a police prison. I stayed there until January 7th. After that, the police took me to Zemun.

I was picked up in Zemun by the German military police, who brought me to Belgrade on January 9. In Loborgrad, Jakšić Vojna, Vujović Mira and Čović Ankica remained in the camp. There were also many other Serb women with small children, born in Herzegovina, whose houses had been burned by the Ustashas. The list of these women and children was submitted by the German authorities to this Commissariat. My parents are in Belgrade. My father is employed here as a religious teacher at the Public School<sup>220</sup> in Marulićeva Street and lives in Jovana Petkovića Street no. 4. Now I will stay with my parents permanently.

I have nothing further to say, and I can take an oath on what I have said and read.

Certified by:

Trninić Nada,  
place for the stamp

Interviewed and authenticated by  
Đuro Rodić,  
place for the stamp

Minute taker:  
Katanić Milena,  
place for the stamp

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<sup>219</sup> Gornja Rijeka.

<sup>220</sup> *Narodna škola. – Subeditor's note.*

No. 41

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER TO THE SS CAPTAIN REXEISEN OF JANUARY 28, 1942, ON THE SITUATION IN EASTERN BOSNIA, ESPECIALLY IN TUZLA AND BRČKO, THE ECONOMIC CATASTROPHE, THE MASS CRIMES OF THE USTASHA AUTHORITIES AGAINST SERBS AND JEWS, AND THEIR FORCED CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM.<sup>221</sup>

Ustasha<sup>222</sup>

Belgrade, January 28, 1942

No. Pa/Ha

1.) NOTE:

Subject: Savagery of Ustashas in Bosnia.

Dear Mr. Rexeisen!<sup>223</sup>

The events that are coming and which I sense will happen make me briefly describe the situation in our area.

The spring is coming, our unfortunate Balkan spring, and the Ustashas are pushing their independent “Ustasha state” at an express pace into an economic, and thus into a political catastrophe. The mass of the Orthodox and Mohammedans is in a state of expectation – because no one can believe in the possibility of the continuing of this situation – this provisorium – everyone

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<sup>221</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 87-102. See documents nos. 109, 110 and 111 in this book.

<sup>222</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>223</sup> SS Captain (*Hauptsturmführer*) Hans Rexeisen was the head of the Operational Police Command (EC Sipo-SD) in Osijek and was subordinated to the Operational Police Command (EC Sipo-SD) in Zagreb. At the same time, the Command submitted reports to the Operational Group of the Security Police (EG Sipo-SD) in Belgrade. His field of work was not only Slavonia, but also eastern Bosnia, where among his agents-in-charge was a pharmacist from Tuzla, Obrad Mičić. Rexeisen was transferred to Belgrade in November 1941, to later become the head of the Third Department (Security Service, SD) in the institution of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service (BdS) in Belgrade as an SS major (*SS-Sturmbannführer*). Rexeisen’s earlier agents remained in touch with him, including Obrad Mičić, who is probably the author of this document. Through Mičić, Rexeisen established ties with the Chetniks in that part of Bosnia. For more about Obrad Mičić, see: V. Mujbegović, *Tuzla moje mladosti*, Vol. Two, Beograd, 2015, 250, 254.

knows and feels that the independent state died at the moment it was born. Every occupation army, even the Chinese, would be welcomed with joy, if the basic principles on which every civilization is based were recognized, and that is freedom of religion, freedom of private property and equality before the law.

The fields have remained unploughed and unplanted this fall, the villages were torched, and with them everything that existed of cereals and wheat. Today, corn flour in Tuzla costs 25 to 30 dinars per kg, lard 250 to 300 dinars per kg, potatoes 15 dinars and more. And yet nothing can be obtained of foodstuffs. The city rationing administration in Tuzla has been expecting flour from Zagreb for months, but has not received it. Municipal officials have been going from Pontius to Pilate<sup>224</sup> for months, and there has been virtually no result.

He who had money and who was supplied with the most necessary foodstuffs on the black market in time, has the food. The masses in the city, however, are literally starving. But even those who have food, are trembling at the events that will come and that will cause an economic catastrophe. And the Ustashas accelerated this process with their mindless terror and their provocations.

In December 1941, a unit of Ustashas broke into the town of Brčko on the Sava river during the night. They pulled all citizens, Jews and Serbs together with women and children out of their beds and took them to the Sava river. Here, all Jews, men, women and children were killed in the most horrible ways with knives, axes and mallets, and the bodies were thrown into the Sava river. They grabbed small children by the legs and with a swing, like a piece of wood, threw them far into the waves of the Sava river. At the same time, horrific scenes took place, reminiscent of barbarism from the darkest centuries of world history. A physician, Dr. B u k v i c a, who is a Mohammedan, wanted to save 2 children and knelt before the Ustashas and begged them to give him the children without parents, because he had been present at their birth, they were twins, and it was a close call for him to be killed too. Now this doctor is lying in his house in a nervous breakdown and is not letting anyone into his house, into his room, not even the occupants of the house.

After the Jews, it was the turn for the Orthodox. I do not know how many of them were killed, but after that all those present declared themselves ready to convert to Catholicism.

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<sup>224</sup> In the original: “von Ponzius bis zu Pilatus”, figuratively: “from one place to another” (aimlessly, usually for bureaucratic reasons).

Thus, after this bloody St. Bartholomew's Day massacre – and how many such nights there were in this independent state – the whole of Brčko was converted to Catholicism. The next day, on the order of District Chief Montani, all Orthodox citizens had to hand over their oil cups and sacred images (icons) of their baptismal patron saint to the district administration, so that these would be destroyed there. One must know what family patron saint's day<sup>225</sup> means to Serbs, and only then can one understand the magnitude of the insult and humiliation as well as the depth of the pain of these people. Then came the obligatory telegram for Ante P a v e l i ć and the Croatian people, when all prominent Serbs from Brčko had to sign, and in which they expressed their happiness on the occasion of their conversion, understandably and voluntarily, under the wings of the only liberating Roman Catholic Church and the supposed faith of the ancestors. This had to be signed with the obligatory Croatian nationalist salute "Za dom spremni"<sup>226</sup>.

The Ustashas then recruited citizens for the militia created to maintain order, and took them out of the city, showing them several Serb villages that needed to be torched and their population killed. And when they rejected this request, explaining that they were intended only to maintain order and peace in the city, they were immediately disarmed.

This mass crime in B r ĉ k o had a strong repercussion throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Mohammedans are confused because they come to believe that the fate of the Serbs will be theirs as well. In this way, the mentioned events were commented on in all Bosnian taverns, where Mohammedans gather, as well as in various associations. And from here, this opinion spreads further to the villages. In T u z l a, it is said that the same Montani, the head of the Tuzla District, arrested over 200 Mohammedans there, allegedly because they were communists. Also, some Serbian women converted to Catholicism, daughters of merchants, allegedly because of their connection with the Chetniks.

In G r a ĉ a n i c a, a small town located near the Doboj – Tuzla railroad, a new act of violence took place shortly afterwards. The Ustashas, who came from Zagreb, wanted to take Mount Ozren, which is nearby. In the whole triangle, which is formed by the rivers P r e ć a<sup>227</sup> and B o s n a, almost only Serbian peasants live with a few Mohammedans on the periphery. Here is

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<sup>225</sup> *Slava* in the original text. – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>226</sup> "For homeland – ready!" – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>227</sup> Prača.

the old Orthodox monastery of Ozren, which has existed since before the Turks and which is sung about in folk songs. This whole triangle forms the massif of Mount Ozren. Peaceful, honest and, in our conditions, very progressive peasants live here. After almost 4 months of Ustasha terror in this area – murders, robberies, rapes, taking farmers and entire families to concentration camps and other acts of violence – there was a popular uprising. The Chetniks and the people drove the Ustashes, legionnaires and the like from this area, and since then the people there have been living in peace.

In December 1941, shortly after the murders in Brčko, the Ustashes came to Gračanica with the army to capture Ozren. However, they returned with 120 dead and wounded. Then they went to Gračanica, which is located on the other side of the railroad, broke the door of the Orthodox church, which was closed, stormed into the church, destroyed and looted everything, demolished church furniture and pictures of saints and after that they danced kolo in the house of God. When the Chetniks cut off the electricity supply, which leads from Tuzla (Krek) to Gračanica, the Ustashes hung oil cups from the church on the city's electric candelabra and thus illuminated the city. After the Ustashes left the city, the Chetniks turned on electricity again. Whenever the Ustashes came to Gračanica, the Chetniks turned off the electricity, and when they left, they would turn it on again.

For the Serbian Christmas Eve<sup>228</sup>, the Ustashes went to Tuzla and organized a night similar to that in Brčko. Ante Stitlić from Zagreb, who was at the head of the Ustasha military police, came to Tuzla. When this became known, a great alarm arose. One part of the Orthodox fled to the forests and the others resignedly expected the worst. There was a great unrest among the Mohammedans. The idea was to show resistance. Sessions were convened, even with the County Executive [*veliki župan – Translator's note*], who is a Mohammedan. An Orthodox sacristan, whose son disappeared as soon as it had been heard what was coming, was beaten by the police. During the hearing, which was also attended by Tuzla's priest Risto Babunović, the police investigating judge told the priest and the beaten sacristan that "Bosnia will never be Serbian, as long as the last soldier of Croatia and Germany is alive." So even the last soldier of the National Socialist Reich has to fall in the fight for a papist, Roman Catholic Ustasha independent state under the leadership of the Duke of Spoleto and Supreme Leader Ante Pavelić, the killer of the king in communist Marseille. With this statement,

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<sup>228</sup> January 6. – *Subeditor's note.*

the investigating judge did a great honor to the National Socialist Reich and great propaganda for the new Europe!

After 20 days, the sacristan's son returned from Belgrade, where he had arrived without documents in an adventurous way, while his father was beaten and was lying in prison because his son was with the Chetniks.

During this period, I was visited by the camp warden<sup>229</sup> Miloš, who is in his first year of study in Zagreb. He came to Tuzla during Catholic Christmas, where he was to talk to me about a very important and serious matter. As we sat behind closed doors in the office, he told me that he had come to me because he wished me well and because what he had to tell me must remain in strict confidence. When I gave him my word of honor, he told me that an action of cleansing the Tuzla Serbs was being prepared, that all the Serbs were connected with the Chetniks and that all of them would be punished for that.

He could take me under his protection as long as he was in Tuzla. But he was to go to Zagreb and then he could no longer give guarantees for my life. He suggested that I immediately sign a statement with approximately the following content. That I am with all my heart and soul a supporter of the Supreme Leader Ante Pavelić and Ustasha Croatia, that I have never been a member of any anti-Croatian association, that I am a good Croat, etc. In the end, he told me that it would be best if I converted to the Roman Catholic Church. I would have to give this statement immediately, before it is too late, in some 10 copies.

It was clear to me what he wanted. First, an idiotic statement, which would be used for propaganda purposes among the people and which would morally bury me. And when I am morally dead, then they would give me a statement about converting to Catholicism as the only way out. Then there would be no going back. I came to the conclusion that the situation in Tuzla was very serious and that this gang was preparing something terrible, so I immediately ran to the German command of the town, where I repeated my conversation and everything that was said in the city. I begged to be protected, because all Orthodox Serbs focus their attention only on the German army in Tuzla, which was born from the National Socialist revolution and which will not allow a return to the Catholic Inquisition of the dark centuries of the Middle Ages. Then I had a confidential conversation with prominent Mohammedans in Tuzla and I came to the conviction that

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<sup>229</sup> Commander of the camp, i.e. of the Ustasha organization for the district (*kotar*).

they were even better informed than me, and that the anxiety among them was very great. Then came the first deputation of Mohammedan citizens to the German military command, where they prayed for protection from the Catholic attack. I heard that they stated that there were 15,000 Mohammedans in the city and that there would be knee-high rivers of blood if the same thing happened to the Orthodox here as it had happened in Brčko.

They were also in the command of the Croatian army. The peak of excitement was on Christmas Eve, January 6, 1942. At the County Executive's house<sup>230</sup>, there was a gathering of Mohammedans to which the more prominent Ustashas were invited. There was a sharp conflict at the gathering, and there were threats of an uprising. As an illustration of the atmosphere, I would like to mention Mufti Kurt from Tuzla, who, in front of a crowd, before going to the meeting with the County Executive, said: "For God's sake, folks, I risk my head, just take me where I need to go."

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the German command of the town issued posters with the following content. To anyone who is not against the state, the German Wehrmacht guarantees security and peace. The German Wehrmacht will not tolerate any act of violence based on confessional reasons, nor will it allow it. After that, the town calmed down, and the Ustashas pulled the long face. That evening, but also during Christmas, the Orthodox church was guarded by the police and the German Wehrmacht. And in the city the guards were reinforced. The Ustashas tore down the German posters, only one remained at the command of the town. The church was closed, of course, as the authorities did not recognize it. How it was in remote villages where there was no German Wehrmacht or Chetniks to protect the people, only the people there know.

The army is completely powerless, demoralized and will not fight. There is a big gap between the army and the Ustashas. Soldiers and officers openly say that it is the Ustashas and not them who should fight the Chetniks. Because it is the Ustashas who have created the Chetniks. The army will not fight at all. It tolerates only because it has to and everyone has only one thought in mind, to serve their 3 months or until the end of their military service and then go home. As soon as a combat started, the soldiery would disperse and lay down their weapons.

The Chetnik armament was carried out by the Croatian army. If there is a shooting, the army fires non-stop, meaninglessly wastes ammunition

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<sup>230</sup> Ragib Čapljić; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 78 (D. Stuparić).

as long as the supplies run out, and of course the Chetniks can hardly wait for this, so that they can simply order them to surrender.

Six weeks ago, an entire battalion fled in front of 14 Chetniks in D o b o j and all weapons were left behind. On that occasion, Colonel A l i g o d i ć was killed, abandoned by his soldiers. The army's diet is poor. Lately, they have been getting cornbread.

Chetniks in Eastern Bosnia hold the entire triangle between D o b o j, the river Bosna and the Spreča, then along the Spreča below Tuzla and Zbornik<sup>231</sup> and along the Bosna to Sarajevo.

There are Communists here and there in smaller groups of 50-100 people. They mainly consist of the city mob, of Mohammedans and Catholics, because Mohammedans and Catholics are religiously blinded or, if they have broken away from the influence of religion, then they go to the Communists. In the Catholic village of H u s i n a m<sup>232</sup> near T u z l a, a camp warden<sup>233</sup> was appointed and an Ustasha camp was established. During one night, this commander of the camp, a certain peasant M a r i a n o v i ć, with all his Ustashas and complete weaponry, with typewriters and radios and with the entire inventory of the Ustasha camp, fled into the woods. They are now located somewhere in the vicinity of the Catholic villages near Tuzla.

There are Catholic villages all around T u z l a, while the mountain villages are inhabited by Orthodox peasants mixed with Mohammedans. The Catholics are mostly workers, employed in coal mines and other industries near Tuzla. These semi-peasants and semi-workers, or rather neither peasants nor industrial workers, are semi-communists, i.e. they are infected with communism unless they are papists.

So they serve either the Black or the Red International. They are peaceful, they don't take up arms even against Chetniks, either because of communist tendencies (the worse the better) or because they have been instructed by the Catholic clergy to wait for the mutual eradication of the Serbs and Turks first, and then the Catholic Church will come to reconcile them. The Orthodox Serbian miners, who live far from the city, have been the element from which the Chetniks were recruited. They are anti-communists and nationalists. If an Orthodox communist is found, he is a seduced man who does not believe in Marxist Russia but in nationalist Russia. These insignificant

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<sup>231</sup> Zvornik.

<sup>232</sup> Husino.

<sup>233</sup> Probably: commander (*tabornik*).

groups operate separately from the Chetniks, and there is tension between them. The only thing that connects them is the fight against Pavelić.

A peasant woman from the Majevisa mountain told me the following: “Chetniks came to our village of Priboj and gave a speech in front of the church. They opened the church and the Divine Service was held. Then, at the assembly, they said that everyone who is for the Serbian faith, for family patron saint’s day<sup>234</sup>, for Greater Serbia, for the King and Fatherland<sup>235</sup> should raise three fingers. Then all the peasants raised their hands and thus joined the Chetniks. After a few days, some communists came. They closed the church, set up a guard in front of the door, they did not mention the King or Greater Serbia or the slava, or the Serbian faith, but a Soviet Union. Then a Chetnik captain came with the Chetniks, they threw the communists out, opened the church and stated that no communist assemblies were needed here. Then, several peasants who were seduced by the communists and joined them, immediately joined the Chetniks, and the communists withdrew without a single new supporter. From this moment on,” said the woman, “the peasants would only join the Chetniks.”

The Chetniks fight only against the Croatian army, and when they capture them, they disarm them and let the members of the army go home, the Ustasas, however, are shot dead on the spot, while the German army is not touched at all. Everywhere they publicly declare that they will fight against Pavelić to the last man, but if Germany occupies the country and if everyone is treated equally, they will immediately go home and lay down their weapons. The best proof that the Chetniks do not see their enemies in the Germans is the road between Zvornik and Tuzla. Although this road is located between Chetnik lines, it is still free, because German transports are constantly passing through here, while the road Tuzla - Brčko, although it is on the periphery of the uprising, has been blocked for months because the Germans do not use it. The same is with the railway line Tuzla - Doboj. The Chetniks are only half a kilometer away from Petrovo Selo to Doboj, and yet not a single German transport has been attacked. The line is completely free, although the Chetniks could destroy it if the

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<sup>234</sup> *Slava* in the original text. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>235</sup> “For King and Fatherland, with Faith in God“ (*S verom u Boga, za Kralja i Otadžbinu*) used to be the motto on the regimental flags of the Royal Serbian Army, to become the slogan of the Chetniks, i.e. Yugoslav Army in the Homeland and the Royalist/Nationalist Ravna Gora Movement, during World War II. – *Subeditor’s note.*

Croatian army depended on it. And so that not only would the sleepers be missing, but also the rails.

That was the situation in my place until 10 days ago. Nobody believes that the Germans will allow this situation to continue. The only way out to protect the people from further suffering and to maintain order and peace in these parts is seen in the German occupation, i.e. that Bosnia be declared de jure “independent”, but that this be de facto annulled and that the whole area be placed under the German regime without exception, guaranteeing equality before the law, freedom of religion and guarantee of private property, and that sufferers from the concentration camps in Bosnia and Croatia are sent home. Then absolute peace would come and it would be peaceful until the end of the war. The masses do not want anything else and nothing more than that. This would be welcomed with delight by the Orthodox and Mohammedans, who today make up 75% of the population of all of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and when you take into account the Italian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina where Bosnia’s Catholics are mostly concentrated, and that is southwest of Travnik, it would include as much as 85% of the population.

The Orthodox population is distinctly nationalist due to various influences, especially religious ones, which are taken to be a special Serbian religion. Jewish-Freemason propaganda has made great efforts in this part of the population and provoked its national sensitivity, its love for freedom and the national state, with Germany portrayed as a monster, as a three-headed dragon that wants to swallow all nations, in order to create a purely Roman empire on their ruins. Jewish-Freemason and Anglophile propaganda has tried to transfer the old distrust towards the Austro-Hungarian Black-Yellow and clerical Habsburg Monarchy as well as towards Kaiser’s Germany to the revolutionary young National Socialist Reich and to emphasize this to the extreme. He who dared to declare himself differently, is slandered as a traitor and a German mercenary.

During that time, this nation of today, was protected and guarded as much as possible in the territory where the German Wehrmacht was. Wherever there were German soldiers, the Ustashas could not carry out what they were doing elsewhere. Today, these people expect salvation only from German occupation. And that can be seen from the fact that the Chetniks do not give resistance to the Germans anywhere, except possibly where the Germans are acting together with the Croatian army.

One example. In T u z l a, the son of a Serb was shot dead in Doboj by the Ustashas. He was once my great opponent and could not understand my

anti-English and anti-Soviet (or as they were called then anti-Russian) attitude or my enthusiasm for the National Socialist Reich. A few days ago, I asked him where he saw salvation for us. He replied that he would consider the German occupation to be liberation.

The Mohammedans represent one religious circle, which, viewed from the point of view of the bloodline, is the same as the Orthodox. But according to their feelings, they are directed only towards Turkey. At one time, they were delighted with Hitler and Germany, because they saw an element of order and discipline in the National Socialist Reich. Today they are very disappointed with this hell, which the Ustashas as a striking unit of Catholicism have created. They are very worried about the future, because it cannot be put in jeopardy. – Here, there is a planned work on the destruction of whatever is not Catholic. They often say about it: “It’s our turn after you!” Then we will no longer be any “Croatian flowers” as the Supreme Leader has named us, but something completely different that belongs in the toilet. That is why they are exposed against the process of Catholicization of the Serbs in Bosnia. Due to the outrage on the occasion of the Orthodox Christmas holidays, a Mohammedan deputation went to the Supreme Leader in Zagreb to protest. Posters for the Christmas holidays made a great propaganda for the Germans. The Orthodox thank God and say that this is not the first open gesture by the Germans. The Mohammedans say the same.

Until now, the German authorities have been passive about everything. Because it is an independent state and everything that the Ustashas say was viewed as an internal matter of an independent state.

When the Chetnik action began, the Germans continued to be passive. The people began to believe that Germany would allow the Chetniks to liberate them (the most important thing was that it would not be the communists to do that) and that Germany would accept this situation and carry out the occupation, given that events proved in the best way that the Ustasha state was unsustainable. However, just the opposite of what was expected happened. The German Wehrmacht goes to the forests and clears them of Chetniks. They have seized V l a s e n i c a, S r e b r e n i c a, O l o v o, K l a d a n j, etc. And what will happen now, the Germans will retreat after the job is done and after they have enthroned the impotent governance and the perpetrators of unrest in their office.

The people there have been peaceful so far. A villager from Mojlovića,<sup>236</sup> whose husband is a village merchant and who fled to Tuzla before the Ustashas,

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<sup>236</sup> Unidentified village.

and whose property was burned, talked to me, and to my question why she did not come to Tuzla with her children (she came to her husband through the forest), she replied that it was nice in their place now. "Freedom has come to us." These are her words. "We organize parties in the village, we dance kolo and, most importantly, we live peacefully as before. Why would I tremble before the Ustashes here in Tuzla?" And she went back to the village again. The Germans will blow away the national Chetniks straightforwardly, and the Ustashes will be able to continue their reign of terror without obstacles. And then the deadly struggle between nationalities would recur time and again.

And then what? Communist propaganda is not resting, it will point the finger at that and say: "You see, the German wants your destruction, he does not want you to get rid of your executioners." Or, as that police officer stated in front of the priest, as long as the last Croat and the last German live, this country will be ours. The communists will say (because then there will be no more national Chetniks), "The only salvation is mother Russia and Stalin." The people will be in an abnormal state, bordering on madness, spring is approaching and hunger therewith.

As for the communists, they are in full number. Because they are mostly found among Mohammedans and Catholics. They are all in high positions and disguised by Catholicism, living well and working intensively. Namely, the Ustashes persecuted only the Serbs, or rather the Orthodox, but not communists. The Mohammedan masses are also disappointed and starving. Because with the arrival of the Germans in these parts, they sank from relative prosperity into social misery, which will lead to a catastrophe in the spring.

The Mohammedans still have some hope in Hitler, the Orthodox see in the Germans the saviors of those who stand before the gallows. Now would be a huge psychological moment to calm everything down with a stroke of a magic wand, with a German proclamation that would guarantee the most basic human rights. Everyone would go back to their homes and everyone would compete in work and peaceful behavior after this bloody experience. Some Germans with whom I talked about these opportunities in our country, even if they agree with me in everything, think that it is true that the German occupation would bring peace, but Germany needs every man today. It's true. But no one is demanding that the Germans become gendarmes. They would be the leadership, those who give orders, the element of order would be our Chetniks and the anti-communist element (as evidenced in Serbia) would therefore be similar to the German one.

It is not important to know how much someone loves the Germans. It is important to know that the someone wants the victory of the National Socialist Reich over the Jews and communists in Russia and all over the world 100%, because if the opposite happened, then there would be no Serbia, no Yugoslavia, no Germany and no more free nations in Europe. A judgment day would come and the general national death of all. Therefore, these elements must be trusted and helped. It is clear that the Ustashas are the ideological antipode to National Socialism. It is a papal army, a Catholic counter-revolution for the German National Socialist revolution and ideology, and that is why they do not even enter into consideration in the New Europe.

If, however, the opposite happened, and if this situation lasted until the spring, even after the cleansing of the Chetniks by the Germans, we would inevitably face an economic and political catastrophe in the spring.

Turkey's decision has not been made yet, God forbid that it be made in favor of the democratic-communist side. Then these masked communists hiding behind Catholicism and Islam would flee into the woods and impose leadership on each other (namely the Orthodox and Mohammedans) and then that would lead to the most terrible Judgment Day. This could lead to unforeseeable consequences for Serbia, i.e. for the German occupation court in Serbia, and then we would find ourselves in a situation that is not in the least in the interest of the German Reich, and even less in the interest of my unfortunate people.

Forgive me for being so extensive, but I wanted to open my soul before you, because I have always been your sincere friend with all my heart and soul. My destiny is connected with the victory of the National Socialist Reich, as well as the destiny of my people. That is why I want things to develop in such a way that the interests of my people and the German Reich are satisfied alike. And these interests are completely identical.

With most cordial greetings

Yours:

No. 42

ON JANUARY 29, 1942, THE ADMINISTRATION STAFF OF THE  
COMMANDER IN SERBIA SUBMITTED TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN  
A REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF FIELD COMMAND 816 FOR  
JANUARY 1942.<sup>237</sup>

Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia  
(Commander in Serbia – Administration Staff)  
Group III

Belgrade, 29. I. 42

Subject: Submission of the general report

Into files<sup>238</sup>

For: Chief.

Ustasha atrocities<sup>239</sup>

Group

In the hands of Dr. Weinmann

Attached, I am sending for your information a copy of the report on the  
activities of the Field Command 816<sup>240</sup> – for the month of Jan.[uary] 42.

By order:  
personal signature<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 105.

<sup>238</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>239</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>240</sup> The Regional Military Command 816 (*Feldkommandantur* 816, abbreviated: FK 816) with its headquarters in Užice included a part of western Serbia with the border on the Drina.

<sup>241</sup> Illegible.

No. 43

FIELD COMMAND 816 REPORT TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN FOR  
JANUARY 1942, ON THE SITUATION IN PODRINJE AND THE EX-  
PECTATION OF A MASS TRANSFER OF SERB REFUGEES FROM EAST-  
ERN BOSNIA AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF GERMAN FORCES.<sup>242</sup>

REPORT ON THE SITUATION  
for the period from 25. XII. 41 to 25. I. 1942.

Dr. Weinmann<sup>243</sup>

Field Command (V) 816

Subject: General, Political Situation

Case handler: OKVR. Dr. Dittrich/A.<sup>244</sup>

The normalization of all life circumstances continues. The population is also making the effort to cooperate in this. Efforts to end the previous circumstances as soon as possible are visible, but the destruction and economic damage are so great that it will take a long time and special measures will be needed to achieve this goal.

The issue of mood is aggravated by the circumstances to which the Serb families living in Bosnia are exposed. According to the information of the 342<sup>nd</sup> Division,<sup>245</sup> these families are afraid that after the withdrawal of German troops from Bosnia, they will be slaughtered by the Ustashas and flee in the direction of the Drina river, in order to find refuge in the area of old Serbia.<sup>246</sup> The Serbian authorities have already addressed the Field Command with the desire to take over the protection of these Serb families in any way. The Chetniks<sup>247</sup> stationed in Loznica expressed their readiness to engage on the other side of the Drina river in the protection of these Serb

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<sup>242</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 106.

<sup>243</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>244</sup> Dr. Dittrich held the title of Senior War Administrative Adviser (*Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat*, abbreviated: OKVR) and served in the FK 816.

<sup>245</sup> 342<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division. After the end of operations against the Partisans and Chetniks in western Serbia, this division continued operations against insurgents in eastern Bosnia in January 1942; see: Z. AntoniĆ, *Ustanak u istočnoj i centralnoj Bosni*, 521-526.

<sup>246</sup> German name for the German occupation area in Serbia.

<sup>247</sup> Legal Chetnik units in Serbia.

families. However, in order to prevent cross-border incidents of any kind, the Chetniks were removed 5 km from the border. Within this 5 km zone, service is performed only by German customs officers and Serbian financial control – the latter are unarmed.

Given that Serbian units are willing to provide assistance to Serb families fleeing Bosnia, the transfer of refugees – the Division estimates that they count 8,000 – will not be preventable by the Serbian forces after the withdrawal of German troops. Therefore, it is appealed that sufficient protection of the border on the Drina river be taken into account when determining the garrison of some newly arrived troops. In addition to the destruction of the settlements in Mačva and the already very tense situation in terms of supply, it would be impossible for larger masses of refugees to settle in the local area or to feed from that land.

The issue of harvesting on some islands on the Drina river, which according to the Croatian understanding are located on the territory of the Croatian state, was negotiated by the war administration adviser Rieger with the District Chief in Bijeljina. During this, it was agreed – a written statement there on has not arrived – that the Croats at the border would hand over the products from the harvest they had taken from these islands to the Serb owners. The latter was supposed to happen under the protection of German customs officers. So far, nothing has been learned about any surrender of these foodstuffs. According to the order of the Croatian Ministry of Defense, any border crossing is prohibited in the future; border passes for the Drina crossing will no longer be issued, and the already issued passes will be revoked. When this regulation is implemented, the loss of the harvest should be taken into account for the next year as well, and this amounts to 1,000 tons of corn.

A special report is being submitted on the Russian units engaged as Industrial Protection<sup>248</sup> in the Krupanj District.

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<sup>248</sup> *Werkschutz*.

No. 44

STATEMENT OF DRAGICA SAVANOVIĆ FROM KLJUČ, GIVEN AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES ON JANUARY 30, 1942, ABOUT THE MASSACRE OF SERBS AND THE FORCED CONVERSION OF SURVIVORS TO CATHOLICISM.<sup>249</sup>

MINUTES

250

15/4<sup>251</sup>

of January 30, 1942

taken in the Extraordinary Commissariat for Refugee Protection.

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SAVANOVIĆ DRAGICA, a housewife from Ključ, Ključ District, 35 years old, daughter of late Nikola and late Stanica, unmarried, in Belgrade now, 44 Lomina Street, registered with the railway ID no. 30209 of 5 April 1937, issued by the Zagreb State Railway Directorate, came and stated:

In Ključ, as well as in the Ključ District, everything was in order until July 27, 1941.

On July 27, 1941, the local Ustashas, together with the municipal police, arrested Serbs in Ključ and the surrounding area. The arrests continued on July 28, 1941. The following were arrested from Ključ: Vojislav Savanović, my brother, who worked at the post office; Malić Dragutin, postmaster, Mrkobrad Pavle, head of the tax administration, Živković Milorad, shoemaker, Mandić Savo, merchant, Mladenović Đorđe, merchant and his son Dušan, Biljčarević Bogdan, hairdresser, Kozomara Savo, sales assistant, Travar Red.,<sup>252</sup> shoemaker, Savić Savo, butcher, Čekrlija Milivoj, teacher, Drobac Jovo, district clerk, Samardžić Cvetko, butcher, Janković Nikola, merchant, Janković Jovo, innkeeper, Pavlović Branko, mechanic, Bovan Simo, tinsmith, Lazić Stojan, tinsmith, Dunović Perica, worker, Stojčić Savo and Đorđe, workers, Racić Đorđe, tinsmith and his son Dušan, Zelenović Ilija, merchant, Stojisavljević Ilija, shoemaker, Krajcar Trifun, merchant, and

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<sup>249</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 293-294.

<sup>250</sup> Initials.

<sup>251</sup> Handwritten date.

<sup>252</sup> Unclear.

many others whose names I no longer know. They were arrested and imprisoned in the prisons of the district administration and the district court, and further in the buildings of the primary school, the municipality, the Sokoli<sup>253</sup> Hall and in other buildings, wherever they could find places. They were kept in custody until July 31, 1941. Some of them were killed in the prisons on the evening of July 31, while others were taken to a nearby forest called “Palež” and beaten dead there, while others were taken outside the city to a Muslim neighborhood called “Hanlovsko Vrelo” and beaten dead there. The rest of the Serbs, about 60 of them, were taken to the Sana River in the early morning of August 1 and killed there. Some Serbs were first abused, and then their lives were cut short by machine guns or they were killed with knives.

At the same time, the Ustashas killed all Serbs in the Serb villages of the Ključ district. Women and children were locked up in houses and then set on fire. At this time, 6,000 Serbs were killed in the Ključ District.

At the same time, Ustashas robbed Serbs, too. From Serbian houses in Ključ, they robbed everything they could get their hands on, such as typewriters and sewing machines, coats, food, cash, etc. I know that they took a winter coat from Perać Sava, a merchant from Ključ. They took everything they needed from Serbian shops, but they did not pay a single penny for that. They also looted Serb villages. They drove the cattle to their own homes and slaughtered them, selling the rest.

The Serbian priest, Mačkić Đorđe from Ključ, had already been expelled with his entire family, and his apartment had been looted.

The next day, after this horrible murder, they drove the Serbs, who were still there, to the District Office building and threatened them that they all had to convert to the Catholic faith, and if they did not do that, they would kill them all. Of course, all Serbs converted to the Roman Catholic faith out of fear. They did this to save their bare lives.

I add that the Ustashas arrested and abused Serb wives and children together with the men. After they had killed Serb men, women and children were still kept in prisons.

The leader of the local Ustashas, who committed these murders with the help of Ustashas from other parts, was a certain Cerić Culejman,<sup>254</sup> a

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<sup>253</sup> *Sokoli* (‘Falcons’) were athletes, members of the pan-Slavic Soko(l) Movement (founded in Prague, in 1862) as an all-age gymnastics organization, following the principle of “a strong mind in a sound body”; their sports halls (*sokolski domovi*) were built in numerous towns, especially in the Slav-settled lands of Austro-Hungary. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>254</sup> Sulejman.

surveyor from Ključ. As Ustashas, the following stood out: Dizdarević Ahmed, clerk in Ključ; Filipović Mile, day laborer and the Mayor of Ključ; Filipović Josica, Mile's brother, Kulenović, district chief in Ključ; Filipović Omer, municipal clerk in Ključ.

I own a house in Ključ where I live. After the death of my late father, I was granted a pension of 1,100 dinars, because I was an orphan. In Croatia, my pension was cancelled, and some Muslims moved into my house, so I was forced to flee to Serbia.

I set off at the end of October 1941. I received a pass from a Croatian woman from Prijedor, so I came to Zemun, where I stayed until January 25, 1942 with a relative of mine, and then I came to Belgrade.

I will receive my pension income from the Patriarchate Office here and thus struggle for my life.

I have nothing further to say, I can swear on what I have said and read.

DRAGICA SAVANOVIĆ, place for the stamp

Interviewed and certified by:  
Đuro Rodić,  
place for the stamp

Minute taker:  
Vujačić,  
place for the stamp

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1942, THE PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN SERBIA, BENZLER, RETURNED TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN THE MATERIAL RELATED TO THE PERSECUTION OF THE SERBS IN CROATIA.<sup>255</sup>

Plenipotentiary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>256</sup>  
attached to the Military Commander in Serbia, Belgrade, February 3, 1942

Pol. 2 Nr. 3/Croatia

When answering please  
specify the document number and reference

Dear Mr. SS Major!

-1 Attachment – Attached with the greatest gratitude, I return the material after the assessment, the one regarding persecution of the Serbs in Croatia.

Heil Hitler!

Your loyal  
G. Feine personal signature<sup>257</sup>

To Mister

SS Major Dr. Weinmann,  
Administration Staff at the office of the Plenipotentiary  
Commanding General in Serbia,

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<sup>255</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 116.

<sup>256</sup> The Plenipotentiary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany (*Auswärtiges Amt*) attached to the Military Commander in Serbia was Dr. Felix Benzler. He had the task of advising the Military Commander on political issues and implementing the policy of that ministry in Serbia.

<sup>257</sup> Dr. Gerhardt Feine was an adviser to the German Embassy in Belgrade until the war, and at the time of the occupation Benzler's assistant; S. C. Ćirković, *Ko je ko u Nedićevoj Srbiji*, 489.

REPORT ON THE MASS CRIME AGAINST SERBS IN THE MINE OF RAKOVAČKE BARE AND THE VILLAGES OF DRAKULIĆ, MOTIKE AND ŠARGOVAC FROM FEBRUARY 6 TO 9, 1942, ON THE NUMBER OF THE KILLED, THE IDENTITY OF PERPETRATORS AND THE INTERVENTION OF MINISTER BEŠLAGIĆ.<sup>258</sup>

2

Belgrade, February 19, 1942

Translation of a letter sent on 16 February 1942  
Submitted by an intermediary from Banja Luka.

The massacre of Serbs in the vicinity of Banja Luka

February 6, 1942 State Mine of Rakovačke Bare.

The Ustashas from the Body Guard of the Supreme Leader Pavelić<sup>259</sup> slaughtered all the mine workers of the Orthodox faith, from all 3 shifts. Their number has not been indisputably determined, but it amounts to between 31 and 63 people, and among them is a Catholic who could not prove his Catholic faith because he did not know how to pray “Our Father”.

February 6, 1942. The village of Drakulić.

The above-mentioned village is blocked on all sides. The order reads that all the Orthodox, regardless of age and sex, should be slaughtered. Thus, children from the cradle to the elderly aged 90 were stabbed with bayonets, exceptions were not allowed. If someone managed to escape from this situation without being hit by a bullet from a rifle or revolver, he hid with people in the city or its surroundings, but there were, however, very few of them and they are not allowed to go out into daylight even today.

February 7, 1942. The settlement of Motike – same as in Drakulić.

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<sup>258</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 200.

<sup>259</sup> Supreme Leader’s Body Guard Battalion (*Poglavnikova tjelesna bojna*).

February 9, 1942. Place Šarkovci.<sup>260</sup>

Exactly the same as above, only more horrible. The bloodshed was carried out on the orders of the envoy (Ustasha) Z e l i ć in his presence, and after it was over, Zelić fled back to Zagreb. It is not known how much the Ustasha body guards cooperated. The names of one group of 7 Ustashes, who were the most bloodthirsty, are still unknown. The massacres were carried out according to the directives of the Catholic priest F i l i p o v i ć and 2 sons of Marko Pletikosić<sup>261</sup> from Budžak, whose house is on the road to Prijedor behind the monastery Milosrdne sestre (Sisters of Mercy – Translator’s note) (sisters in blue monastic robes with

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<sup>260</sup> Šargovac.

<sup>261</sup> Ante i Šimun Pletikosa; L. Lukajić, *Fratri i ustaše kolju. Zločini i svedoci. Pokolj Srba u selima kod Banje Luke Drakuliću, Šargovcu i Motikama 7. februara i Piskavici i Ivanjskoj 5. i 12. februara 1942. godine*, Beograd: Fond za istraživanje genocida, 2005, 52-153.

CONTINUATION OF THE REPORT ON THE MASSACRE IN THE VICINITY OF BANJA LUKA.<sup>262</sup>

white head covering.)

1

People from 124 houses were slaughtered. The exact number has not been determined yet, and from the official announcements, it is 1,750 souls according to detailed data, which could be checked upon.

+++++

In the barn of the villagers Mitrović in the village of Drakulić, 50 souls were crammed, then the barn was set on fire, so that the people were burned alive, Mitrović managed to escape and is currently hidden in Banja Luka. It is assumed that Mitrović must not appear out of fear from the authorities. Mitrović can be found in any case. In Drakulić, the whole family with the surname Glamočanin was killed, the men were in German captivity, while a woman with 11 small children, and a 90-year-old grandmother were slaughtered. Closer data can be given by ..... Eyewitnesses of the bloodshed in Šargevci<sup>263</sup> say that 53 children were killed from primary school. If the witnesses could be brought safely and out of the reach of the Croatian authorities, more detailed information about these massacres could be found out.

The miller from Vrbak can give the best information about this massacre, he knows the priest who gave directives and documents to the Ustasas, and besides that, today he is hiding 8 people who managed to escape by sheer chance.

Also, hidden near one of the mayors there are some people who managed to escape from a knife or a rifle.

Among the bestial criminals were such sadists who organized their work in such a way that they stabbed small children with bayonets and only then shot at them.

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<sup>262</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 199. This document is a continuation of document number 46.

<sup>263</sup> Šargovac.

It is not excluded that the Ustasha Tatek himself took part in the massacres, and in addition those Ustashes who were not able to, when, for example, a girl fell to her knees before him begging him for her bare life, and Tatek issued an order, they were unable to slaughter her. If the people who managed to save their heads can be trusted, they say that Tatek boasted in one company of Ustashes that he removed from the road 300 people per each finger (with his right or left hand), i.e. a total of 1,500 people in one day.

Minister Bešliagić Hilmija, who was in the village of Butzy<sup>264</sup> at the time, immediately drove to Zagreb in order to stop all these massacres and to prevent the massacres that were pending for Banja Luka. It has not been determined whether Minister Hilmija Bešliagić took some eyewitnesses (peasants) with him to Zagreb, but it is believed here that he did so. Bešliagic has an estate in Šargovci.<sup>265</sup>

In the village of Šargovci,<sup>266</sup> the Catholics who in the time of the pig slaughter used to provide hospitality to the Orthodox in their homes later slaughtered those same people, children, women, with whatever killer tools they reached, as well as wooden logs, hoes, forks for manure or hay and various others.

The main culprits for the massacre that took place

++++  
Commander of the local body guard of Pavelić "Selić",<sup>267</sup> who is currently in Zagreb,  
two sons of Marko Pletikosić from Budžak, Banja Luka District  
Ustasha captain Tatek  
Catholic priest Filipović.

People who helped the people during the massacre

++++  
Minister Hilmija Bešliagić  
One mayor  
More people listed in the original.

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<sup>264</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>265</sup> Šargovac.

<sup>266</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>267</sup> Zelić.

No. 48

POLICE NOTE WITH THE REPORT ON THE MASSACRE OF SERBS  
IN THE VICINITY OF BANJA LUKA, WITH THE REMARK THAT  
THE DOCUMENT WAS OBTAINED FROM PERO KONDIĆ.<sup>268</sup>

3

Requiring action.

I received the attached letter [typo error] from Mr. Pero Kondić, who currently lives in Belgrade, Vašingtonova ulica 10, given that Mr. Kondić does not want to cause inconvenience with the Croatian authorities to the scribe, possibly a Volksdeutscher Hoffmann. He omitted the names, and in order to get those names as well as the original, Kondić would have to be summoned by the authorities.

The summoned man could validly prove his identity Petar (surname illegible), born in Veles on October 14, 1898, residing in Vašingtonova ulica no. 10.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 201.

<sup>269</sup> This paragraph is a handwritten note.

No. 49

HANDWRITTEN NOTES ON THE SUMMONS TO PERO KONDIĆ  
AND A NOTE THAT HE WAS NOT FOUND ON FEBRUARY 26 [1942].<sup>270</sup>

K III

271

Pero Kondić to be summoned!<sup>272</sup>

Cannot be found 26. II<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 198.

<sup>271</sup> Illegible handwritten note.

<sup>272</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>273</sup> Same as previous.

No. 50

ON MARCH 4, 1942, THE SS CAPTAIN SUMMONS PERO KONDIĆ TO REPORT TO THE POLICE HEADQUARTERS ON MARCH 9, 1942, TO GIVE A STATEMENT.<sup>274</sup>

SENIOR LEADER OF SS AND POLICE<sup>275</sup> Belgrade, March 4, 1942  
in the area of the Plenipotentiary Commanding phone: 22-103  
General in Serbia  
Commander of the Security Police and Veterans' Hall<sup>276</sup>  
the Security Service in Belgrade  
K III Rx/Rz. B. Nr. 1573/42

For  
Mr. Pero Kondić  
Belgrade,  
Vašingtonova ulica 10

Subject: Summoning

Please appear at the said office, 1st floor, room 103, to make a statement on Monday, March 9, 1942, at 10 a.m.

By order of  
SS Captain personal signature<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 196.

<sup>275</sup> The institution of the Senior Leader of the SS and the Police in Serbia (*Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer*) was formed in the second half of January 1942 to replace the Operational Group of the Police (EG Sipo-SD). It was headed by SS-General (SS-*Brigadeführer*) August von Meyszner, to whom both police institutions in Serbia were subordinated: the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienst*, abbreviated BdS). and the Commander of the Order Enforcement Police (*Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei*, abbreviated BdO). For more on Meyszner see: S. C. Ćirković, *Ko je ko u Nedićevoj Srbiji*, 303.

<sup>276</sup> *Ratnički dom*, the building housing the headquarters of the German police services, today the Hall of the Serbian Army (*Dom Vojske Srbije*), Braće Jugovića Street 19.

<sup>277</sup> Illegible.

No. 51

ON MARCH 4, 1942, SS CAPTAIN SUMMONS PERO KONDIĆ TO REPORT TO THE POLICE HEADQUARTERS ON MARCH 9, 1942, TO GIVE A STATEMENT.<sup>278</sup>

March 4, 1942  
Veterans' Hall

K III Rx/Rz. 1573/42

Sent 5. III. 42<sup>279</sup>

Attachments: /

For  
Mr. Pero Kondić  
Belgrade,  
Vašingtonova ulica 10

Subject: Summon

Please appear at the said office, 1st floor, room 103, on Monday, March 9, 1942, at 10 a.m., to make a statement.

By order of

Signed Rexeisen  
SS Captain

5. 3. 42<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 197.

<sup>279</sup> Dispatch stamp.

<sup>280</sup> Handwritten note and initials.

No. 52

LIEUTENANT SCHRÖTER REPORTS ON MARCH 9, 1942, THAT PETAR KONDIĆ DOES NOT LIVE AT THE DESIGNATED ADDRESS.<sup>281</sup>

III C

Belgrade, March 9, 1942

1/Note.

Subject: Petar Kotević.

The party that appeared here with a letter for Petar K o n d i ć, Belgrade, Vašingtonova ulica no. 10, confirmed without any doubt on the basis of the identity card of the Belgrade City Administration that his identity was Petar Kotević, born on 14 October 1898<sup>282</sup> in Veles, with an apartment in Belgrade, Vašingtonova ulica no. 10. Since the name as well as the first two letters of the surname and address correspond, he took over the summon. He has nothing to do with this whole thing and has never been to Banja Luka so far. As he stated, in the house where he lives, in Vašingtonova ulica no. 10, there is no Petar Kondić.

SS lieutenant.

Schröter<sup>283</sup> personal signature

2/K III with a request to take note.

10. 3. 42.

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<sup>281</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 195.

<sup>282</sup> 1898.

<sup>283</sup> SS Lieutenant (SS-*Obersturmführer*) Heinz Schröter, Officer in the Third Department, Security Service (SD) of the Police Commander (BdS), Office III C.

No. 53

ACCORDING TO AN EXCERPT FROM THE DAILY REPORT ON THE EVENTS OF MARCH 2, 1942, AN USTASHA COMPANY MASSACRED SERBS NEAR BANJA LUKA, AND BECAUSE OF THAT, THE CROATIAN MILITARY COMMAND REQUESTS FROM THE GENERAL STAFF TO INTERVENE.<sup>284</sup>

Excerpt from the daily report on the events of March 2, 1942 = VHK =.

According to the intercepted radio message, an Ustasha company from the Battalion of Supreme Leader's Body Guard beat to death 31 miners with mattocks in a coal mine in the Banja Luka sector, and another 500 people in a village, without receiving any such order. In this radio message, the Command of the Croatian Armed Forces in Banja Luka urgently begs the General Staff to ban such arbitrariness, because otherwise the population would join the insurgents for fear of violence.

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<sup>284</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 153.

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM BANJA LUKA ON THE CRIMES OF THE USTASHA AUTHORITY AGAINST THE SERBS AND THE SERBIAN CLERGY.<sup>285</sup>

15/4<sup>286</sup>

One female refugee states:

I was a teacher at the elementary school in Šiprag,<sup>287</sup> the District and the City of Kotor.<sup>288</sup> Since I did not want to take the oath to Dr. Pavelić, I left this service. I stayed in Šiprage until June 21, last year and I went to Banja Luka, where my parents live. The town of Šiprage is mostly inhabited by Muslims, the Serbs are represented there by 10% less. The whole area is Serbian. During my stay in Šiprage, the Serbs were not persecuted. In my opinion, this is owing to District Chief PETRIČEVIĆ MATKO, who is a cousin of Dr. Gutić Viktor, Ustasha commander for the former Vrbas Province.

In June 1941, by order of Dr. Gutić Viktor, the Orthodox churches in Kotor Varoš, Čelince<sup>289</sup> and Moslavara<sup>290</sup> were destroyed.

In the night of July 1941, the Ustashas broke into the private apartment of the Bishop of Banja Luka PLATON, imprisoned him in the CRNA KULA<sup>291</sup> prison, where the parish priest SUBOTIĆ from Bosanska Gradiška had already been kept, and took them both to the village of Vrbanja,<sup>292</sup> 3 km away from Banja Luka, where they were killed and their bodies thrown into the Vrbanja River. These murders were committed after a drinking spree, which was organized by Dr. Gutić and the executioner Dželić.

In July 1941, the following persons were taken to the camp in Gospić, namely: Tešanović Đorđe, carpenter, Koščica, former District Chief in Kotor and another large number of Serbs whose names I do not know. Their fate is completely unknown to us. Mass arrests took place in surrounding Serb

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<sup>285</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 117-118.

<sup>286</sup> Handwritten note with initials.

<sup>287</sup> Šiprage.

<sup>288</sup> Kotor Varoš.

<sup>289</sup> Čelinac.

<sup>290</sup> Maslovare.

<sup>291</sup> „Crna kuća” (‘Dark House’).

<sup>292</sup> For more on these murders, see: J. Mirković, *Stradanje Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj. Fotomonografija*, Beograd: Svet knjige, 2016, 377-379, 385.

villages. They were imprisoned in the “Kastel” prison in the Banja Luka, where they were killed and then thrown into the Vrbas River. One female witness saw 30-40 human corpses floating down the Vrbas River.

During the Serbian Christmas of 1942, the Ustashas came to the Serbian village of Čelinac near Banja Luka. According to the old custom, Christmas candles were lit in Serbian houses. When the Ustashas saw this, they killed all the inhabitants of the houses one by one, and set the houses on fire.

In December 1941, 3,500 Ustashas from Pavelić’s so-called body guard came to Banja Luka from Zagreb.

On February 8, 1942,<sup>293</sup> a group of these Ustashas, led by a Franciscan from the Petričevac monastery, came to the Serbian village of Rakovica-Rudnik near Banja Luka. Serbs, Muslims and Catholics worked in the mines in this village. The Serb workers were beaten to death with picks on the spot in the mine. There were 30-40 Serbs. After this murder, the same Ustashas went to the village of Drakulići,<sup>294</sup> where the families of the killed miners were. Women and children were killed in a row here – there were 1500 of them. Only one woman with her five children somehow escaped, but later this woman went insane.

On February 9, Ustashas continued to kill in the villages of Motike, Pavlovac,<sup>295</sup> and Hankoli,<sup>296</sup> bringing the number of Serbs killed to 2,700 in two days. A Muslim leader from Banja Luka, Bešlagić,<sup>297</sup> told Pavelić that he could no longer allow the killings of Serbs in Banja Luka because the Muslims were preparing an uprising. Thanks to this intervention, Serbs were spared further killing in Banja Luka, but were forced to convert to the Catholic faith.

Many Serb residents from Banja Luka were transferred to Serbia by the Croatian authorities last summer, but their apartments were totally looted by the Ustashas. The most expensive furniture and valuables fell into the hands of the relatives of Dr. Gutić. MANDROVIĆ, a relative of Dr. Gutić, got the house and furniture of the merchant Božić Kosta. In this way, his

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<sup>293</sup> The crime was committed on February 7, 1942; D. Lukač, *Banja Luka i okolica u ratu i revoluciji 1941-1945*, Banja Luka: SUBNOR Banja Luka, 1968, passim; L. Lukajić, *Ustaše i fratri kolju*, passim.

<sup>294</sup> Drakulić.

<sup>295</sup> Šargovac.

<sup>296</sup> Han Kolo (today: Kolo).

<sup>297</sup> Hilmija Bešlagić was the Minister of Transport and Public Works at that time; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 36 (Z. Dizdar).

daughter Mira came into possession of valuable winter coats and other pieces of clothing.

Last summer, 2 churches in Banja Luka were destroyed. These demolitions had to be carried out upon the orders of the Ustashas by the Serbs and Jews who were imprisoned.

The instigator of these killings of Serbs and persecution was Dr. GUTIĆ, and there also stood out: Dželić, Gutić Blaž, brother of Dr. Gutić, Butorac Vilko, his secretary, Kan, head of Gutić's office, a former Yugoslav volunteer and some other Ustasha officers, whose names I do not know. These were all Ustashas from Pavelić's body guard.

On February 25, 1942, I was transferred to Serbia. Until March 4, I was in Sremska Mitrovica and Zemun, wherefrom I came to Belgrade with a border pass.

EXCERPT FROM THE STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM BANJA  
LUKA.<sup>298</sup>

One refugee states:

On February 8, 1942, a group of these Ustashas, led by a Franciscan from the Petričevac monastery, came to the Serbian village of Rakovica – Rudnik near Banja Luka. Serbs, Muslims and Catholics worked in the mines in this village. The Serb workers were beaten to death with picks in the mine on the spot. There were 30 to 40 Serbs. After this massacre, the same Ustashas went to the village of Drakulići,<sup>299</sup> where the families of the killed miners lived. Women and children were serially killed here = there were 1500 of them. Only one woman with her five children somehow escaped, but later this woman went insane.

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<sup>298</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 122.

<sup>299</sup> Drakulić.

No. 56

ANOTHER EXCERPT FROM THE STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM  
BANJA LUKA.<sup>300</sup>

One refugee states:

On February 9, 1942, the Ustashas continued to kill in the villages of Motike, Pavlovac<sup>301</sup> and Han Koli,<sup>302</sup> so that the number of Serbs killed in 2 days rose to 2,700. A Muslim leader from Banja Luka, Bešlić, told Pavelić that he could no longer allow these killings in Banja Luka committed against the Serbs because Muslims were preparing an uprising. Thanks to this intervention, the Serbs were spared further killing in Banja Luka, but were forced to convert to the Catholic faith.

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<sup>300</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 124.

<sup>301</sup> Šargovac.

<sup>302</sup> Han Kolo (today: Kolo).

REPORT OF FEBRUARY 1942, ON THE CRIMES OF THE USTASHAS  
IN BANJA LUKA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS, IN JANUARY AND  
FEBRUARY 1942, AS WELL AS ON THE CRIMES OF THE USTASHAS  
IN SOME OTHER PARTS OF BOSNIA AND CROATIA IN 1941.<sup>303</sup>

The month of February<sup>304</sup>

Report  
about the events in the vicinity of Banja Luka (former Vrbas Province)  
in Croatia.

As already reported, the miners from the Lauš coal mine near Banja Luka were killed with sledgehammers and picks on February 7, 1942. This bloodshed was carried out under the leadership of a Roman Catholic priest – Jesuit<sup>305</sup> from the Petričevac<sup>306</sup> monastery, near Banja Luka. The number of victims was 47 miners, Serbs.

During Serbian Christmas, the Ustashas invaded the Serbian village of (Ć)Čelinac. In the houses, where they found Christmas candles burning, the entire population was killed, and the houses were burned.

In mid-February 1942, the Supreme Leader's Body Guard came to Banja Luka. The villages of Motike, Drakulići<sup>307</sup> and Pavlovac<sup>308</sup> from the Banja Luka District were surrounded and all Serbs without exception, whether men or women, old or young, were slaughtered. The corpses were left unburied, so that dogs and pigs ate them.

Just as an example of the details of the manner in which the Serbs were tortured in Croatia, the following is stated:

Vasa Stanišević, a municipal notary from Turjak, Bosanska Gradiška District, was arrested on June 27, 1941 and handed over to the Ustashas. In a mill on Mount Kozara, he was first tied up, and then his hands and feet

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<sup>303</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 165-166.

<sup>304</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>305</sup> Franciscan.

<sup>306</sup> Petričevac.

<sup>307</sup> Drakulić.

<sup>308</sup> Šargovac.

were broken, his nose and tongue were cut off; then his eyes were plucked out of his eye sockets. After that, he was castrated and then his meat was cut off piece by piece from his still living body. The report comes from the Croatian gendarme Alois Pintar from Turjak. Nežić Stevo from Romanovac, Bosanska Gradiška District, was killed in a similar way. The Ustashas lit a fire on his chest.

The murder of the protopresbyter Dušan Subotić from Banja Luka (former member of the Parliament) has already been reported on. It should be added that he was first beaten and spat at in the convent of the Sisters of Mercy in Bosanska Gradiška. He was then further beaten and tortured in the Catholic chapel in Stara Gradiška. He was later taken to a prison in Banja Luka, where both his arms and left leg were broken, and among many other sufferings from torture, a fire was lit on his chest.

The inhabitants of Bosanska Gradiška could see about 20 corpses in the water (sometimes even more) floating on the Sava River every day for seven weeks in the summer of 1941. The corpses were tied to each other with wire and often carried tablets with the inscription: "Free ride to Belgrade"<sup>309</sup>. The bookstore owner Jovo Vranić from Bosanska Gradiška noticed an impaled corpse on a stake in July 1941. The victim was roasted on fire. He further saw countless mutilated corpses. Among them were those with severed heads, and many naked priests' corpses with only red priestly ribbons.

Another one saw a family, nailed to the front door of the house, consisting of a father, mother and a little girl, floating along the Sava River.

At the end of January 1942, about 250 Serbs from the villages of Nožičko (Prnjavor District, Municipality of Svinjar), Romanovci, Elezić<sup>310</sup> and Rogonja<sup>311</sup>, were taken to Stara Gradiška, to the frozen Sava river, and were slaughtered there. Shouts for help of these poor people were heard at night in Bosanska Gradiška.

#### SOME MORE EXAMPLES OF THE BRUTALITIES OF THE CROATIAN USTASHAS IN BOSNIA.

1/ At the beginning of September 1941, in the village of Dugo Polje, Gradačac District, the Ustashas killed the merchant Ilija Krekić, his mother

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<sup>309</sup> In the original: "Slobodna vožnja do Beograda". – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>310</sup> Elezagići.

<sup>311</sup> Rogolji.

Mara (90 years old) and beat dead their dog. The corpse of the killed dog was placed on the corpse of the old woman.

2/ In the village of Majevac, Gradačac District, at the end of August 1941, Croats set fire to a Serbian church, during the fire, the arsonists danced kolo around the church.

3/ In the village of Podnovlje, Gradačac District, the Ustashas demolished the Serbian church. The Serbs were forced to defecate in the altar space.

4/ In the villages of the Ključ District, at the end of July and the beginning of August 1941, the Serbs were massacred. Women and children were locked in houses and these houses were set on fire.

5/ On September 6, 1941, in the Serb village of Semizovac near Sarajevo, the Ustashas drove the entire population into houses and then the houses were set on fire, so that they all died in flames.

6/ At the end of June 1941, the Ustashas in the village of Rakovica near Ilidža – Sarajevo, torched the population together with their houses.

7/ In September 1941, the Ustashas cruised through all the villages around Mrkonjić Grad; groups of 30-50 men, women and children were taken to Mrkonjić Grad and slaughtered there. They were buried on the site where dead animals are buried.

8/ In the little town of Teslić and in Usora, all Serbian priests were arrested together with their families, loaded into train cars and shipped in the direction of Bosanski Brod. Throughout this journey, Croats fired rifles and machine guns into this car.

9/ In the village of Velika Kladuša, 400 Serbs were killed in the Serbian church.

10/ In the Serbian church near Topusko, the Ustashas dishonored a Serbian female teacher on the holy altar.

REPORT OF MARCH 26, 1942 ON THE SITUATION IN WESTERN BOSNIA IN THE PERIOD FROM APRIL 1941 TO MARCH 1942, ON THE USTASHA KILLINGS OF SERBS, THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UPRISING, THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNISTS AND A NEW WAVE OF KILLING OF SERBS.<sup>312</sup>

Transcript

Report

on the situation in the former Vrbas Province (Western Bosnia)  
in the period April 1941 – March 1942.

The establishment of the Croatian state was received with enthusiasm by the Croatian population. The entire state power, based on the personal decision of the Supreme Leader, was exercised by the lawyer Dr. Viktor Gutić. The police were led by his brother Blaž Gutić. Around these two, in themselves and for themselves very problematic persons, the biggest scum of the city of Banja Luka gathered, as did for example Betunac Matko – a sixth grade high school student, who was given the management of the City Mortgage Bank<sup>313</sup>. The Serbs were convinced that the German army would take over the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was considered optimistic. Even when the Croatian state was proclaimed, they behaved loyally and correctly. Gutić's guard consisted of Croats, Bosniaks of the Islamic religion (Muslims), but the core consisted of the Roman Catholic youth organization "Križari" (Crusaders).

The most prominent Serbs in Banja Luka were taken hostage and imprisoned in the "Black House"<sup>314</sup>. On Gutić's order, the Serbian bishop Platon was – as an outsider<sup>315</sup> – expelled, of which he complained to Gutić. He also addressed the Croatian Bishop Josa Garić with a request to mediate with the authorities in order to suspend this expulsion order. The Croatian bishop gave him a guarantee that he would finish this matter within 3-4 days,

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<sup>312</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 167-187.

<sup>313</sup> *Gradska hipotekarna banka.*

<sup>314</sup> *Crna kuća.*

<sup>315</sup> That is, not born on the territory of NDH. – *Subeditor's note.*

and until then, the Serbian bishop should calmly wait for the decision in Banja Luka. That same night, between 1 and 2 o'clock, the Serbian bishop was taken away by force. The population was convinced that the bishop had been expelled to Serbia pursuant to the expulsion order.

Two mutilated corpses – of Bishop Platon and of the spiritual presbyter<sup>316</sup> Dušan Subotić – which were found in the river Vrbanja after about three weeks, convinced the population of something completely different. I personally established the identity of the corpses, which were urgently buried between the military cemetery and the city cemetery. Eyewitnesses, among other things, recognized the police agent and a member of Gutić's body guard Tomić, and the Muslim Dželić among the killers.

This murder was a signal for the daily growing number of murders of the most prominent Serbs. Hostages (of the German army) were taken out of the "Black House" almost every night, and on Gutić's, mostly oral, orders, outside of Banja Luka, they were brutally tortured, killed and thrown into the Vrbas River. This is how my personal acquaintances were killed: the priest Živko Danilović and Nikola Ćurčija (the latter is an innkeeper who once kicked Gutić out of his inn due to drunkenness and a fight), then Boško Panić, Perduv (this one was allegedly ground in a meat grinder at the city slaughterhouse), then MP Simo Marjanac with a notary from his town, priest Bogdan Vranješević, former opposition MP Dušan Branković and many, many others. Among the butchers, the Muslim Dželić and the Ustasha leader (camp warden) Marić (from Dragočaj) stood out. That is how it happened in the first days of May in Banja Luka and in all larger towns of the Vrbas Province. There was an even greater evil in the villages, where everyone could torch uncontrollably and unhindered, plunder and kill as much as his heart desired. There was hardly a Serb village that was spared by the bandits.

The first Croatian work on culture was the demolition of the Serbian cathedral in Banja Luka, a masterpiece of modern architecture. The Serbs had to work side by side with the Jews to demolish God's house. After two months of work, only the foundations remained, and standing on the ruins, the Ustasha leader – Staff Officer Gutić – is on the one hand shining with happiness, and yet full of anger and hatred for his accomplices: "Brothers Croats, we are celebrating a big day today, the day of the destruction of the Devil's house." Numerous citizens – Croats and Turks – applauded the speaker and the perpetrators.

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<sup>316</sup> In the Serbian Orthodox Church, the rank of *protojerej* (protopresbyter).

Mr. Gutić spoke often, and where he spoke, he only provoked anger in anyone who had even a little brain in his head. Thus for example in Sanski Most, on the occasion of handing in the decorations and rewarding the murderer of 27 innocently slaughtered Serbs from the village of Tomina, he said: “I have issued a strict order for the Serbs to be destroyed economically first. Then I will sweep them completely with iron brooms.” And then he started shouting hysterically: “Grab your scythes and hoes, kill Serbs wherever you see them, my blessing and the blessing of our Supreme Leader will follow!”

Another time he paraphrased a folk song from the Turkish era: “Yes, and the roads will want Serbs, but there will be no more Serbs.” In Kotor Varoš, he said, among other things: “Brothers, if you come across two Serbs somewhere, then kill one – because you should know – they don’t want anything good for you.” His speeches with quoted sentences can easily be found in the Ustasha newspaper “Hrvatska Krajina” (May, June) and also in Zagreb and Osijek’s newspapers.

And despite the threats, the Serbs did not despair, they could only understand them as outbursts of a notorious alcoholic. No, they really could never have imagined, even in their dreams, that what Staff Officer Gutić was saying was just a hint of the horror that would come.

Within the circle of his confidants, he informed them of the Supreme Leader’s plan for resolving the Serb question in Bosnia and Herzegovina: “One third will be forced to convert to the Roman Catholic faith, another third will be expelled from the country and a third will be disposed of.” He once said to several Serbs from Banja Luka: “What do you want, you must disappear from Bosnia, regardless of who the ultimate winner is. If Germany wins, you will no longer exist, if England wins, you will still be defeated in time, and if Russia wins, then neither we nor you will exist.” Simultaneously with these open threats from Staff Officer Gutić, the police directorate issued a denial assuring the people that there was no talk of mass expulsions and killings of the Serbs. Old Serbian families who knew Gutić and his accomplices fled to the territory of the Military Commander in Serbia in a timely manner. It must be noted that until August, there was no reason in the territory of the Vrbas Province that could provoke even a punishment, let alone justify murders and robberies. The Serbs from Bosnia are known for their tolerance in good and evil alike. Even when the Ustahas began to establish themselves in the villages, when the gangs – gathered from the worst scum of the population – proclaimed themselves the only state governance

and maintained this cowardly horror by looting and killing, even then they bore their heavy cross. No voice of rebellion was heard.

At the beginning of June, the Ustasha commander – the Bihać camp commander Kvaternik<sup>317</sup> (nephew of the Military Commander – Marshal Kvaternik) got rid of the Serb inhabitants in both ingenious and evil ways. Simply, all the Serbs, men, women, children, were evicted from their apartments, loaded and, near Petrovac, simply unloaded in the hills and left to God's will and their destiny.

The ingenious recipe spread like wildfire throughout the country. Panic! The craziest rumors have found fertile ground, no wonder, because the most incredible thing has become a reality and even a law in the Independent State of Croatia. The only thing that still sustained the Serbs was their belief in the German occupation of Banja Luka and the hope that the rapid occupation of the whole of Bosnia by the German army – would bring to an end the chaotic anarchy. There were also rays of hope: due to the German veto, the “Black House” ceased to be a fowl felons' den for the sadistic instincts of various staff members, camp wardens and other Ustashes. The anticipated rumors about the German administration are persistently spread. Unfortunately, these are just rumors. The only absolute certainty that then no evil would happen to this badly suffering country. Bosnia would experience the end of the war in the greatest order and in the deepest peace.

Another ray of hope has shown itself, but it shows that there is no hope from the Ustasha government. The Supreme Leader's big speech around June 22 was supposed to announce law and order in the country. Exposure to violence, looting, murder of the “Greek-Eastern” population has to stop. All are of course equal before the law! Whoever does differently will be shot. – The flash of hope disappeared too quickly. A naive, good-natured Serb thought he could give faith to one head of state. He believed in the law and the law in the state of the Croats, but this time as well – as before (and in the future) he was cruelly cheated. Again, the Serb had to pay dearly for his belief, because he still did not know that the Supreme Leader's talk was empty, he believed that with a double deception (of Europe and his subjects) he would kill two birds with one stone. Only a few days after the Supreme Leader's speech, before Vidovdan (June 28 – the greatest Serbian national holiday) – the Day of Remembrance of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389), the terrible

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<sup>317</sup> Ljubomir Kvaternik, the Grand County Executive (*veliki župan*) of the County (*Velika župa*) of Krbava and Psat with its headquarters in Bihać; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 225-226 (Z. Dizdar).

news spread across the country at the speed of lightning that all Serbs in Banja Luka and the Vrbas Province would be slaughtered on Vidovdan.

Most Serbs spent that night outside of their apartments. On Vidovdan itself, an official denial appeared, according to which “persecutions and murders of Greek-Easterners are not imminent”. This appeasement did not last for a long time either, because after a few days, rumors about the forced emigration of the Serbian population arrived. This was also denied, yet those who were acquainted with past experiences could not trust. On the same day, the Croatian police sealed all Serbian churches and confiscated all church books. It was first said that the clergy were allowed to hold the last church liturgy the next morning on St. Peter’s Day, however that same night the entire Serbian clergy of the Vrbas Province were arrested by the Ustashas and taken in open trucks to the fortress in Banja Luka, and then they were further transferred to the concentration camp in Požega. In the following nights, they also set on the prominent and wealthy Serb residents. It is self-evident that the victims were completely robbed. Their real estate was sold at bargain prices and the money was distributed among the Ustashas. From the great wealth (because the Serbs not only made up the majority of the population of the Vrbas Province, but they were also the richest and most respectable inhabitants of the country), the Croatian state did not benefit at all. All of this is too well known so I will not dwell on this any longer.

The massive anxiety in the people was severe. The people are confused, crushed, in despair – but they fatalistically succumbed to their destiny, which, as atonement for the sins of its leaders, let the scourge of God hit them. They were ready to persevere by suffering in the fire and surrendering to God’s will to await purification and resurrection. After Germany declared war on the USSR, the position of the Serbs did not change; they still believed in reason, a sense of justice and the legitimacy of the Croatian state leadership.

They still did not seek their salvation in the forests and mountains. The first to do so were Muslims and Croats (mostly in Croat-settled areas). However, as the atrocities of the bloodthirsty Ustashas became more widespread, people no longer had any choice between life and freedom in the hills and certain martyrdom on the doorsteps of their ancestors’ houses. The “bare” life needed to be saved; there could be no talk of combat actions against the occupying troops – they expected only their deliverance, salvation, almost resurrection from the dead.<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> See: D. Lukač, *Ustanak u Bosanskoj Krajini*, Beograd: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1967.

The first to escape from Banja Luka were the well-known and previously punished communists Nikola Pavlić and his brother, then Adolf Podgornik also with his brother, then the three Mažar brothers, the Lastrić brothers – all pure Croats – intellectuals. Among the Muslims, the well-known communist and candidate for a member of Parliament is Muharem Kasas and the tinsmith Maslo. The son of the judge – Maglajić with his sister, Karabegović, a medical student, Radman, the Odić brothers, Kapetanović and many other Muslims. There were only two Serbs: Ličina Rade and Ljubomir Babić, which, in relation to 15,000 and 11,000 members of all other nationalities and religions in Banja Luka, represents the genuine ratio of the participation of Serbs in the Partisan intrigues. In all other towns, the ratio was the same.

The immediate reason for the uprisings on Ilindan (St. Elijah's Day – August 2) including Drvar was the following: A week before Ilindan, the Croatian authorities recklessly attacked the Serbs who lived there in the vast majority. Several churches in the immediate vicinity of Drvar were set on fire, and the religion of the Serbs was bestially ridiculed and desecrated. Numerous Serb residents died, tortured in an inhumane manner. The villages were looted and their inhabitants, regardless of age and sex, were killed.

No man to show mercy was found even for infants. Several hundred murders took place in Drvar alone. On August 1, when the atrocities reached their peak, under the leadership of professors Sorić<sup>319</sup> and Desnica, well-known nationalists, the Serbs in Drvar and the surrounding area rebelled and, after several hours of combat, took control of the situation. It is easy to understand that on that occasion the most bloodthirsty Ustashas lost their lives. It was similar in Bosansko Grahovo. On the basis of Gutić's order in the purest Serbian district, "in this hajduk nest" all respectable Serbs were to be wiped out. Several hundred were recruited. Thanks to denouncement, the intention of the Ustashas became known, as they were thwarted by a decisive counterattack. After taking power, Gutić's order and the list of Serbs sentenced to death were found. The Grahovo uprising was led by the local peasants, strong nationalists, without any communist influence. The character of the uprising was purely defensive, it was a desperate battle of the convicted

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<sup>319</sup> It is probably Milan Zorić. He was a communist and one of the organizers of the uprising in Drvar. See: M. N. Zorić, *Drvar u ustanku* 1941, Beograd: Sloboda 1984. See also: E. Šinko, *Drvarski dnevnik*, translated (from Hungarian) by Gabriela Arc, Beograd: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1987, 89-202.

to death peaceful, patriarchal peasants against the bloodthirsty men and the executioner's assistants. It is self-evident that the communists did not leave unused such a situation that was favorable for them. Uninvited guests soon appeared at the table that had already been set. Communist agitators came from the north from Mount Kozara: the first of these was the Croat Nikola Pavlič, then the teachers Velimir Stojnić and Ljubomir Babić.

They imposed themselves as leaders on Drvar by fraud and called themselves "people's liberators". Pavlič appointed himself press commissar, Stojnić war commissar and Babić political commissar. In Grahovo, the Reds' attempt to impose themselves on the people and take the lead failed, thanks to the nationalists Živko Brković and the priest Đujić,<sup>320</sup> who took the lead and drove the Communists out of Grahovo. Brković was sentenced to death by the Reds for that. In Drvar, the leader of the nationalists Desnica was soon killed by the Communist Velimir Stojnić, because he did not want to take the oath to Stalin. The fate of another nationalist from Drvar, Sorić, is uncertain.

The peasant uprising spread to the District of Glamoč. Just like in Drvar, here, too, the Reds managed to impose themselves as leaders in Mlinište, Potoci, Oštrelj and other places. Where Gutic's infernal plans were not thwarted, the Ustashas massacred men and women and children in ways that make one's hair stand on end.

It must be explicitly emphasized that the mass bloodshed took place in those districts where there was no talk of any unrest, let alone uprising. Thus, for example, 4000-5000 Serbs got killed in the District and town of Livno. In Livno, the Catholic Croats were in vast majority, so the Serbs could not even dream of an uprising. Serb families were taken from their homes around Ilindan at night; they were told that they should prepare for a transport to Serbia. The feeling of happiness of the Serbs loaded into trucks did not last long – near the village of Gradina, they were unloaded from trucks and, without any selection, men, women and children were killed in a way that is not deserved by beasts. When this became known in Livno, the remaining small number of the Serbs fled to the barracks of the Italian occupation troops, and here they found a humane reception and salvation from brutes. Apart from the Ustashas, the citizens of Livno, Croats and Muslims, also took part in the massacre, led by a certain Kajić (Samser), who in his brutal blood-thirstiness even had his own mistress slaughtered. The Italian occupation

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<sup>320</sup> Momčilo Đujić, a priest from Strmica, later commander of the Chetnik Dinara Division; he emigrated in 1945.

troops had the people exhumed, and the exact number of victims was determined. The slaughter of the Serb population was further transferred from Livno to Glamoč. Where there were no Italian occupation troops yet, there was a systematic extermination action led by the Roman Catholic Church, from village to village, from house to house.

No one who was caught was spared, no man, no woman, no child. Thus, for example, the village of Vrba, 6 km away from Glamoč, was completely exterminated. In Glamoč and Vrba, 34 members from my mother's family alone were killed. Later, when the insurgents captured Glamoč, only one gendarme was killed! However, when the Ustashas recaptured Glamoč after 48 hours, it took them mere 24 hours to literally eradicate the entire Serbian population from the surrounding area. The villagers were driven from the surrounding villages to Glamoč to be killed and slaughtered there. Both priests, Simo Banjac and Stojisavljević, were slaughtered together with their sons by Avdo Solak-Kec.

After that, children drove the mutilated corpses in cars, threw stones at them and butchered them. The hands and feet of 80-year-old Savka Narelović were first broken, her lower jaw was pulled out and it was only after two days with seven gunshot wounds that she succumbed to terrible torment. According to the data of the Italian authorities, 2,500 corpses were counted in the District and town of Glamoč. Among the murderers, the Muslim Berberović stood out in particular. Here, Catholic assassins gave preference to Muslim assassins. From Glamoč, the murderous tide spread in the direction of Mlinište. Croatian troops did not succeed in capturing Drvar and Bosansko Grahovo. Drvar fell in the fall, when armored units were engaged. The leaders of the uprising in Grahovo, Brković and Đujić, handed over the city to the Italians. There was no retaliation; to the sadistic bloodthirstiness of Catholics and Muslims instigated by religious frenzy, Italian troops put a stop here. The behavior of the Italians was not only correct but also extremely humane, so they won the general sympathy of the Serbs. And especially in the district where they operated.<sup>321</sup>

There was bloodshed around Ilindan in Sanski Most, although there was no sign or voice of any rebellion there. With the complicity of the local Croats and Muslims, the Ustashas took the lives of a total of 2,862 men, women and children. Only four Serbian families (Marinković, Bašić, Surunić and

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<sup>321</sup> See: K. Nikolić, *Italijanska vojska i četnici u Drugom svetskom ratu u Jugoslaviji 1941-1943*, Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2009.

Bijelović) remained alive in this city. In mixed-population villages, Catholics were more radical than Muslims. The former killed every last member of the Greek-Eastern Church.

At the same time and in the same way as in Sanski Most, they acted in the town and District of Prijedor. Those who survived the first attack had to convert to the Roman Catholic faith, without exception, in order to save their lives. Here, too, it is assumed that the details of the horrors are known too well. I will only state that the mass murders had special proportions in the cities and district of: Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Novi, Bosanska Kostanjica, Drvar na Uni, Bihać and many, many others.

In the District of Banja Luka, these villages had the worst fate: Srpska Ivanjska, Dragočaj, Piskavice,<sup>322</sup> Han Kolo, while the city itself (probably) had to thank the German occupation troops for being spared from mass killings. From here, the inhabitants were first deported to a concentration camp and then to Serbia. In the fall, the situation was pretty much regulated. Proclamations were issued several times by the Ustashas, the police, and even by the Supreme Leader himself. According to these, the state of Croats was finally to become a country where law and order should rule. From now on, no citizen (Croat) or subject of the state (Serb) should be deprived of life without a legal verdict, even if he is caught in the act. Especially (!) women and children had to be spared. Further promises were made that those who have so far disobeyed the Supreme Leader's orders and who have committed illegal acts will be brought to justice, regardless of who they are and regardless of their position in the country, and that they will be legally and lawfully called to account.

And look, a commission appeared in Banja Luka, headed by Colonel Ivan Mrak,<sup>323</sup> which was supposed to establish order and peace in the Vrbas Province. In one proclamation, he gave the Serbs absolute guarantees. Let them just return peacefully to their places of residence, their lives are guaranteed, their confiscated property will be reimbursed. All culprits, regardless of religion or nationality, should be punished. And indeed many Serbs returned to their homes, they even got their property back. Several refugees came from Serbia. Colonel Mrak understood his duty as a soldier with honor. He went so far that he allowed himself to even arrest certain Ustashas who were especially prominent in torturing and killing the innocents. Among them were the notorious butchers Dželić, Marić – the camp warden from Dragočaj,

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<sup>322</sup> Piskavica.

<sup>323</sup> *Tko je tko u NDH*, 283-284 (M. Pojić).

Tomić from Ivanjska and many others. It also seemed that he intended to arrest the main culprit, Gutić. – How seriously did the culprits take the proceedings against them can be seen from the following: During the court hearing, the defendant Dželić addressed the present prosecutors – 13 widows – with a cynical question: “You are accusing me for your 13 husbands. Well, I have killed 130 of them!” and laughed out loud. When asked by Colonel Mrak why he did that, he stated that this was done on the order of his superior – on the order of the one who gave him the weapon. Colonel Mrak’s actions were followed with great sympathy by all Serbs in Croatia, because he did his best to bring the solemn guarantee of the Croatian rulers to life.

Only communists remained beyond the boundaries of the law in the time of Mrak, and among them mostly Catholics and Muslims. Their main attention was focused on Serb villages because they were the easiest to find and recruit desperate people there; at a time when the Bosnian Serbs were optimistically waiting for better times, for a fair court verdict, the mass murderers were acquitted of every verdict, released, and Colonel Mrak was recalled.

The Ustashes agreed to make preparations for new massacres, this time of those Serbs who were so naive as to give faith in the words of someone such as the Supreme Leader.

The hills were now inhabited exclusively by communists. Thus, on the mountain Kozara, Dr. Mladen Stojanović was their leader, his deputy and political commissar was the Croat Mašer,<sup>324</sup> and the war commissar was a certain Croatian staff officer.

The composition of Partisan units is characteristic:

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Partisan Battalion in the village of Ponikve (7 km away from Banja Luka): political commissar<sup>325</sup> was a Muslim, tinsmith Maslo, then Mašer II,<sup>326</sup> son of the judge from Banja Luka and his sister.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Partisan Battalion near Mrkonjić Grad is led by the Muslim Muharem Kasas.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Partisan Battalion (Crni Vrh) is led by a Croat, Ivan Radman, a student from Banja Luka, and Radić,<sup>327</sup> a captain from Jošavka.

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<sup>324</sup> Mažar.

<sup>325</sup> The political commissar, along with the military leader, is the most important position in Partisan units.

<sup>326</sup> Mažar.

<sup>327</sup> Radoslav Radić, one of the insurgent leaders in the summer of 1941, then a member of the staff of the 4<sup>th</sup> Krajina Partisan Unit. In February 1942, he formed the Chetnik Detachment Borje; the man was sentenced to death in a trial in 1946.

The other Partisan battalions were also commanded for the most part by Croats and Muslims.

Since November, the communists have focused themselves exclusively on Serb villages. In the first line, they brought unrest to the Prnjavor District, which had peace until then. The villages of Kokalj, Mravica, Potočani fell as their victims, where the municipal office and school disappeared in fire. In the Prijedor District, villagers were forced to cut off railway lines and roads. On the Banja Luka-Jajce road, Serbs were forced by the Partisans – mostly Muslims and Croats – to dig transverse trenches so that traffic was interrupted.

In December, the Reds attacked Serb villages along the Banja Luka-Prnjavor road. The villagers also had to carry out sabotages. Bridges and telephone lines were destroyed, so traffic had to stop here as well. In mid-December, the Ustashas began retaliatory measures, exclusively in Serb villages. Numerous villages were set on fire, and the population that did not flee in time was killed. Nowhere did the Reds offer resistance. Not a single captured communist, who was a Muslim or a Croat, was shot. That is why, on the other hand, they threw themselves on the Serbs, in order to give the action of extermination a new name. During the raid on the gendarmerie station in Hrvaćani, the Reds killed 10 Croatian gendarmes under the command of the Croat Radman. As the Ustashas approached, the Partisans disappeared without a fight, and the innocent Serb population had to bleed again. A similar thing happened in Han Kolo, Krupa, Bočac and many other places. The blood, only Serbian blood had to flow, it seems again for the glory of the Lord, so similar to the Anni Domini of 1618-1648.<sup>328</sup>

It is symptomatic that the Reds took part in the extermination of Serbs just as zealously as the Ustashas. Maybe because they wanted to take revenge on the Serbs for little or no support at all. The Serb peasant from the Vrbas Province is not rich, but he is patriarchal, national and deeply religious, as opposed to the Croat, who is not patriarchal and who almost exclusively ties his national feeling and religion to the formal abounding to Roman Catholic church rules. Such a solid peasantry, as the Serbian one, of course could not suit the Reds, especially since they were commanded by Muslims and Croats.

At Christmas time, the Serb population was oppressed by a heavy plague. The largest and most beautiful churches were destroyed, burned or demolished, our shrines were desecrated, consecrated church utensils, the

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<sup>328</sup> It refers to the participation of Serbs in the Austrian army during the Thirty Years' War.

ceremonial vestments of the clergy, church accessories and furniture were sold to the Gypsies for next to nothing. The Julian church calendar was abolished and the “Greek-Easterners” had to celebrate their holidays according to the Catholic Gregorian calendar. Not a single Serb celebrated his Christmas holiday according to the calendar of the blood shedding Catholic Church. Terrible rumors were circulating in Banja Luka again about St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, which would be given to the Serbs in the entire Vrbas county as a Christmas present. And again the rumors had to come true. The ice-cold snowstorm was not an obstacle for the Ustashas to stop them from going to Serb villages in search of the “culprits” who celebrate the feast of the “Devil’s faith”. And the “culprits” were killed, their houses were burned – out of 15,000 Banja Luka’s Serbs, another 2,657 Serbs were there at Christmas time. Out of these, only 657 of them had converted to the Roman Catholic faith. How those 2,000 people, who remained faithful to the faith of their fathers, felt in their souls, can only be fully understood by those who had to experience it. They were just mere shadows of those people for whom the German garrison remained the only hope for life. However, just before Christmas, the Germans left Banja Luka and the Supreme Leader’s Body Guard came to the city’s disgrace and shame. They were to finally “make order” now. And when the infamous Gutić arrived after the Body Guard, panic reached its peak. The people deformed from horror whispered from mouth to mouth that the Supreme Leader’s “gave a free hand” for the final “cleansing” in Banja Luka and its surroundings. And indeed, the “cleansing” began near the village of Čelinci.<sup>329</sup>

Eight Ustashas fell in the combat with the Reds, and many were captured and wounded. Gutić’s intimate friend Mihaljević was among the victims. The next morning, photos of mutilated Ustasha corpses were hung. The Croats were incited. Groups gathered and talked about events and threatened. I saw them and heard their conversations; it was clear to me that this was a foreplay for what was to follow.

As always, police denials appeared, which, as always, were just an announcement of new attacks. However, the people allowed themselves to be lied to once again, and when it calmed down, the darkest act of Croatian cultural action took place, the absolute eradication of the Serbs in the villages in the immediate vicinity of Banja Luka. The tabula rasa was conducted in the villages: Drakulić, Rakovica, Rudnik, Motike, Bušak<sup>330</sup>, Bistrica, etc.

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<sup>329</sup> Čelinac.

<sup>330</sup> Budžak.

The village of Drakulić is only 3 km away from Banja Luka. Thanks to its inhabitants, the current Croatian Minister Hilmija Bešliagić saved his life and property in 1918. About 80 Serb families lived in the village, honest, capable and hard-working farmers. On Saturday, February 6, before dawn, the village, which had no idea of its being sentenced to death, was surrounded on all sides by the Supreme Leader's Body Guard. The headman of the village, the Croat Marko Gagula, who had been appointed the day before, led the Zagreb Body Guards from house to house. The frightened, confused villagers were pulled out of their beds, counted and crammed into sheep pens. This lasted until 9 o'clock. First, Stevo Glamočanin's widow was taken away with six small children (her husband had been shot by the Communists seven days before, because he wanted to cut wood from the forest so that his small children would not freeze). Then came the turn to the families of Đorđe and Kosta Glamočanin, who were in Germany as prisoners of war, a total of 11 children, two wives and their 80-year-old mother. Then the families of Stevo, Mićo and Vid Glamočanin, and there followed, in a row, the houses (five) of the Mitrovićs, which counted about 60 heads. They were burned in the barns. The families of Vaso Stanković (a German prisoner of war) and his brother with seven children, two wives, the family of Mitar Brković (a German prisoner of war). The family of Ilija Piljegić (also a prisoner of war), then the families Kuruzović, Stolić, Đušić, Brkić, Rade Stanković with 19 heads (from his 80-year-old father to the 5-month-old son), etc. From Šargovac, the families of Petar Todorović, Katanin, Kartić, Makivić, etc. etc. – Decent, honest, patriarchal families.

From 9-11 o'clock in the morning, only three young boys out of 80 families survived, thanks to the intervention of Đorđe Majkić, the manager of the property owned by Minister Bešliagić. Everyone else, from infants to the elderly, was slaughtered. – Yes, slaughtered in an inhumane way, as was typical of the Body Guard of the head of state of the Independent State of Croatia. Yes, the same Croatia, in which, during the 23 years of the existence of Yugoslavia, they only boasted of a thousand-year-old Croatian culture. At 11 o'clock, there was not a single Serb in Drakulić. The most peaceful village in the entire district was annihilated within two hours. Of the elementary school students only, 40 died – the slaughter continued in the following villages: Rakovica, Rudnik, Šargovac. The Supreme Leader's Body Guard is industrious – at 10 o'clock in the morning, the commander of an Ustasha detachment ordered the director of the Rakovica coal mine to get all the "Greek-Eastern" men out of the mine. The miners, who did not

sense anything, were ordered to lie on the ground, after which the hyenas attacked and killed them with mallets and picks. Within half an hour, instead of 57 staunch peasants, 57 human corpses were rolling in the coal dust. They were honorable men, who had never been involved in politics, who earned their bread diligently – without complaining. There had been no sabotage in this coal mine. The inhabitants of the village of Motike suffered the same fate. There is no chance that any human soul has managed to escape.

It was a shocking sight when the Supreme Leader's Body Guard continued its massacre in other villages at around 11 o'clock singing. Only the inhabitants of the village of Parlovac<sup>331</sup> sensed evil. The village was empty and the population had fled in an unknown direction. – The barking of dogs going wild due to human blood was heard everywhere. On Sunday, February 8, 1942, The Supreme Leader's Body Guard re-entered Banja Luka. And they had won a rich loot: the hard-earned property of the killed, several hundred cows, oxen, sheep. The Ustasha Body Guard, Home Guards and the population of Banja Luka were supplied with meat for a long time. Banja Luka itself should have been the last in line.

Led by a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Mr. Filipović, blood-intoxicated hordes approached the city. Their beastly instinct could not be fully satisfied. Sheer chance saved the lives of the remaining Banja Luka citizens – the sudden arrival of Minister Bešliagić and the Italian consul Skrabini.<sup>332</sup>

It was only 48 hours later that the city learned of the bloodshed in their immediate vicinity. There was a recruitment list and the ordering of the victims was established. Of course, it was “in the interest” of the Independent State of Croatia that no Serb survived. The first on the list was the physician at the city hospital, Dr. Zaharije Davidović. The manager of the property of Minister Bešliagić informed him about the massacres in Drakulić and other villages. The Minister was depressed, especially when he heard what was planned for Banja Luka. His interventions went in all directions, but without success, because only the head of state, the Supreme Leader's, could stop the proposed slaughter. The Minister personally drove to Zagreb in his small car. I was constantly informed about the state of affairs and the Minister remained our last hope. That night was the scariest thing a man could go through. The Serbs fled in all directions. Banja Luka's Muslims convened a conference and protested against the planned massacres. Only the Roman Catholic bishop could not appear, for he had something of a flu...

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<sup>331</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>332</sup> Scrabini.

Salvation came on Monday. A telegram from Zagreb: “Banja Luka must not happen.” That is how this endangered city was saved by God’s action this time as well. And for how long?!! The Ustasha commander was reportedly recalled, but about 3,000 innocent Serb children, women and men had lost their lives.

Of course the commander should have been recalled!! And again, there were proclamations, assurances, promises... And who could still trust them, when they pushed themselves into a lie the very next day. Those who were still alive could not and would not return to their homes, for only horror and death awaited them there.

The Ustasha hatred towards everything that is Serbian, and especially the Catholic hatred, is so great that no means were spared when the final goal was to be achieved, the extermination of “schismatics”.

Everything that has been presented in my report, no matter how troublesome it may appear, is but a vague picture of everything that is happening in the Vrbas Province.

## APPENDIX

### on the relation between Communists and Nationalists (Chetniks) in the former Vrbas Province.

Communists are masters of the situation almost everywhere in the hills. They are mostly commanded by Muslims and Catholics. Their special attention is focused on Serbian villages. The peasants are forced to carry out sabotages, so in the event of an attack by Croats, they must participate with the Reds, because otherwise they are exposed to certain death.

The Reds do not use any violence against Croats and Muslims, even when these are guilty. The Croats stay away from the hills and avoid fights with the Reds, but they are especially zealous in slaughtering the population along the traffic lines, that is, the population that did not escape. And so from bad to worse. In this way, the Serb is forced, *nolens volens*,<sup>333</sup> to seek his salvation in the hills. And there they are forced to place themselves under the protection of the Reds, although they have nothing in common with them, they are even dissatisfied with them (because the commissars are mostly Catholics and Muslims). And if only the will existed for the Catholic

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<sup>333</sup> Latin: willy-nilly.

state to be governed with just a bit of brain instead of hatred, if only his life were safe in the home of his ancestors, then there would be no question about any refugees in the forest.

The sanguinary Croatian authorities welcome the actions of the Communists because in this way, although formally, they are still offered a reason to exterminate the non-Catholics.

If the Serbs could trust the insidious Ustashas, not a single Serbian peasant would stay in the forest, but would return to the thresholds of their fathers a long time ago. The best evidence is offered by those areas where Italian troops had their garrisons at the beginning: Glamoč, Livno, Drvar, Petrovac, Mrkonjić Grad, Sanski Most, Grahovo and others. And as long as there were Italian units, everything was peaceful. However, as soon as the Ustashas wanted to show their strength by killing and looting after the Italians had left, the people fled to the hills. Above all, the cunning and skilled Communists, naturally enough, took the refugees under their protection. The exiles had to sell themselves to the devil, because the other devil in the form of the Ustashas was even blacker. Whenever Italian troops returned after each massacre, the people rushed back to their homes – and the Communist leaders were left alone in the woods. There is a multiple opinion that the Communist leaders are working against the Serbs together with the Ustashas. One thing must be emphasized:

1. That the losses of the Serbs were as great through indirect Communist action as those caused by direct Ustasha action. It is true that the Reds do not kill Serbs (except in individual cases), but neither do they fight against the Croats, yet they force Serbs to sabotage, which in turn leads to reprisals.

2. The former Vrbas Province would be completely peaceful if it were under German, Italian or any other occupation.

If this happened even now, the Serbian peasant would finish off the Reds himself and peace and order would be guaranteed.

### THE USTASHA BEHAVIOR TO COMMUNISTS!

There are many communists in the Croatian army among officers and soldiers, who supply the Reds with weapons and food. Ustashas often allow themselves to be captured without a fight. (Piskavica, Mrakovica, etc.)

There is a deep rift between the Ustashas and the Croatian army. The army is much milder and more humane towards Serbs, although in many cases it has also committed atrocities.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND CATHOLICS!

has become much worse in recent days. The Muslims protect their fellow-believers even if they belong to the Communists. There is a particularly big rift in Prijedor. When Muslims talk to Serbs, they put all the blame on the Croats, and if a Croat talks, then he puts all the blame on the Muslims. Who would know how they talk to each other? I cannot report anything about this.

March 26, 1942

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript

personal signature<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Illegible.

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1942, COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES MAKSIMOVIĆ REPORTS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN ON THE PERSECUTION OF SERBS IN PAKRAC, AND THEIR INTERNMENT IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP.<sup>335</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY  
COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION  
OF REFUGEES

Nr. 2573/42

Belgrade, February 3, 1942

<sup>336</sup>

3 / II

OFFICE LA / I

Into f.[ile] Ustasha<sup>337</sup>

Subject: Unheard-of treatment of the Serbs by the Ustashes in Pakrac<sup>338</sup>

Dear Mr. Commissioner,

A few days ago, Mrs. GULEŠIĆ LJUBA from Pakrac came to Belgrade, who in a company described the events of December 24, 1941, which took place in Pakrac during the arrest of Serbs by the Ustashes.

According to her story, the Ustashes arrested almost all Serbs in Pakrac that day and took them to the Jasenovac concentration camp.

In Jasenovac, according to her story, the Ustashes killed the following persons, namely: ILIĆ VLADIMIR, judge, Eng. LONČAR VLADIMIR, district forest ranger and BLANUŠA ĐURO, cauldron maker from Pakrac.

The arrested Serbs are held in very difficult conditions at Jasenovac, in the concentration camp, and it is very questionable whether any of these unfortunates will survive the winter under this regime maintained in the camp.

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<sup>335</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 121; see document no. 27 in this book.

<sup>336</sup> Initials.

<sup>337</sup> Initials.

<sup>338</sup> In the document: Pakratz.

I am asking you, dear Mr. Commissioner, to be so kind on this matter as to make the necessary intervention, so that these people can still be saved in time.

Expressing my deepest gratitude, I sign with expressions of my utmost respect

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ  
Toma Maksimović personal signature

To Mister 339  
Dr. Weinmann  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

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<sup>339</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees.

PART OF AN ARTICLE BY THE ITALIAN JOURNALIST CORRADO ZOLI PUBLISHED IN THE ITALIAN NEWSPAPER *RESTO DEL CARLINO*.<sup>340</sup>

341

Into f.[ile] Ustasha<sup>342</sup>

3. 2. 42<sup>343</sup>

### THE LITTLE BIRDS FROM GRAČAC

An instructive conversation with a German artillery major in a dining car between Zagreb and Ogulin.

“Resto del Carlino” Special Service

Gračac, in September

Zagreb-Ogulin railtrack. In the dining car: only four tables, set in four corners. At my table, across from me, sits a German artillery major, who greets me with kind cordiality. A tall man of his 45 years – auburn brown hair trimmed in Nazi fashion above the temples, gray eyes, with a smile on his lips. He introduces himself (“Major K.”). He tells me that he comes from Ingolstadt, that is, a Bavarian – cheerful and explosive almost as if he were Latin. He also tells me that he belongs to the ammunition supply service, that he is coming from Sarajevo and Banja Luka, where he was for 2 or 3 weeks, and that he is traveling to Rijeka, where he will board a ship. He doesn’t say in which direction, but I’m not interested in that anyway... I’m just interested in the area from which he comes, Bosnia, held by the German occupation troops. My companion agrees to tell me all about this area.

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<sup>340</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 119-120. An article entitled “The Birds of Gračac” by the Italian journalist Corrado Zoli was published in the newspaper *Il Resto del Carlino* in Bologna, on September 18, 1942. This and the next article by Zoli in the same newspaper and on the same topic were published in: M. Mihajlović, *Jugoslavija april 1941. – septembar 1943. Italijanski izvori: Dokumenti o masakru Srba u Dalmaciji, Lici i Kninskoj Krajini*, Beograd: Udruženje srpskih izdavača, 2012, 146-152. This is where the title of the article has been translated as “The Little Birds in Gračac” [„Ptičice u Gračacu”].

<sup>341</sup> Initials.

<sup>342</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>343</sup> Illegible word and initials.

## IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

A poor area – he says – and a poor people. There are no plains – several valleys – many hills. There are ravines – rocky slopes, mountain streams as much as your heart desires; a bit of green – but a lot of gray and light yellow; those are steep rocky walls. There are mountains between 1,500 and 2,000 meters, which are called “mines” (majdani), but I have not seen metal at all. As far as the number is concerned, there are not many Croats, but in general they represent a richer layer: the population, even in larger settlements, and in the villages in particular, is predominantly Serb; this is not covered up (they are partly Orthodox and partly Muslim). And what you see – landscape – people – position, they are ideal for guerrilla warfare. And the guerrillas are actually furious. Yes, even worse: civil guerrillas.

– Between who and who?

– Well: Between the Catholic Croats on the one hand and the Orthodox and Muslim Serbs on the other.

– Local Croats!

– Yes, in part; but the worst elements of the Croatian population; they are often young men under the age of 20 – savage juvenile delinquents, who, however, supply the Croats who come from other parts with weapons; the “Ustashas” who came from Zagreb, he says. I really could not swear to it; they are hard to discern – you know! It is certain – namely that this movement began shortly after the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia and that the originators were individuals who came from other parts – all in former Yugoslav uniforms with one special feature: an epaulette or cockade attached to the buttonhole or the cap. These aliens brought unrest to the local people. In several towns – in many villages – in almost all smaller towns, the local Croat population was asked: “Who are the Serbs who have caused you the most misery?”

You can only imagine what could unwind out of these demands! All hatred – all attacks – all dirty unsatisfied desires – all those miserable village envies surfaced; all unsettled debts were paid; all village revenges were coldly carried out. At the vague and indefinite denunciations of the informers, alien rebels recruited gangs of their helpers among the local population against individuals and entire families, who were blamed and dispersed due to the hatred of the Croats. And then the gloomy and bloody bottom of the Slavic soul opened (that “soul” that everyone in Europe is now gradually beginning

to get to know: from the abomination of the civil war in Spain to the “Čeka”<sup>344</sup> in the USSR). That bottom of the mentioned peoples has been exposed, those who are to some extent considered civilized, and who boast having adopted the Mediterranean and Roman cultures – if they do not say that they are the most direct heirs of the gods.

And then the slaughter started. There was a massacre. Whole families – men – women – the elderly – children – infants – the sick – they were killed with the most horrible Chinese methods imaginable; don’t ask me to describe this to you, for I don’t want to remember it...

– But these persecuted Serbs – sorry, maybe they are individuals – basically families who immigrated to Bosnia from the then Serbia – undesirable elements – immigrants, who sneaked into this area during the Yugoslav regime?

– By no means! replied Major K. resolutely. – I do not deny that certain individuals who have moved recently could also be found. But the predominant number were those Serbs who came there 9 or 10 centuries ago; some say AFTER the Croats, and others claim before the settlement of the Croats! In any case, they have been settled here since ancient times; they were Bosnians and they were the poorest – but the most numerous part of the Bosnian population; mostly Orthodox, but also a lot of Muslims...

In this way, things get complicated with images from religious wars. There were gangs of butchers led and incited by Catholic priests and monks. This is more than proven: in Travnik, about 100 km south of Banja Luka, in the first days of my stay, a monk was shot dead on the spot by a German occupation unit, for he was found putting a gang up [to killing] with a cross in his hand, the gang he himself led ...

– So, the Middle Ages ...

– Exactly! The Middle Ages ... with the use of machine guns, hand grenades, gas cans, dynamite cartridges, etc.

And these weapons?

The rest of the former Yugoslav Army – of course; the collection of spoils of war, and even carried out in the most careful manner and by the most modern methods, can never be 100% successful in this region.

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<sup>344</sup> ČK, according to the pronunciation: ČEKA, Security Police in the Soviet Union.

All these are, self-understandingly, the internal affairs of the Independent Croatian State – and it is clear that they do not concern anyone but themselves. But if you believe that German soldiers should refrain from watching such atrocities – then you are mighty wrong! ..., For, the situation has worsened, because the population, threatened with ruination, has started to organize resistance, which is growing every day. They have all fled into the woods; they have united into armed troops in impassable areas; they fight bitterly against the persecutors. The Croats claim that they are communists, which may be partly true, because the war against the Bolsheviks provoked an undefined reaction against the Axis and its allies among all these Slavic peoples; the Holy Mother Russia ..... has been attacked by her most heinous enemies, the Nazis and the Fascists.

– They are also called “CHETNIKS” – which would sound like the still unforgettable Balkan “komitas” – or they are called “rebels” (outlaws). And this is true, it is a mass that has rebelled against its complete planned extermination.

#### ACROSS LIKA

– And how many are there?

It's hard to tell numbers – not even approximately. In any case, there are not few of them. That is unquestionable. You know that within the borders of the future Kingdom of Croatia – in addition to 4 to 4.5 million Croats – there are one and a half million Serbs living here... It is clear that not everyone can be considered “outlaws” – but there are many of the kind. As I told you, they are divided into companies, they are richly armed and relatively well supplied with combat means. (Our excellent intelligence service claims that they also have a few light cannons!) They are scattered on the hills and fields, one can say, throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina; no doubt you will hear about them in Dalmatia as well; but I think that there might be some in Montenegro as well. It is certain that these people are ready for anything, and that it is one tricky thing; it is about saving bare lives – and at the same time the property – the field – the garden – the house are lost; it's about not dying a martyr's death! .....

Oštarije! Oštarije! – The railwaymen are shouting in front of the train, which stopped in front of a small village station. Of a tavern (oschtaria, according to the Italian word osteria, in Lika, a tavern or inn is called oštarija) no trace; but I have to get off here to get on the train to Lika. At the window of the train, which is slowly moving on, the major took the prescribed position for the last salute!

Corrado Zoli

No. 61

THE REQUEST OF THE VOLKSDEUTSCHERIN KATHY SALMASCHY,  
OF FEBRUARY 26, 1942, FOR THE RELEASE OF HER SON EMIL,  
UNJUSTLY ACCUSED AS A CHETNIK, FROM THE DANICA CAMP  
IN KOPRIVNICA.<sup>345</sup>

Ustasha<sup>346</sup>

Transcript.

February 26, 1942

Subject: Volksdeutscher in the Koprivnica – Danica<sup>347</sup> concentration camp.

Kathy Salmaschy appeared at this office and begged that her son Emil be released from the Danica camp, where he has been since July. Emil S. was born on January 24, 1909, he was a baker's assistant and as such he very rarely found employment, so he offered himself as an aide during various events. That is how he was once at some Chetnik celebration. During the evening, various groups gathered and took photos, of him as well, although he was never a member of the Chetnik association. However, based on this photo, he was arrested and taken away in July.

Just before Christmas, he managed to send a notification from the concentration camp in Koprivnica – Danica, that he was there, and that there were several other Volksdeutscher in that camp.

A certificate of his being member of the German ethnic group is attached.

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Confirming the accuracy of the transcript  
Marschal personal signature  
office clerk

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<sup>345</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 164.

<sup>346</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>347</sup> In the document: Danitza.

EXCERPT FROM THE DAILY REPORT ON THE EVENTS OF MARCH 8, 1942, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE NDH FORCES COMMITTED CRIMES AGAINST THE SERB INHABITANTS IN THE VICINITY OF OLOVO IN FEBRUARY 1942.<sup>348</sup>

Excerpt from the daily report on the events of March 8, 1942 = VHK =.

Based on an intercepted radio message, it follows that, according to one of Dangić's battalions, the Croats committed the following atrocities in the period from 30 January to 28 February 1942:

Near the Catholic church in Olovo: 40 men, women and children were killed. In the village of Cude<sup>349</sup> (9 km east of Olovo), 25 people were burned in one house.

In Paklenik<sup>350</sup> (6 km north-east of Olovo), Bjelisa<sup>351</sup> (5 km north-east of Olovo), Radačići (5 km north of Olovo) and Ponjerka<sup>352</sup> (2 km north of Olovo):

70 women and children expelled, 23 girls raped. 19 people were killed in the village of Seona.<sup>353</sup>

In Predražić<sup>354</sup> (20 km north-west of Olovo): 18 people killed in a bestial manner.

In Kriva Reka<sup>355</sup> (west of Olovo): countless people were killed, 50 were expelled.

In Drecelj (7 km east-northeast of Olovo) and Berlisalić<sup>356</sup> (5 km east of Olovo): 7 killed and 22 expelled.

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<sup>348</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 154.

<sup>349</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>350</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>351</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>352</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>353</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>354</sup> Predražići.

<sup>355</sup> Unidentified village or town.

<sup>356</sup> Berisalići.

In Brdulja<sup>357</sup> (west of Olovo): 94 people were also killed and burned  
In Krivojević<sup>358</sup> (east of Olovo): also 50 people killed.

The data come from Dangić's<sup>359</sup> source.

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<sup>357</sup> Brdijelja.

<sup>358</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>359</sup> Gendarmerie Major Jezdimir Dangić, Commander of the Bosnian Chetnik Detachment; see: K. Nikolić, *Istorija Ravnogorskog pokreta 1941-1945*, Vol. 2, Beograd: Srpska reč, 1999, 84-88.

No. 63

ON FEBRUARY 16, 1942, THE NDH GENDARMERIE COMMAND IN DRINJAČA SUBMITS TO THE TUZLA COMMAND A REPORT ON THE CHETNIKS, THEIR TIES WITH SERBIA, ATTITUDE TO THE GERMANS AND THE NDH, ATTEMPTED NEGOTIATIONS, AS WELL AS THE SITUATION IN THE GENDARMERIE AND LEGION UNITS.<sup>360</sup>

Transcript

Translation

Commander of the Military Gendarmerie  
Number: official  
February 16, 1942  
Drinjača.

Information on the Chetniks on the territories of Vlasenica and Srebrenica.

For the Commander of the Tuzla Gendarmerie

I have received the following information from the refugees coming through the forests from the direction of Vlasenica and Srebrenica:

Chetniks gather in large masses in the districts of Vlasenica and Srebrenica. Many Chetniks come from Mt. Majevisa, where actions are underway, and they use the mountains and forests to change their positions so that they do not come into contact with our forces anywhere. –

Apart from the Chetniks, there are also Communists in Mt. Majevisa who are in the majority, so it could not be determined whether they are still on Mt. Majevisa or have also changed their position.

The Chetniks from the direction of Selinja<sup>361</sup> towards Srebrenica continue to come across the Drina river unhindered and maintain the closest connection with Serbia.

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<sup>360</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 206-208, translation from Croatian (into German).

<sup>361</sup> Zelinja.

They receive weapons, ammunition, medical supplies, money and everything else that is necessary for guerrilla actions from Serbia. Each Chetnik has his daily income, 100 kuna<sup>362</sup> a day.

Many Chetniks from Bosnia, who had gone to Serbia, returned to Bosnia and they have the same Chetnik identification documents as the Chetniks in Serbia, because they registered with Nedić's Chetniks and with such identification documents they have free movement across Serbia, that is, Nedić's men do not prevent them from moving around.

Whenever action is taken on our part, the Chetniks immediately cross to Serbia, where they find temporary refuge, and then they return again. It is so much easier for the Chetniks, considering that the river Drina was frozen until 3-4 days ago, so that it could be crossed by loaded carts. Now they are crossing with boats, which they have at their disposal in sufficient numbers, even though we have sunken all the boats on our side.

Strong propaganda material comes to the Chetniks from Serbia, which can be seen based on fact that the Bosnian Chetniks are fighting against the Communists they fear. However, there was a conflict between the Chetnik commander Major Dankić<sup>363</sup> and the Communist commander "Čiča",<sup>364</sup> as well as between certain companies in Mt. Romanija and somewhere near Foča, but I cannot determine the exact place.

Yesterday around 5 p.m., one of their men was sent by the Chetniks with a letter from their leader, Captain Rista Čuković,<sup>365</sup> to the commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the Second Infantry Regiment, at Drinjača. They demand an urgent meeting from him for today at 12 o'clock. The battalion commander has refused this meeting because he could not do such a thing without the approval of his superior.

Čuković's<sup>366</sup> courier stated the same as stated above and added that they are not afraid of anything at all, as long as Serbia survives.

He further said that all Chetniks would surrender if they were guaranteed the security of their own, as well as the lives of their families, because their leaders said that wherever there were Croats and Mohammedans, they

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<sup>362</sup> *Kuna* (Pl. *kune*) was the official currency in the Independent State of Croatia (1941–45). It consisted of 100 *lipa* (Pl. *lipa*).

<sup>363</sup> Jezdimir Dangić.

<sup>364</sup> Slaviša Vajner Čiča, Commander of the Romanija Partisan Detachment; Z. Antičić, *Ustanak u istočnoj i centralnoj Bosni*, passim.

<sup>365</sup> Risto Čuković.

<sup>366</sup> Čuković.

killed Serbs and raped their wives: He mentioned a Serb, who was allegedly skinned alive and then covered in salt somewhere near Paprača,<sup>367</sup> and his three girls were raped, so that they are afraid for their own lives and for the honor of their family. He stated that they would then fight against the Communists on their own and that it would be easy for them, because they know everyone who belongs to the Communists and who belongs to the Chetniks.

In these actions directed against the Chetniks, the main thing was to prevent the Chetniks from crossing the Drina into Serbia, with the help of stronger border bunkers, and to supply them with enough ammunition and food, so that if the bunker was attacked, they could defend longer until a replacement arrives.

The German services make a strict distinction between Chetniks and Communists, because German troops do not shoot at Chetniks, and where Germans pass, there is rarely a conflict between Germans and Chetniks, while Communists attack both our people and Germans. During the capture of Drinjača, posters were found on one building, which every Chetnik has, and which say that the Chetniks should not offer any resistance to the Germans and that they should fight against the Croats (Croatian army) to the last drop of their blood.

It is very difficult to get any information about Chetniks from Serbian peasants or any Serb, because they are all bound by a common Chetnik oath, according to which anyone who violates this oath will face the most severe punishment.

However, the Chetniks themselves, through their people, have a very good intelligence service and know everything that is happening here, and they are also interested in all the events on the territory of the entire state. They show the greatest interest in the strength and movements of our troops and use all the tricks to find this out. They even go so far as to disguise their men as women and send them for the purpose of espionage. The condition of the gendarmes and the Legion is pretty bad. The gendarmes are quite tired and exhausted due to the hard work, and insufficient nutrition and great cold have a great impact on all this.

The Legionaries are poorly dressed, and they perform their service in this cold with difficulty, especially those in forward positions. Their diet is very bad because they do not get meat at all during the whole week. It is urgently necessary to grant a loan for the purchase of additional food for

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<sup>367</sup> Papraća.

the Legionnaires, which cannot be requested from the Army, i.e. which the Army does not have.

There are a number of cases of frost bites with the Legionnaires.

In Drinjača, there is typhus, which is present among the civilian population as well as among the Home Guards and the Legion.

It is inevitable and necessary to replace the gendarmes with others and to give them an easier sector so they can rest, to supply the Legionnaires with warm clothes and shoes and to make necessary medical materials available to them.

The looting of the legionaries was to some extent suppressed by influence and strict control by the gendarmes as well as by the Army.

I am submitting the above with an urgent request for further official action.

Delivered to: Commander  
of the Military Frontier<sup>368</sup>  
Commander of the Tuzla Gendarmerie.

Commander  
First Lieutenant Anton Posavat

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript:  
Commander Lieutenant Colonel  
Mašek

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Independent State of Croatia  
Command of the Gend.[armerie] Tuzla  
No. 576 secret

February 18, 1942

County of Usora and Solin<sup>369</sup> Tuzla.

Based on the order of the Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Gendarmerie Regiment, secretly J. S. No. 405 of September 25, 1941 and the orders of the Commander

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<sup>368</sup> *Vojna Krajina* ('Military Frontier'), an organizational formation of the NDH army on its eastern borders.

<sup>369</sup> Soli.

of the 8<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment No. 1170, secretly, dated 12 February 42, the above notice is sent for information and further official action. During the 17<sup>th</sup> and in the night from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> of February of this year nothing else can be learned about this subject.

As to the nutrition of the Legionnaires, I ask that measures be taken so that food for them is regularly obtained from the Army and the garrison. Occurrence of the typhus epidemic: it would be necessary to urgently establish an infirmary in Drinjača with the necessary medical staff and medical supplies, as previously requested. The substitution of the gendarmes cannot be done for now because there is no one like that available, and as soon the possibility occurs, that will be done immediately.

Communicated to:  
Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division Doboj  
Commander of the 8<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment  
Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Gendarmerie Regiment  
Ustasha Stožer<sup>370</sup> in Tuzla

Commander  
Lieutenant Colonel  
signature Mašek.

Translation: Tinto, Osijek, III. 3. 42.

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<sup>370</sup> To the Ustasha Headquarters. In the German translation, the Croatian word for the headquarters (*stožer*) was retained.

No. 64

THE HEAD OF THE OPERATIONAL GROUP OF THE POLICE IN SARAJEVO REPORTS TO THE COMMANDER OF THE POLICE IN BELGRADE, ON FEBRUARY 17, 1942, ABOUT A NEW WAVE OF TERROR AGAINST THE SERBS AND SENDING THEM TO THE JASENOVAC CAMP.<sup>371</sup>

Ustasha terror<sup>372</sup>

Transcript.

Chief of Security Police  
and Security Service  
Sarajevo Operational Command.

Sarajevo February 17, 1942

For  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
Belgrade.

Subject: A new wave of terror against the Serbs.

Under the pretext of alleged Communist activities, numerous Orthodox people have been arrested again in recent weeks. One part of them was immediately deported to the Jasenovac camp without questioning. In various individual cases, we have warned the Chief of Police from this office about his wrong decisions as well as their repercussions on the population. He does not have the necessary understanding for justified objections by the German services. –

In this sense, reference is again made to the report on the Sarajevo Police Directorate dated 27 January 42.

The Ustashes have lately, and especially after they have been entrusted with the supply of the population with basic foodstuffs, again shown a strong tendency to vent their desire for revenge on the Serbs. Complaints about looting are pouring in from different sides. They understand the task of supply

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<sup>371</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 146. See documents nos. 31 and 32 in this book.

<sup>372</sup> Handwritten note.

at the behest of the state only as a supply order for themselves. Their actions during the control of trains and at railway stations are often very brutal and short-sighted, and anything but adequate and aimed to raise among the population the feeling that there is a serious striving for order in the area of supply. –

Attached is a proclamation of “Ustasha” to the Serbs from Konjic and the surrounding area and the view of a loyal Orthodox thereof.

Signed by Dr. Heinrich<sup>373</sup>  
SS Major

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript  
Marschal  
office clerk

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<sup>373</sup> Dr. Alfred Heinrich, Chief of the Operational Command of the Security Police and Security Service (*Einsatzkommando Sipo-SD*) in Sarajevo, subordinated to the Police Commander in Belgrade, Serbia.

No. 65

ON MARCH 2, 1942, THE COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, MAK-SIMOVIĆ, SUBMITS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN A RECORD REGARDING THE TAKING OF PRISONER OF WAR ĐORĐE ČALIĆ TO THE GOSPIĆ AND JASENOVAC CAMPS.<sup>374</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY  
COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION  
OF REFUGEES  
Nr. 5705  
Belgrade, March 2, 1942

OFFICE LA / I

Subject: Forced abduction of  
the German prisoner of war  
ČALIĆ ĐORĐE to the concentration  
camps Gospić and Jasenovac.

Very respected Mr. Commissioner!

Attached, I am sending you a translation of the minutes in the case of ČALIĆ ĐORĐE, a city police officer in Vukovar, who was captured by the Ustashas as soon as he came from German captivity on leave and taken to a concentration camp, first to Gospić and then to Jasenovac. To this day, all information about him has been missing, so there is fear that the Ustashas killed him in the camp.

I have the honor, very respected Mr. Commissioner, to most humbly ask you to be as kind as to stand up for this case and to inform me about it.

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<sup>374</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 189.

With the greatest gratitude for your noble kindness, I sign with the expressions of my deepest respect

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER:  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ  
Toma Maksimović personal signature

1 Attachment

375

To Mister  
Dr. Weinmann,  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

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<sup>375</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees.

No. 66

MINUTES WITH A STATEMENT BY DUŠAN ČALIĆ AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES ON FEBRUARY 26, 1942, ACCORDING TO WHICH HIS BROTHER WAS TAKEN TO THE GOSPIĆ CAMP WITH OTHER OFFICERS UPON HIS RETURN FROM CAPTIVITY IN GERMANY, AND THEN TO JASENOVAC.<sup>376</sup>

MINUTES

of February 26, 1942

made in the Extraordinary Commissariat for Refugee Protection  
and Relocation in Belgrade.

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In front of us stands DUŠAN ČALIĆ, a refugee from Vukovar, residing in Belgrade, Južni bulevar 8, and states:

My brother, ĐORĐE ČALIĆ, a city police officer in Vukovar, was arrested in April 1941, as a reserve officer, by the German Wehrmacht and he was taken to Germany. In July 1941, together with other officers from Croatia, he returned from Germany, but was taken by the Ustashas to the concentration camp in Gospić and then [the one] in Jasenovac.

Since this time, I have not received any report from Đorđe or the Croatian authorities, and I am completely convinced that the Ustashas have killed him.

Considering that my brother had been arrested as a reserve officer by the German military authorities, he should also be treated as such after return from Germany as a German prisoner of war, and I am of the opinion that the Ustashas have no right to treat my brother in such a way, especially because he is on leave.

I am asking for this event to be investigated and that the Serbian organs of authorities in charge are informed about the results thereof.

Interviewed and certified by: Čalić Dušan, place for the stamp  
Đura J. Rodić, place for the stamp

Minute taker:  
D. Vujačić, place for the stamp

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<sup>376</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 190.

No. 67

ON MARCH 2, 1942, THE COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES MAKSI-MOVIĆ SUBMITS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN A RECORD REGARD-ING THE TAKING OF PRISONER OF WAR MATIJAŠEVIĆ VASO TO THE JASENOVAC CAMP.<sup>377</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY  
COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION  
OF REFUGEES

Nr. 5706

Belgrade, March 2, 1942

OFFICE LA / I

Subject: Forced abduction

the German prisoner of war  
MATIJAŠEVIĆ VASO to the concentration  
camp Jasenovac.

Very respected Mr. Commissioner,

Attached, I am sending you a translation of the minutes in the case of MATIJAŠEVIĆ VASO, a teacher from Latin near Pljaško,<sup>378</sup> who was as a Serb arrested by the Ustashas in Zagreb as soon as he came for a leave from German captivity, and taken to the concentration camp in Jasenovac. To this day, any information about him has been missing, so there is a fear that the Ustashas killed him in the camp.

I address to you, very respected Mr. Commissioner, the most humble request, to be as kind as to stand up for this case, and to inform me about it.

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<sup>377</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 191.

<sup>378</sup> Plaški.

With the greatest gratitude for your kindness, I sign with the expressions of my deepest respect

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER:  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ

Toma Maksimović personal signature

<sup>379</sup>

1 Attachment

To Mister  
Dr. Weinmann,  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

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<sup>379</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees.

MINUTES WITH THE STATEMENT OF JOVAN RAJAČIĆ AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES ON FEBRUARY 26, 1942, ACCORDING TO WHICH HIS RELATIVE VASO MATIJAŠEVIĆ WAS TAKEN TO THE JASENOVAC CAMP WITH OTHER OFFICERS UPON HIS RETURN FROM CAPTIVITY IN GERMANY.<sup>380</sup>

MINUTES  
of February 26, 1942

compiled at the Extraordinary Commissariat for  
the Protection of Refugees and Migrants in Belgrade.

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Before us stands RAJAČIĆ JOVAN, protopresbyter from Hrvatska Kostajnica, now a refugee in Belgrade, residing at Krajinska 18, and states:

My relative, Matijašević Vaso, a teacher from Latin near Pljaško<sup>381</sup>, District of Ogulin, was captured as a reserve officer in April and taken to Germany. In July 1941, among other officers from Croatia, he returned from Germany, but the Ustashas arrested him in Zagreb, as he is a Serb, and took him to the concentration camp in Jasenovac. I have not received any news about him since that time, and I am completely of the opinion that the Ustashas have killed him in the camp.

Considering that after his return from Germany, he was treated as a German prisoner of war, I am of the opinion that the Croatian authorities had no right to treat him in such a brutal way. As a German prisoner of war, he was on leave, which is why I am asking for this case to be investigated.

Protopresbyter Jovan Rajačić place for the stamp

Interviewed and certified by:

Đura J. Rodić place for the stamp

Minute taker:

D. Vujačić, place for the stamp

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<sup>380</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 192.

<sup>381</sup> Plaški.

No. 69

ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF THE COMMANDER OF THE GENDARMERIE OF MARCH 3, 1942, THE USTASHAS FROM SREM BEAT UP FERENC JAKOB AND FORCED THE SERBS TO CONVERT TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH.<sup>382</sup>

Ustasha terror<sup>383</sup>

Transcript.

The Commander of the Gendarmerie has submitted a report to the Ministry of the Interior, according to which, as he had learned from a reliable source, the Ustashas beat the Vice President of the Municipality of Stari Slankamen (Srem), Ferenc Jakob, and the Gendarmerie Sergeant Mile Sutić took him (Ferenc Jakob) under his protection, for which reason, however, he was transferred to Bosnia as a punishment. None of these Ustashas were punished. It is further stated in this report that the Ustashas in Srem demanded written assurances from the Serbs that they would voluntarily convert to the Catholic faith. Orally, however, the Serbs are threatened that if they do not convert to the Catholic faith, they will be taken to a camp. It is requested that the German authorities get informed about these events.

Confirming the accuracy of the transcript

Marschal  
office clerk

3. 3. 42.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>382</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 193.

<sup>383</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>384</sup> Handwritten note.

THE REPORT OF GOSPAVA DŽUVIĆ FROM KOLIMER, TO THE GENDARMERIE STATION IN TUZLA ON MARCH 7, 1942, THAT THE LEGION HAD COMPLETELY ROBBED HER HOUSE, THAT SHE HAD FLED TO SIMIN HAN WITH HER CHILDREN AND THAT SHE HAD NO MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE.<sup>385</sup>

GOSPAVA, wife of Mihajlo Džuvic, <sup>386</sup> Tuzla, April 10, 1942<sup>387</sup>  
who is in German captivity  
in Germany from Kolimir [Kolimer], Municipality:  
Gor[nja] Tuzla, District: Tuzla, Independent State of Croatia.  
REPORTS the damage done by the Legions.-

In Tuzla, March<sup>388</sup> 7, 1942

P. n.

To the GENDARMERIE STATION<sup>389</sup>  
Independent State of Croatia

Tuzla.

On April 2, 1942, Legion came through our village and they immediately started shooting and killing the villagers, and on that occasion there were two of my children: Đorđo, 12 years old and Zorka, 16 years old, guarding my cattle, and when they noticed that, understandably they ran away somewhere, and the Legion grabbed my cattle, that is

two oxen worth - :.....15,000.- Kuna  
Two cows worth:.....15,000.- Kuna  
One heifer aged 2 years in the value of:.....3,000.- Kuna  
Eight chickens, 200 Kn each. total value of:.....1,600.- Kuna  
Two turkeys, 300 Kn each. in the total value of:.....600.- Kuna  
Oats six meters<sup>390</sup>, 1,100. Kn. in the total value of:.....6,600.- Kuna  
One meter of wheat, 5,000 each. Kn.....5,000.- Kuna

<sup>385</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 279, original in Croatian; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 277-278, copy of a translation to German.

<sup>386</sup> Undeciphered abbreviation.

<sup>387</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>388</sup> There should stand *travnja*, i.e. April; that is how it stands in the German translation.

<sup>389</sup> In Croatian: *Oružničkoj postaji Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. – Subeditor's note.*

<sup>390</sup> In farmers' jargon, the term *metar* (meter) – in addition to the measure of length – pertains to the weight of various agricultural products and equals a quintal, i.e. 100 kilograms. – *Subeditor's note.*

Beans 60. kilograms, at 35. Kn. in the total value of:.....2,100.- Kuna  
 One meter of potatoes, worth:.....1,400.- Kuna  
 Eggs 80 pieces, at 5. Kuna in the total value of:.....400.- Kuna  
 Two tarpaulins, worth: /: double: / linen:.....1,000.- Kuna  
 Five half-woolen pillows, 200 Kn each. total value:.....1,000.- Kuna  
 Twelve pairs of men's and women's underwear of various sizes:....4,000.- Kuna  
 Eight meters of embroidery of better kind /: white: / 300 Kn  
 each. value total:.....2,400.- Kuna  
 Goat-hair bags 2 pieces new, /: large: /.....1,500.- Kuna  
 One goat-hair saddlebag, worth:.....600.- Kuna  
 Two goat-hair bags, one new and the other used in value:.....150.- Kuna  
 Linen and woolen knitwear 2<sup>nd</sup> kgr and the same yarn  
 in the value of:.....1,200.- Kuna  
 One jacket homespun worth:.....500.- Kuna  
 Mats (straw) 3 pieces per: 100. Kn:.....300.- Kuna  
 Washbowls, 3. pieces in the value of:.....200.- Kuna  
 Three gas lamps, 2 clocks and other household utensils  
 in value of:.....5,000.- Kuna  
 Brandy 20 liters per 100. Kn. in the total value of:.....2,000.- Kuna  
 One plow and trolley worth:.....1,500.- Kuna  
 One wooden ox cart with ironwork in the value of:.....2,000.- Kuna  
 demolished 1 stove and 4 windows, total value of:..... 2,000.- Kuna  
 Sum:.....92.550.- Kuna

(In Letters Ninety-two thousand five hundred and fifty Kunas:)

I have five children who are left with nothing anywhere in an empty and run down house, so I was forced to settle in Siminhan.<sup>391</sup>

Based on that, I submit this

REPORT.

And I beg you to act in accordance with the regulations of the Independent State of Croatia. And I declare that my husband has been imprisoned in German captivity.-

For homeland – ready<sup>392</sup>  
 i.e. Gospava Džuvic.<sup>393</sup>

<sup>391</sup> Simin Han.

<sup>392</sup> In original: *Za dom spremna*. The Ustasha movement's salute '*Za dom spremni!*' (For homeland – ready!) was an equivalent to the Fascist/Nazi one *Sieg heil!* – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>393</sup> Thumb print instead of a signature.

THE REPORT OF JOVO DŽUVIĆ FROM KOLIMER, TO THE GENDARMERIE STATION IN TUZLA ON MARCH 7, 1942, THAT THE LEGION HAD ROBBED HIM OF EVERYTHING ON THREE OCCASIONS, THAT HE HAD FLED TO SIMIN HAN WITH HIS FAMILY AND THAT HE HAD NO MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE.<sup>394</sup>

DŽUVIĆ JOVO, of the deceased Živko from Kolimer <sup>395</sup> Tuzla  
Municipality: Gor[nja] Tuzla, District: Tuzla, 10. 4. 42.<sup>396</sup>  
Independent State of Croatia. –  
I REPORT the damage done to me by  
the Legion.

In Tuzla, March 7, 1942

P. n.

To the GENDARMERIE STATION  
Independent State of Croatia

Tuzla. -

Two months ago, the Legion came to our village and wounded me with a rifle in the neck, and on that occasion they loaded my own horse with a meter of corn flour, which I ground for my own use, and 20 kilograms of wheat flour, and three goat-hair bags, one cow worth 6,000. and a horse worth Kunas 4,000, and corn flour worth 2,000 Kunas, and wheat flour worth 900 Kunas, 9 new pillows embroidered worth 2,700 kuna, one gobbler, worth: 400 Kuna, and one women's shawl worth: 500 Kuna, and one liter of gas worth: 15 Kuna.- and all this the Legion picked up and took and drove away.-

IN THE TOTAL VALUE OF: KUNA: 16,515.---

After a month, the Legion came again also through our village and took away the following: 30. arshins<sup>397</sup> cloth of 300. Kuna per one, in the total value of:.....9,000.- Kuna  
One used sheepskin coat, in the value of:.....1,300.- Kuna

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<sup>394</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 287, original in Croat; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 285-286; copy translated into German.

<sup>395</sup> Undeciphered abbreviation.

<sup>396</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>397</sup> *Aršin* is an old measure of length, 65-75 cm (two feet approximately). – *Subeditor's note.*

Three women's [pairs of] opanci<sup>398</sup>, worth 300 kuna:.....900.- Kuna  
Eight pairs of woolen socks for 300. Kn:.....2,400.- Kuna  
Six pairs of men's underwear worth:.....7,000.- Kuna  
and women's.....

20. kilograms of wheat flour at 50 Kn. and sack: 50. Kn:.....1,050.- Kuna

On April 2, 1942, they came to our village again for the third time, they  
took away two cows worth:.....15,000.- Kuna

Oats 4 meters at 1,100. Kn. total value:.....4,400.- Kuna

One meter of wheat, worth:.....5,000.- Kuna

Corn 5 meters at 3,000. Kn. total value of:.....15,000.- Kuna

Beans 30 kilograms, 35 Kn per one total value of:.....1,050.- Kuna

Six pieces of chicken, 200 Kn. each. total value:.....1,200.- Kuna

Destroyed one stove (range) and 3 windows, total time:.....2,000.- Kuna

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SUM.....81,815.- Kuna  
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(In letters eighty-one thousand eight hundred and fifteen kunas:)

I have TEN family members, who are left with nothing anywhere in an empty and run down house, and I am also wounded, and I am 57 (fifty-seven) years old and incapable of the economy, I was forced to settle in Siminhan until further notice. WHILE, one of my sons is trapped in German captivity, and the other works as a worker in the State Mine in Kreka.–

Based on that, we submit this

#### R E P O R T :

And I beg you to act in accordance with the regulations of the Independent State of Croatia. –

And I declare: that neither I nor my family have been in any organization at all. – I do not have anyone from my family in the Chetniks and Communists, because I ran away from them with my family.

For homeland – ready<sup>399</sup>

i.e. Jovo Džuvčić.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> *Opanci* (Sg. *opanak*) – peasants' footwear made of leather. – *Subeditor's note*.

<sup>399</sup> In original: *Za dom spremni*. The Ustasha movement's salute (For homeland – ready!) was an equivalent to the Fascist/Nazi one *Sieg heil!*

<sup>400</sup> Thumb print instead of a signature.

No. 72

THE HEAD OF THE OPERATIONAL COMMAND OF THE POLICE IN ZAGREB RESPONDED TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN ON MARCH 18, 1942, REGARDING THE REPORT OF PRIME MINISTER NEDIĆ ON THE ATROCITIES IN CROATIA.<sup>401</sup>

HEAD OF OPERATIONAL GROUP  
SECURITY POLICE AND  
SECURITY SERVICES  
OPERATIONAL COMMAND  
ZAGREB

Zagreb, March 18, 1942  
Tuškanac 18  
Phone 23333

B. Nr. 104/42 Schu/Fe.

Security Police and Security Service  
Belgrade  
23. III. 1942  
Office: VB<sup>402</sup>

CONFIDENTIAL

For  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
personal delivery to SS Major Dr. Weinmann  
Belgrade.

Subject: Report of Prime Minister Nedić to the Commander in Serbia – Atrocities in Croatia, i.e. Croatian atrocities in Serbian villages.  
Reference: Letter from the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia, Administration Staff, Log No. 206/41 VB Ma from 6. I. 42. and Log. Nr. 212/41 Dr. Vaj./Ma from 5. I. 42. and Belgrade letter B. Nr. 7587/41 from 9. 12. 41-Gustav IV B. Nr. 7587/41 of 16. I. 42, – K IV B. Nr. 7587/41 of 18. II. 42, source FS 1058 of 10. III. 42114 B. Nr. 7587/41 and the letter herefrom 1396/41 of 11. III. 42.

<sup>401</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 205. See documents number 22, 23, 24 and 25 in this book.

<sup>402</sup> Stamp of receipt. VB was the official mark of the SS Major Weinmann.

Attachments: 1.<sup>403</sup>

After checking the minutes attached, it could be established that the allegations correspond to the facts. The translation attached in the Attachment, which refers to the Chetnik attack on Koraj, which was submitted by the district government in Bijeljina to the Directorate for Public Order and Security in Zagreb, is submitted for information.

For accuracy:  
SS Lieutenant<sup>404</sup>

Chief of Operational Command  
Zagreb  
signed by Beisner  
SS Major

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<sup>403</sup> Attached to this document is document no. 17 in this book, the report of the district authorities in Bijeljina dated November 29, 1941 on the Chetnik attack on Koraj.

<sup>404</sup> Illegible.

ACCORDING TO THE REPORT FROM APRIL 14, 1942, THE USTASHAS SHOT SERB STUDENTS IN VOĆIN, THE FORESTS ARE FULL OF SERB AND COMMUNIST REFUGEES, THERE ARE ALSO CROATIAN DESERTERS, THERE ARE NO FOREST WORKERS.<sup>405</sup>

III A

Into the folder on Ustasha atrocities<sup>406</sup>  
14. IV. 1942.

Subject Title: Slavonija Insurgent Area.

The Usthas entered the school building in Voćin<sup>407</sup> and took Serbian children out of the classroom, and then shot them.

Guttman Company Forests are full of refugees, who can be found in smaller and larger groups. For the most part, they are Serbs and Communists. Deserters of the Croatian Home Guards can also be found. As 1 VM<sup>408</sup> from Belišće<sup>409</sup> reports, not one worker applied for forest works.

Mm

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<sup>405</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 289.

<sup>406</sup> Handwritten notes; unclear word and initials.

<sup>407</sup> Voćin.

<sup>408</sup> Commissioner (*Vertrauensmann*, abbreviated VM).

<sup>409</sup> Belišće.

No. 74

ACCORDING TO THE COMMISSIONER'S REPORT OF MAY 9, 1942, THE SERBS IN SLAVONIA ARE EXPOSED TO USTASHA ATROCITIES AND FORCED CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM, SO THEY HAVE FLED TO THE MOUNTAINS, CROATS ARE DESERTING MASSIVELY, HUNGARIAN TROOPS WILL BE BROUGHT IN, AND ITALIANS HAVE ALREADY BEEN SENT TO OSIJEK.<sup>410</sup>

III C      Translate    1 + 2

WV

L III<sup>411</sup>

The Serbs from Slavonia were forced to retreat to Mt. Papuk, Mt. Krndija and other mountains before the Ustasha atrocities in order to save their bare lives. Along with these unheard-of atrocities, the Serbian masses were forcibly converted to Catholicism, so that entire regions were forced to abandon the faith of their fathers. This process began with the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia and is still ongoing.

Croatian elements from those parts behaved passively and did not even try to protect the Serbs with whom they had lived in friendship for centuries.

However, when the Croatian military authorities began to call Home Guards and refer them to various military services – the Croatian masses – who had been raised in anarchist spirit by their leading figures for years, began to flee into the forests, so that some areas around Slatinski Drenovac, Orahovica, Podravska Slatina, Slavonska Požega, etc. are full of Croats – military deserters.

Croatian political authorities have lost control over these areas and are unable to prevent outbursts of “green recruits”.<sup>412</sup> It is known that municipal office buildings were burned in some places, etc.

In order to restore order and return to normal life, Hungarian troops were to come to Osijek and other parts of Slavonia, however, due to the existing disagreements and intolerance between Hungarians and Croats, the arrival of Hungarian troops was prevented. It is said that the leading

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<sup>410</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 518, original in Serbian, in Cyrillic; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 516-517, copy translated into German.

<sup>411</sup> Handwritten marks for the document to be translated, processed in section III C, for head L (abbreviated, *Leiter*, ‘head’) of the third Department of the Police Commander (BdS) in Belgrade.

<sup>412</sup> *Zelenokadrovci*, ‘Green Recruits’ (Muslim soldiers).

figures of the Ustasha movement from Slavonia believed that there could be an open armed conflict with those Hungarian troops, if the Hungarians tried to exercise any police power on the territory of Croatia. However, as the Croatian military and civilian authorities are not able to bring order to Slavonia, a few days ago Italian troops were sent to Osijek, which will ensure peace and order in that province through a planned action.

9. V. 942.<sup>413</sup>

B 700-701<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Date handwritten on the German translation.

<sup>414</sup> Commissioner's code name.

No. 75

ON MARCH 27, 1942, THE COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, MAK-SIMOVIĆ, SENDS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN A LETTER FROM A CROAT TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ZAGREB, STEPINAC.<sup>415</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY  
COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION  
OF REFUGEES

Res. Nr. 51/1942

Belgrade, March 26, 1942

Security Police and Security Service

Belgrade.

27. III. 1942

Office of VB<sup>416</sup>

OFFICE LA / I

**Subject:** Letter from a Croat to Dr. Stepinac.

Dear Mr. Commissioner!

We have come into possession of the copy of the letter penned by a Croat, addressed to the Archbishop of Zagreb, Mr. Dr. Stepinac, and I have the honor to provide you with a translation of this letter for your information.

Deeply recommending myself, I sign

with special respect

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ  
Toma Maksimović personal signature

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<sup>415</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 217.

<sup>416</sup> Stamp of receipt; Weinmann's official cryptonym.

1 Attachment

417

To Mister  
Dr. Weinmann,  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

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<sup>417</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees.

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER WRITTEN BY A CROAT, SENT FROM ZEMUN ON FEBRUARY 8, 1942, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ZAGREB, STEPINAC.<sup>418</sup>

Mister

Dr. Alojzije Stepinac, Archbishop<sup>419</sup>

Z a g r e b

I address these lines to you as man to man, as a Christian to a Christian! For months, I have been deciding on all this in the expectation full of hope that the terrible news from Croatia will really come to an end now and that I could gather myself and write peacefully.

For 10 whole months now, the Serbs have been abused and killed in the most horrible ways, their goods worth billions are being destroyed, shame, resentment and anger are on the face of every honorable Croat!

The killings of the Serbs began in the first period of the establishment of the wretched Independent State of Croatia (Gospić, Glina, Gudovac, Bosanska Krajina, etc.), which continues today without any interruption.

All the horror is not just in the murders. Old men, women and children are first terribly serially abused and then killed. These innocent Serbs were nailed to stumps, flames of fire wrapped around their bare breasts, they were burned alive and burned in their homes and churches, poured with boiling

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<sup>418</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 218-219.

<sup>419</sup> See: Lj. Boban, *Hrvatska u arhivima izbjegličke vlade*, Zagreb: Globus, 1986, 284-303; M. Bulajić, *Misija Vatikana u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj. 'Politika Stepinac' razbijanja jugoslovenske države i pokatoličavanja pravoslavnih Srba po cijenu genocida; stvaranje Civitas Dei – Antemurale Christianitatis*, section „Kontroverze u vezi s pismom bivšeg ministra dr Prvislava Grizogona nadbiskupu Stepincu o odgovornosti hijerarhije Katoličke crkve za ustaške zločine genocida nad pravoslavnim Srbima u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj (1942)”, Vol. II, Beograd: Politika 1992, 993-1005; Bulajić accepted Boban's interpretation that the letter was not written by former Minister Dr. Prvislav Grizogono, which was often stated in sources and literature. Grizogono spent the war in occupied Belgrade and was detained twice in the Banjica camp. Bulajić considered that the authorship of the letter was of lesser importance compared to the fact that the content of the letter was authentic and that it was widely known in various versions not only in occupied Serbia and the Independent State of Croatia, but also to the Yugoslav government in exile and the British.

water, they were skinned and open wounds were then sprinkled with sand and salt, their eyes were plucked out, their ears, noses and tongues were cut off; the Serbian clergy had their beards and mustaches cut off along with their skin, their genitals were pushed into their mouths, they were further tied to a truck, which would then run at full speed, their arms and legs were broken, nails were hammered into their heads, they were thrown alive into wells and abysses and then bombs were thrown at them, their heads were smashed with iron mallets, children were thrown into fire, boiling water and lime pits, their legs were stretched, their heads were driven into the wall with nails, their backs were broken with stones and wooden hammers – and much more terrible inquisitions carried out, which cultured humanity can not even imagine.

Thousands and thousands of Serbian corpses floated down the Sava, Drava and Danube rivers, as well as down their tributaries. The corpses bore the inscription: “Direction Belgrade – travels to King Peter!”<sup>420</sup> In one boat on the Sava river, children’s heads were found with one woman’s head between them (maybe it was the head of the mother of these children!) With the following inscription: “Meat for Jovan’s Market in Belgrade!”<sup>421</sup> The case of MILEVA BOŽINIĆ from Stabandža, whose child was removed from her womb with a knife, is horrible. Roasted heads were found in Bosnia, pots full of Serbian blood, Serbs were forced to drink the warm blood of their brothers, and more such cases! A huge number of women and girls were raped, women in front of daughters and daughters in front of mothers. Also, these unfortunates were taken to Ustasha camps where they served as prostitutes, rapes were even committed in Serbian churches. There was one terrible incident in Petrinja: the son had to rape his own mother. The mass murders – 3,000 Serbs in the Orthodox church in Glina and the murders of hundreds and hundreds of Serbs in the church at Kladuša – with iron mallets to the head – have not yet been recorded in world history. For all these horrible and unheard-of abuses, there are details in the certified minutes.

The atrocities of these unheard-of abuses horrified even the German and Italian military forces. Such atrocities were committed by Croats during the Thirty Years’ War, the Germans note. Since that time, the following saying has taken root in Germany: “God save us from plague, famine and Croats!” The Germans in Srem also despise them, and their treatment of Serbs is humane. As evidence of these atrocities, the Italians took photographs:

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<sup>420</sup> Original: „*Pravac Beograd – putuje kralju Petru!*” – Subeditor’s note.

<sup>421</sup> Original: „*Meso za Jovanovu pijacu u Beogradu!*” – Subeditor’s note.

a pot of Serbian eyes, weighing 3 1/2 kg, a picture of a Croat with a necklace made from Serbian eyes, and again another Croat from Dubrovnik, who had a belt made of 2 rows of Serbian tongues.

Thousands and thousands of Serbs are still disappearing in the concentration camp in Jasenovac, those who are staying in half-demolished barracks without enough straw and cover, exposed to hunger and harsh winter, and thus meet their death.

As food, they are given two pieces of potatoes a day. In one camp in Lika, the Germans found an empty camp soaked in blood and only bloody rags from clothes and underclothes. Thousands and thousands of Serbs have been killed here. Such cases are not recorded in the world history of Europe! In order to find such cases, one must look for these in Asia in the time of Timur-Lenk and Genghis Khan, or in Africa, with savage, bloodthirsty rulers. Nothing can clear us anymore! We will not be allowed to mention our thousand-year-old culture to the last Gypsy in the Balkans, because Gypsies have never committed such atrocities.

Why am I writing, of all of them, to you, when you are not a political figure and you cannot take any responsibility for this?! I am writing because:

In all these horrible cases of sanguinary crimes, our Catholic Church has also participated, in two ways:

1. / In all these cases, a large number of clergy and organized Catholic youth had an ACTIVE share. Many Catholic priests acted as commanders of Ustasha camps and personally ordered this horrific abuse and killing of Serbs. A Catholic priest killed a Serbian priest with his own hand. They were not allowed to do this without the prior approval of their bishops; since they stained their hands with innocent Serbian blood, they had to come forward and stand trial.

However, since no punishment has been imposed on them, I assume that the bishops gave permission or consent for these murders and abuses.

2. / These atrocities were committed in order to force the surviving Serbs to convert to the Catholic faith. Even while the country was soaked in the blood of these martyrs, even while the surviving Serbs were breathing their last breath, priests, friars and nuns brought them an Ustasha knife in one hand and a prayer book and the Our Father in the other. The whole of Srem is flooded with leaflets of Bishop AKŠAMOVIĆ,<sup>422</sup> which he had made in his printing house in Đakovo, and in which he warns the Serbs to convert

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<sup>422</sup> Antun Akšamović, the Bishop of Đakovica.

to the Catholic Church in order to save their property. In this way, our Church wanted to prove that it can kill the souls of believers in the same way the Ustasha can kill their bodies. At the same time, the Catholic Church is suspected of destroying numerous Serbian churches and monasteries and robbing all church items of value. Even the cathedral church in Sremski Karlovci was not spared. The Catholic Church has all these atrocities on its conscience, and the Croatian name is now forever disgraced!

Although we the Croats can NEVER wash away our shame, we can reduce our responsibility and our conscience before the cultured world by raising our voice against all of the above.

The last hour is ticking for this. After all these atrocities, huge punishments follow in world history! What will happen to us Croats now if only the impression remains that we pushed our evil game further to the very end.

In the first place, it is the duty of the Catholic Church to raise its voice, it is holy and strong. In Germany, Catholic bishops raised their voices in favor of the exiled Jews, but in our country, not a single bishop raised his voice, while innocent Serbs are persecuted even worse than the Jews in Germany. Therefore, the greatest responsibility for both God's and man's punishment will fall on the Catholic Church. The latter will surely affect the Croatian people, if we do not repent of our sins in time.

I am informing you about this in order to save my soul, and I, however, leave you the freedom to find a way to the salvation of your soul!

One of the many who is a human and a Catholic first,  
and then an honorable Croat. –

Zemun, February 8, 1942

No. 77

LETTER FROM THE DISTRICT AUTHORITIES IN TUZLA TO ALL MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATIONS ON MARCH 27, 1942, ABOUT THE RECRUITMENT OF SERBS AND THEIR SENDING TO WORK IN GERMAN AIRCRAFT FACTORIES, WHOSE FAMILIES WERE GUARANTEED SECURITY BY THE MILITARY COMMANDER KVATERNIK.<sup>423</sup>

Ind.[ependent] St.[ate] Cr.[oatia]  
Dist.[rict] area Tuzla  
No. Secret 253/42  
Call to reservists<sup>424</sup> to work in Germany

10. 4. 42.  
Tuzla<sup>425</sup>

Tuzla, March 27, 1942

To all municipal governments in the District  
To all officials of this area.–

County<sup>426</sup> of Usora and Soli under No. 447 / sec.[ret] of 24 / III. of th.[is] y.[ear] Complementary to the informaton from the Min.[istry] of the Cr.[oat] Home Guard II Department No. 940 / sec.[ret] from 17. III of th.[is] y.[ear] communication has been delivered which reads verbatim:

“In agreement with the Plenipotentiary of the State Ministry of Aviation of the Ger.[man] State, the Military Commander has decided that the reservists of the Greek-Eastern faith should be called for an additional active Home Guard service for an indefinite term, and as such sent to work in the Air Force Factories in the German State.”

So far, the population in the areas of the Home Guard Ranks-Expansion Commands – Požega, Osijek, and especially the Cr.[oatian] Mitrovica<sup>427</sup> – has responded in rather large numbers to this call, which is why the Military

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<sup>423</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 373-374, original in Croatian. Handwritten transcript; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 370-372, copy translated into German.

<sup>424</sup> The (Croat) term *pričuvnici* is used to designate military reservists.

<sup>425</sup> Two words illegible.

<sup>426</sup> In original: *Vel.[ika] Župa*.

<sup>427</sup> Sremska Mitrovica.

Commander, after the report of the Signatory, sent to the Home Guard Ranks-Expansion Command in Cr.[oatian] Mitrovica a telegram with the following content:

With acknowledgment, I took note that the summoned citizens of the Greek-Eastern faith responded in full to my call to go to work in Germany, which is valid as a completed exercise in the Home Guard. Let everyone know that their families are under my protection and take care of them personally.

Military Commander Kvaternik.

As can be seen from this telegram, the military leader determined that the work of these reservists in Germany should be counted as a service of the Home Guard exercise, and that the families of these reservists of the Greek-Eastern faith should be under his personal protection.

As the turn will gradually come for each of the Home Guard Ranks-Expansion Commands to gradually recruit their reservists for the purpose of sending them to work in Germany, this circular letter is issued preventively upon an o.[rder], for information and preparation of the said call-up orders.

For this purpose the years of birth 1887 to 1912. are engaged. –

The Ranks-Expansion Commands have to ask the municipalities for a list of families of the reservists sent to work in Germany with the following columns:

Name and surname, year of birth of the reservist, number of children, number of other family members, and size of the peasant estate.

I would like to inform you by this circular letter, stating that the Military Commander had ordered the people of the Greek-East.[ern] faith to be informed in a convenient manner that these reservists would be working in Ger.[man] aircraft factories, yet in disciplinary<sup>428</sup> regard they would be subordinated to the Croatian Home Guard Administration, but paid for their [work] like all contract workers of the Ger.[man] state, that they would be protected by workers' insurance institutions, and that they would be able to send from their salaries about 3000 Kuna per month.

In particular, however, in this statement, the inhabitants of the Greek-East.[ern] faith need to be warned that the Military Commander has taken the families of the reservists under his protection.

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<sup>428</sup> In the original: *u stegovnom pogledu.*

The above is dispatched with an order along that the people of the Greek-East.[ern] faith are in a most convenient way informed in accordance with this letter, and you should present to them the useful aspects of sending them to work and the possibility to thus ensure supplies for themselves and their families.

For homeland – ready  
M.P.  
District Chief

Note: Their families will be guarded by  
The Legion of M. Hadžiefendić; ~~! and the fields~~<sup>429</sup>

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<sup>429</sup> The remark is written in the same handwriting as the transcript of the document. It is certainly ironic, because its meaning is that the families of the recruits will be “guarded” by the units (the Legion) of Muhamed Hadžiefendić, which committed mass crimes against the Serb population, as evidenced by some documents in this collection.

VOLKSDEUTSCHER KARL HEGER REPORTS ON APRIL 9, 1942, ON THE CROATIAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN LOBORGRAD AND GORNJA RIJEKA, WHICH HE MANAGED, ON THE ĐAKOVO CAMP AND, IN UTMOST DETAIL, ON THE JASENOVAC CAMP.<sup>430</sup>

VB<sup>431</sup>

K III Rx / Fli

Belgrade, April 9, 1942

Note to the file.

Subject: Croatian Concentration Camps.

A Volksdeutscher, member of the German Team<sup>432</sup> of Croatia, Karl Heger, born in Osijek, appeared and reported the following about the Croatian concentration camps:

Near Zagreb, in Zagorje, there are two women's concentration camps: Loborgrad<sup>433</sup> near Zlatar in Zagorje. It includes 1,040 Jewish women and children, as well as 360 Orthodox and Catholics. Another camp is located in Gornja Rijeka near Križevci, Varaždin District. This camp includes 200 women and children, both Jewish and Orthodox. Yet one more camp is located in Žakovo<sup>434</sup> near Osijek. There are only Jewish women and children from Bosnia in it. It currently has 3,000 prisoners.

The main concentration camp is located in Jasenovac. According to Karl Heger, who is employed as the warden of the camps in Loborgrad and Gornja Rijeka, at least 7,000 people were killed in this camp over the past year. There are only men in Jasenovac. There are currently about 800 people in

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<sup>430</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 227-229.

<sup>431</sup> Weinmann's handwritten mark; illegible abbreviations.

<sup>432</sup> *Deutsche Mannschaft*, an organization to which all male members of the German national minority (*Volksdeutscher*) in the NDH aged 18 to 60 belonged. The leadership of the *Volksdeutscher* was based in Osijek, and headed by Branimir Altgayer.

<sup>433</sup> M. Peršen, *Ustaški logori*, Zagreb: Globus, 1990, 279-282.

<sup>434</sup> Đakovo; see: Z. Vasiljević, *Sabirni logor Đakovo*, Slavonski Brod: Centar za povijest Slavonije i Baranje, Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 1988.

Jasenovac. He does not know how many of them have died or been killed in recent weeks.

Heger first ran a camp for male prisoners in Zagreb for a month and a half. In September, he then took over the wardenship of both women's concentration camps in Lobargrad and Gornja Rijeka, and has been managing them ever since.<sup>435</sup>

Heger reports about the Jasenovac camp that detainees are beaten and executed for a slightest offense. Many of the bodies of those killed were crammed into one embankment that the detainees had to build. Wooden beds are set on several levels and there is so little space between them that the detainees can only be forcibly pushed into these. When new detainees are brought in, everything is taken away from them, down to one pair of shoes, one pair of trousers and one shirt. Whatever the weather outside, the detainees have to do hard work and eat completely inadequate food. Every day in the previous year, an average of up to 80 people died.

The guard is made up of Ustashas, who are completely bestial. They do what they want; last year, Heger had to deliver a new transport of prisoners from Zagreb to Jasenovac. During the delivery of the prisoners, one man did not want to have everything taken away from him, after which he, as well as another prisoner, was immediately knocked down by the blows and remained lying covered in blood. Nothing was heard about either of them anymore, it is obvious that they were killed.

The nutrition of the detainees in both women's camps was not bad at first. The Jewish religious community in Zagreb is in charge of caring for Jewish and Orthodox female prisoners in both women's camps. At the same time, the Orthodox naturally fared worse. In recent months, one million Pengö<sup>436</sup> has been paid as a donation from Hungary to the Jewish religious community in Zagreb.

A portion of this money was apparently used to pay bribes, as Jewish prisoners have been looking forward to minor freedom since about a month ago.

The health condition in both camps is poor. There is currently typhoid fever brought by detainees from Bosnia.

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<sup>435</sup> See also: *Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević 1941-1945*, 15-39.

<sup>436</sup> Pengö (*peng* in Croat or Serbian) was the Hungarian currency between January 1927 and July 1946; it was subdivided into 100 *fillér*. – *Subeditor's note*.

108 people have already died of typhus, and about 400 of them have fallen ill.

Lately, detainees are given rotten meat and sausages.

Personal signature<sup>437</sup>  
SS Captain

To be sent to:

1) VB<sup>438</sup>

<sup>439</sup>11/4

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<sup>437</sup> Illegible.

<sup>438</sup> Weinmann's official code.

<sup>439</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

No. 79

ON APRIL 9, 1942, THE BORDER CUSTOMS GUARD SUBMITS TO THE COMMANDER OF THE POLICE IN BELGRADE A TRANSLATION OF THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE ORDER BY THE SUPREME CHETNIK COMMAND IN YUGOSLAVIA FROM DECEMBER 1941.<sup>440</sup>

Serbian Border Guard  
Liaison service  
with the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia

– O 3051 –

Belgrade, April 9, 1942.

Security Police and Security Service  
Belgrade  
13. IV. 1942.  
Office: III  
B. No. 2585/42<sup>441</sup>

Subject: Chetnik Units

Attachment: Transcript of an order

I am submitting a transcript of a deficient translation of an order by the Supreme Command of Chetnik units in the Yugoslav Army from December 1941.

A transcript of the order is in the hands of the Arnaut gendarmerie commander in Duga Poljana. From that transcript comes the translation of this order.

442

For  
Commanding General and Commander  
Command Headquarters I c  
Administration Staff  
Senior leader of the SS and the Police  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
Abwehr Office  
all in Belgrade

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<sup>440</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 226.

<sup>441</sup> Stamp of receipt; initials.

<sup>442</sup> Illegible signature.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE INSTRUCTIONS BY THE SUPREME COMMAND OF THE CHETNIK UNITS OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY, TO MAJOR ĐORĐE LAŠIĆ AND CAPTAIN PAVLE ĐURIŠIĆ, DATED 20 DECEMBER 1941, ON THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STRUGGLE AND THE METHODS FOR CARRYING THEM OUT, TRANSLATED ON 15 APRIL 1942.<sup>443</sup>

Transcript

of translation tracing the meaning.

Supreme Command of Chetnik detachments  
in the Yugoslav Army  
Reg. Doc. 370 of 20. XII. 1941

General Staff Major Mr. Djordon Laschider,<sup>444</sup> Commander of the Chetniks in the Yugoslav Army in Montenegro, Captain Mr. Pavle Djurischityu<sup>445</sup>, Commander of the Chetnik division in the Lim area, give the following instructions:

Our country is still at war with its centuries-old enemies, Germany and Italy.

Outside our homeland, our beloved King and his Government are fighting in a diplomatic way for the freedom of our people, which, together with our great Allies, is participating in the battles in the Middle East.

Freedom is the greatest good of a nation and that is why we have an obligation to fight with superhuman efforts in the homeland. In the bright light of later history, it will turn out that we shall have expelled the enemy from our beloved homeland.

In this giant struggle, we are not alone, but along with America, England, Russia and all democratic countries, we have great allies. Our victory is certain.

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<sup>443</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 44-48. The instruction by General Draža Mihailović to Major Lašić and Captain Đurišić was published in: *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o Narodno-oslobodilačkom ratu naroda Jugoslavije*, Book XIV, Vol. 1, *Dokumenti četničkog pokreta Draže Mihailovića 1941-1942*, Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut, 1981, 93-100. See also: B. Petranović, *Strategija Draže Mihailovića 1941-1945*, Beograd: Centar za savremenu istoriju Jugoistočne Evrope, Otkrovenje, 2000, 143-144.

<sup>444</sup> Đorđe Lašić.

<sup>445</sup> Pavle Đurišić.

Our army, which was betrayed by many dark elements and which suffered a great catastrophe as a result, has not been defeated. The war is not over yet and there are no winners or losers.

The Chetnik detachments of the Yugoslav Army still exist and with their victorious arms they are in a full combat against the humiliation inflicted on our people.

Our goals are:

1.) The struggle for the freedom of the whole people and His Majesty the King Peter II.

2.) Creation of a great Yugoslavia, and within it of Greater Serbia ethnically clean within the borders of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Srem, Banat and Bačka.

3.) Combat on all territories occupied by Italy and Germany, such as Trieste, Gorizia, Istria, Goruška,<sup>446</sup> one part of Bulgaria, Northern Albania with Skadar<sup>447</sup>.

4.) Cleansing the state of other nationally hostile elements.

5.) Determining the border between Serbia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia, removing the Muslims from Sandžak and the Muslims and Croats from Bosnia.

6.) Punishing all Muslims and Ustashas who have committed the great destruction of our people in tragic days.

7.) Punishing all those who are to blame for this catastrophe.

8.) Settlement in these territories of our brothers from Montenegro. (Primarily poor families).

9.) Creation of one body which will then later lead the state in the interest of the people.

10.) The goals are great and all those who join the fight will receive all the acknowledgments.

To do everything and act so that the nationalist elements in Montenegro come to our ranks now, and not to wait and then be unprepared.

The Communists and Partisans cannot be cooperated with because they are against the Dynasty. Only those soldiers and fighters who are for the King and the Fatherland come into consideration.

Use of Chetnik detachments at the moment:

1.) They are partly operating in the valley of the Lim in the direction of Bijelo Polje – Sjenica with the task of clearing this territory of Muslim and

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<sup>446</sup> Koruška, i.e. Carinthia.

<sup>447</sup> Shkodra/Shkodër in Albanian, Scutari in Italian. – *Subeditor's note.*

Arnaut people. These forces would have to work closely with the divisions from Mts. Javor and Golija.

2.) One part of the forces is operating in the direction of Čakor-Metohija, and the task is to clear this territory of Arnauts and to surround those coming from the direction of Pešter-Sandžak. These forces must cooperate with the forces under No. 1 and the Mt. Kopaonik detachments.

3.) In part, they act on the territory of Nikšić in the direction of the south, so that they break out into the seaside near Dubrovnik and liberate the territories there. These forces must cooperate with Dangić's left column, which will operate via Mostar.

4.) One part is acting towards the south with the goal at Skadar. Securing the routes toward Montenegro from the Arnaut incursion from Albania.

Treatment: of Arnauts, Muslims and Ustashas.

Treat them as they deserve, and leave them to the civil court for the acts they committed against our people. Treat Croats, who now live under the Italian state, according to their behavior at a given moment.

Organization: For the territory of Montenegro, the commander for all Chetnik units of the Yugoslav Army is Major General Đorđije Lašić. It is important that the headquarters always has operational reports. Propaganda and economic department. The name of this headquarters is: the Command of the Chetnik detachments of the Yugoslav[ian] Army G o r s k i No. 16.<sup>448</sup> I am appointing First Class Captain, Mr. Pavle Đurišić, as the Commander of the Lim Chetnik Detachments in the area of the districts of Andrijevića, Berane, Bijelo Polje and Kolašin. All other commanders will be appointed by the Commander for Montenegro, i.e. the Commander of the Lim Detachments for his region.

In the entire work, the most important thing is the struggle for the people, that is, listen to what the people think and do accordingly. As for commandants and commanders, appoint the persons that the people themselves want. To rely fully on our nationalist political fighters, only in this way will this unity and our struggle succeed.

In this struggle, neither one's own political circumstances nor personal politics will be the driving force. This struggle must have a pure nationalist character and aim at the freedom of our people.

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<sup>448</sup> In original: *Komanda četničkih odreda Jugosl.[ovenske] vojske G o r s k i Br. 16. – Subeditor's note.*

Organization, measures against external influences, oral instruction.

Mr. Pavle Đurišić and the local circumstances.

The self-governing Pashiads<sup>449</sup> remain as they were on March 27, 1941. If a person among them has been compromised or corrupted and branded as such by the people, he should be replaced.

Give names to individual battalions and divisions from memory. If this is not good, then by the name of the commandant. Form units under commandants and create strong connections between units in the field where they should operate.

Collect weapons and ammunition, warehouses and other bases that are suitable for storing food. Some parts of Montenegro have weapons and ammunition, and some are in short supply. The distribution of weapons within a short time is important.

For this, address Member of Parliament Rašković.

Communication: A radio connection has been established with the General Staff. According to Mr. Rašović's report, he has an army radio station. The codes for working with the radio communication are with Captain Pavle Đurišić.

Until the connection is established by radio, the work shall be done with the codes and couriers available to the abovementioned captain.

It is known that there are deficient foodstuffs in Montenegro. Therefore, prepare the airfields so that relief is delivered to Montenegro as quickly and efficiently as possible by parachutes. The most suitable geographical place and coordinates should be given to the headquarters as soon as possible.

Men must be stationed at the airfield to take care of the lights when planes arrive.

It is important to provide a channel from the sea to inland, in the hope that help will come from the sea.

The connection with Dangić in Bosnia should be maintained via Gacko, Bileća, Foča and Gelanovica<sup>450</sup>.

Connection with Serbia's detachments via the Lim Detachment.

Cooperation with the right, nationalist, national-political elements is planned, that is why you must do everything to get Montenegrins involved in this Holy War, to get involved for the future of our people.

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<sup>449</sup> In the published document: Governing and self-governing authorities (*upravne i samoupravne vlasti*).

<sup>450</sup> Kalinovik.

You should have the role of people's leaders, which belongs to you.

After getting acquainted with this proclamation, convene prominent people and other politically well-meaning people, who will have the task of helping our actions.

For accuracy

Peinigg

15. 4. 42.

No. 81

ON APRIL 10, 1942, COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES MAKSIMOV-  
IĆ DELIVERS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN, AT HIS REQUEST, 27  
MINUTES OF THE INTERROGATION OF SERB REFUGEES ABOUT  
CRIMES IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA.<sup>451</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY  
COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION  
OF REFUGEES  
Res. Nr. 52  
Belgrade, April 10, 1942

OFFICE: LA / I

Subject: Atrocities and killings committed against  
the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia.

Very respected Mr. Commissioner!

I have the honor to send to you – on your order – 27 minutes relating to the interrogation of Serb refugees, which illustrate the inhumane treatment, atrocities and killings committed against the innocent Serb population in the Independent State of Croatia. These minutes are the result of the interrogation of Serb refugees who were expelled from Croatia and who have found refuge in Serbia.

At the same time, I am enclosing a sketch, from which, very respected Mr. Commissioner, you can see the areas in which these horrible atrocities and killings took place.

Most sincerely recommending myself, I sign  
with the deepest respect

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER:  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ  
Toma Maksimović personal signature

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<sup>451</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 270.

27 Attachments

1 sketch

452

To Mr.  
Dr. Weinmann,  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

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<sup>452</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees.

No. 82

ON APRIL 11, 1942, COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES MAKSIMOVIĆ SENDS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN A SERIES OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF SERBS RELEASED FROM THE LOBORGRAD AND JASENOVAC CAMPS AND THANKS HIM ON THEIR BEHALF.<sup>453</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY  
COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION  
OF REFUGEES  
Nr. 10942  
Belgrade, 11-IV, 1942

OFFICE: LA / I

Subject:

Very respected Mr. Commissioner!

I have the honor of send you a series of photos of Serb men, Serb women and Serb children which you, thanks to your strong influence and your kindness, released from the concentration camps LOBORGRAD and JASENOVAC, and to express on my own behalf, as well as on behalf of the families of these unfortunates, my deepest and most sincere gratitude for all of this noble endeavor.

We are making efforts to save these people and children, as doctors prescribe, through diet and the like, and we notice that they are gradually recovering.

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<sup>453</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 240. See Figs. 33-38 and Figs. 39-61.

Asking you, highly esteemed Mr. Commissioner, to accept the expressions of my deepest respect, I sign

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER:  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ

<sup>454</sup> Toma Maksimović personal signature

To Mister  
Dr. Weinmann  
SS Major and Relocation Commissioner  
Belgrade

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<sup>454</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees.

No. 83

THE STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM SARAJEVO WHO FLED TO SERBIA ON MARCH 14, 1942, ABOUT THE CRIMES OF THE USTASHAS IN SARAJEVO, SOKOLAC AND OTHER PLACES.<sup>455</sup>

15/4<sup>456</sup>

One refugee states:

I lived in Sarajevo with my husband, a postal clerk. At the end of June of this year I was arrested by the Ustashas because someone was allegedly shot in the house where I lived. My husband hid in his hometown, Sokolac. I was in jail for 2 days and then I was released. The prisons were full of Serb men and women. There was also a nurse in my cell, Balić Gina, who was terribly abused and beaten. Tailor Miličević Slavica, 16, was also horribly abused.

There were Serbs in the next cell. Their moans and sobs were heard every day. At night, they were taken to behind the Jewish cemetery, where everyone was shot dead on the spot. Miličević Dušan, a railway worker from Sarajevo, and 19 other Serbs were killed in this way.

In mid-August 1941, I was arrested again. I was accused that my brother Ilija Tešić and 2 other relatives joined the Chetniks. After a few days I was released.

In September 1941, I was arrested for the third time. This time I was accused of keeping Jews in my apartment. They let me go again after a few days. The abuse of Serbs continued in prisons, they were taken behind the Jewish cemetery at night and shot there. That is how they executed: Popović Veljko, a clerk, Jovanović Miloš, a railway worker, and many other Serbs whose names I do not know.

My husband was fired from work.

On December 1, 1941, I fled with my children to my husband in Sokolac. I walked through the forest for 3 days. Sokolac was then in the hands of the Chetniks.

On January 20, Sokolac was conquered by the Ustashas. I was immediately arrested, I was accused of serving as a cook for the Chetniks, even

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<sup>455</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 295-296.

<sup>456</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

though I did not. Me and my three children were taken to Podromanija, 3 km away from Sokolac. They interrogated me every day. When they asked me why I left Sarajevo, I told them that my husband had to leave Sarajevo, and that I could not exist with my family without support. An Ustasha replied: "Well, you are still young, you could have offered your body for sale in Sarajevo!" I didn't answer anything. I was returned to Sokolac with the children. On the way, we met a boy of about 15 years old in Ustasha uniform, armed, who was escorting 2 women peasants. He shot them both in one place and left their corpses lying on the road. Later, other Ustashes took another young woman peasant, about 20 years old, with them, and also shot her.

In early February 1942, the Ustashes began killing the Serbs in Sokolac. Nešković Drago, a merchant from Sokolac, 40 years old, the father of three children, was skinned from a living body, so that he died only after terrible suffering. Kovačević Drago, a merchant from Sokolac, and his mother Danica also fell victim to the horrible martyrous death. His mother was slaughtered while still in the house, and his eyes were plucked out first and he was killed then. On the same day, Karabatković Ilija, a farmer, and his wife Darinka were also killed. They beat me with a rifle butt and told me that I would be shot the next day.

Killings also took place in the village of Baltići. Young girls were publicly raped, which I saw with my own eyes. They took 200 dinars from my purse, my only cash.

The remaining Serbs from Sokolac were imprisoned in 2-3 houses. And I was locked up with my children. During the night, I managed to escape with my children. So, going through the forest, I came to the Serbian village of Vražići, which was completely deserted and looted. I found 67 corpses in 3 houses, mostly women and children. Among these corpses, I recognized the Pajić, Orašanin and Zečević families.

A large number of Serbs fled along the Drina river. I also joined this group. Due to the severe winter, the children especially suffered! Many children froze along the way. For 2 nights I lay with my children on bare ground.

On March 14, 1942, I came to Serbia and on March 18, I arrived in Belgrade.

**A REFUGEE'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE CRIMES OF THE USTASHAS AGAINST SERBS IN THE DVOR NA UNI DISTRICT AND THE LOOTING OF THEIR PROPERTY. THEY FLED TO SERBIA ON FEBRUARY 6, 1942.<sup>457</sup>**

One refugee states:

At the beginning of May 1941, the Ustashas began to imprison prominent Serbs from the Dvor District. At that time, they killed Mrkobrad Vaso, a retired municipal official, Durman Mladen, a postman, a gendarme and a financial clerk, whose names are unknown to me, all from Dvor na Uni. 10 days later, they killed a forest ranger from Rujevac, named Smoljanović, and Kosijer Dragan from Divuša.

At the end of May 1941, the Ustashas arrested Tomić Mlad.[en] from Bosansko Bodočevo, Bosanski Novi District. They took him to Divuša and imprisoned him there. Before his death, they treated him to sausage and wine. The Ustasha lieutenant Pudić killed him with his own hand. He killed both Durman and Mrkobrad with his own hand.

On April 20, 1941, the Ustashas killed a 17-year-old boy named Bunjc<sup>458</sup> from the village of Bujina in the village of Kuljani, Divuša Municipality. He was on his way to the market with his mother. On the road, they were met by the Ustashas. Despite his mother's begging to kill her – his mother, they killed the boy in front of the mother.

On July 30 and August 5, 1941, the Ustashas came to Dobrlin,<sup>459</sup> Bosanski Novi District. This place is located near Dvor na Uni. The Ustashas came under the command of the Ustasha officer Bednjanac, born in Zagreb. 10 to 20 Serbs were killed in Dobrlin.<sup>460</sup> They further gathered 60 Serbs who were all killed in the village of Voljin. In this very village, they gathered 27 Serbs – peasants and 5 Serbian railroad workers, killed them all and buried them in a common pit. Serbian houses were all set on fire.

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<sup>457</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 297-298.

<sup>458</sup> Bujinac.

<sup>459</sup> Dobrljin.

<sup>460</sup> Same as previous.

On August 1, 1941, a peasant, Kukavica Milan, Serb from Dobrlin,<sup>461</sup> guided an old Catholic priest to Divuša. The priest assured him that no harm would be done to him. When Kukavica returned to Divuša, he was met by the Ustashas, who first abused him in the most horrible way and then beat him to death. At the same time, the Ustashas killed Kovačević Milan and Miljković Milojko, peasants from Šakanlija, Divuša Municipality. The fates of Gvozdić Dragan from Kozibrod and Nenadić from Bujina, as well as Brajinović Nikola from Šakanlije, Divuša Municipality, are still unknown.

In December 1941, 16 Serbs and women were killed in the village of Rogulje, Zrinj Municipality, Dvor na Uni Municipality. The bodies of the living from Rogulje were cut with saws, the women's legs were cut off to the knees and then they were forced to ride. Some women, on the other hand, had to stand in the Zrinjski River all night, so they died of cold. Those who were still alive from this village fled to the forest.

On January 30, 1942, the Ustashas completely looted the villages of Draškovac and Šegestin. In the village of Šegestin, 56 Serbs from the village of Oraovica were killed. From Šegestin, they took 30 teams of cattle and 20 sledges of various foodstuffs.

On February 1, 1942, the Ustashas returned from Zrinj via the villages of Oraovica and Divuša to Dvor. On their way, they set fire to the village of Oraovica, and before that they had looted several houses. They drove 60 heads of cattle, 50 sheep, 30 pigs and 20 sledges of various foodstuffs through Divuša. The Ustashas were in a drunken state. 6 Serbs from Oraovica drove these looted cattle farther. Behind the school building, these Serbs had to strip naked and then they were killed.

On February 2, the Ustashas again passed through the villages of Divuša and Oraovica, loading 50-60 harnessed sledges full of food. That same day we left our house and our village. We do not know what happened next.

Among the Ustashas, who stood out with their atrocities, killings and robberies, these should be mentioned:

From Petrinja, a certain Filković, Krpan Lujo, driver, Kudelić, worker, the Šubić brothers, certain Sigur, peasant from the village of Župić, Gora Municipality. Among these criminals were peasants from Kratečko near Sisak, from Strašnik, the Municipality of Gora, etc.

Among the local Ustashas, the following stood out: Jukić and Vuković from Umčani, Knežić Dragan and Ivanović from Divuša, the Gavranović

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<sup>461</sup> Same as previous.

brothers, Obućina with his 2 sons from the village of Kuljani, Divuša Municipality.

The commander of the camp in Dvor, Đurić Anton, a Catholic priest, treated the Serbs very correctly and took them under his protection, but his intervention was in vain. Ustasha officers Bednjanac and Pudić also stood out in particular regarding these atrocities.

With a pass, issued to us by the Catholic priest Đurić, we set off on February 2, 1942. We came to Zemun on February 4, where we stayed until February 6, and then we came to Belgrade.

STATEMENT OF THE REFUGEE OLGA PRPIĆ FROM JASENOVAC, GIVEN AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES ON MARCH 7, 1942, ABOUT THE CRIMES OF THE USTASHAS IN THE JASENOVAC CAMP AND CRIMES AGAINST THE SERBS IN THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES.<sup>462</sup>

15/4<sup>463</sup>

MINUTES  
of March 7, 1942

made at the Commissariat for Refugees and Displaced Persons in Belgrade.

PRPIĆ OLGA, a housewife from Jasenovac, Jasenovac Municipality, Novska District, 38 years old, daughter of Matija and Katarina, now in Belgrade, Krunska ulica 20, identified through workbook no. 1512659 – List of names no. 353/41 of 26 February 1941, issued by the Municipality of Jasenovac, came uninvited and states:

Immediately after the founding of the Independent State of Croatia, a group of local Croats formed an armed Ustasha organization in Jasenovac. This group was formed and armed by VIDAKOVIĆ NIKOLA, a landowner from the village of Uštica near Jasenovac. He is the commander of the Ustasha camp. Furthermore, the Ustasha commanders are a former Catholic priest, named BRKLJAČIĆ, a native of Lika, and a certain LUBURIĆ, who came here from somewhere.

The Ustashas immediately gathered the Serbs and killed them. The Ustashas immediately gathered the following Serbs from Jasenovac: the landowner Grujičić,<sup>464</sup> the forest ranger Djukavac<sup>465</sup> Đurica; further Pekić Milan and Rašinac, both forest rangers, and many other Serbs from the area, whose names I no longer remember. All these Serbs were taken by the

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<sup>462</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 299-300. The statement was published in: A. Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941-1945*. Dokumenta, Vol. III, Beograd: Narodna knjiga; Jasenovac: Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 1987, 101-103.

<sup>463</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>464</sup> Grujičić.

<sup>465</sup> Čukalac.

Ustashas to the bank of the Sava river near Jasenovac, where they were killed and their corpses were thrown into the water.

Immediately after the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, 3 large concentration camps were established, as follows: one camp in Jasenovac, in the brickyard of Bačić Ozren; others in the fields called “Bročke Jesenice”, which are located halfway between Jasenovac and Novska. These grass fields are enclosed with a wire fence; and the third camp was established in the Croatian village of Plesmo, which is about 2 hours away from Jasenovac. This camp was also located in an open field, and was enclosed by a wire fence. Serbs from all sides were gathered in these camps, and this gathering continues to this day.

The Plesmo camp was abolished in November 1941, at the request of the Croatian inhabitants of Plesmo. These citizens energetically demanded the closure of this camp, because they could no longer watch the horrible atrocities and murders committed by the Ustashas.

After a short time, the “Bročke Jesenice” camp was closed, because these fields were flooded.

Currently, there is only the camp in Jasenovac, which is, as I have already mentioned, located in the brickyard Bačić Ozren. This brickyard is located on the outskirts of the city. In addition to the brickyard, several other barracks were erected by the Croatian authorities, surrounded by barbed wire. There are Serbs, Croats and Jews in this camp. All around this area, watch-towers were erected, from which the Ustashas with machine guns stand guard.

Feeding in the camp is extremely poor. Each of these unfortunates receive 3 pieces of boiled potatoes without bread a day, so these people are formally exposed to starvation. In the brickyard, these people sleep on the bare ground. Tortured by starving and abuse, they are forced to work every day. I saw with my own eyes how these internees marched through Jasenovac, and so hungry they fell on the road. These unfortunates were kicked in the head and all over the body by the Ustashas so that they were covered in blood, or they were beaten with rifle butts; many of them were jumped on their chests and then beaten mercilessly.

The residents of Jasenovac had to watch such scenes every day last summer and autumn. Many of the internees, who were taken to work, raised their hands and begged for a piece of bread. The inhabitants secretly gave them pieces of bread, so that the Ustashas would not notice this. Usually, pieces of bread were left on the road, from where the internees lifted them out of the dust. I saw for myself how the internees in the field, during the corn harvest,

ate seeds from rotten pumpkins, and when they found corn cobs, they also ate them. An Ustasha beat a Jew to death because he found a corn cob with him. The internees were abused and tortured by the Ustashes in the most terrible way. Many of them died daily from terrible suffering and hunger. The corpses were either thrown into the Sava river or buried in the field called "Limani" – on the property of the Serb Trivunić<sup>466</sup> Vasica. On that day, Trivunić and his wife were taken to the camp.

When a commission recently inspected the camp in Jasenovac, it was shown only those internees who arrived to the camp only a few days ago; those internees who had been tortured by hunger and abuse were not shown because they were physically completely ruined.

Serbs were beaten dead and killed every day. They are killed in the camp itself, and their corpses, as already mentioned, are thrown into the Sava river or buried on the Trivunić estate. I do not know by name those internees who were beaten by the Ustashes. 20-200 internees arrive every day, and so many of them are beaten in order to make room for newcomers.

After the Christmas holidays, the Ustashes brought over 200 women and children from Kordun to Jasenovac. There were several elderly women in this group, all the others were young women and small children. This group of women and children was led by the Ustashes through Jasenovac, and across the frozen river Sava to the village of Čuklinac, where they were all locked up in one barn, and it was then set on fire so that these unfortunates were all burned. The screams and wails of these unfortunate women and children were heard across the Sava river in the village of Uštica.

After the Serbian Christmas, the Ustashes poured into the Serbian villages that lied on the other bank of the Sava, namely: Gradina,<sup>467</sup> Čukljinac,<sup>468</sup> Dreksenić,<sup>469</sup> Demirovac<sup>470</sup> and Međeđa. In these villages, the Ustashes killed all the Serbs in a row, completely looted their homes and then set these on fire. The young girls had to lift their skirts, whereafter they were stabbed between the legs with bayonets. I personally saw how these Ustashes, when they returned to Jasenovac from those villages, brought with them looted food, such as bacon, meat, lard, flour, cloth, bedding, etc. Better things were divided among the Ustasha officers and the worse among the Ustasha staff.

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<sup>466</sup> Trivunčić.

<sup>467</sup> Gradina.

<sup>468</sup> Čuklinac.

<sup>469</sup> Draksenić.

<sup>470</sup> Demirovac.

Lately, the Ustashas in Jasenovac and the surrounding area have been gathering Serbs, taking the men to the camp itself, and taking the women to Stara Gradiška or Zlatar.<sup>471</sup>

The commanders of the camp in Jasenovac, as I have already said, are BRKLJAČIĆ and LUBURIĆ. Then there are the main commanders VIDAKOVIĆ and LJUBA (I don't know the last name!), then JOŠIĆ MUJO, an Ustasha second class lieutenant – a Muslim, a native of Bosnia. The BRNIĆ brothers – ČAPUN JOZO and MIJO, the peasants RAKARIĆ KARLO and MATIJA and DRAGIĆ LJUKA, called “Šljuka”<sup>472</sup>, stand out among the local Ustashas. The latter three are guards. The names of other Ustashas are unknown to me.

I was also supposed to be taken to the camp, because someone reported that I work for Belgrade, which is why I decided to run away. I set off on March 2, of this year with a forged pass, which I received from the district-seat municipality in Novska. This one was for Vinkovci. I came from Vinkovci to Zemun without a pass. I came from Zemun on March 5, of this year to Belgrade with the help of an acquaintance of mine. Here in Belgrade, I will live my life by earning my own money.

I don't know anything further, I can swear on this statement and read.

Interviewed and certified by:

Đuro J. Rodić,  
place for the stamp

Minute taker:

D. Vujačić,  
place for the stamp

OLGA PRPIĆ,  
place for the stamp

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<sup>471</sup> Loborgrad by Zlatar (today: Zlatar Bistrica).

<sup>472</sup> The nickname means 'woodcock'. – *Subeditor's note.*

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM PRNJAVOR, ABOUT THE CRIMES OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA AGAINST THE SERBS IN PRNJAVOR AND THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES, FORCED CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM AND FLIGHT TO SERBIA ON JANUARY 21, 1942.<sup>473</sup>

15/4 42<sup>474</sup>

One refugee states:

I served in Prnjavor as a cadastral clerk until June 9, 1941, when the Croatian government fired me because I was a Serb.

Immediately after the founding of the Independent State of Croatia, terrible persecutions of Serbs took place in Prnjavor. Dr. GUTIĆ VIKTOR, Ustasha commander and Softa Ivan, farmer stood out in this.

On June 9, Gutić came from Banja Luka to Prnjavor and gave a speech to the gathered people in front of the district administration building, in which he pointed out: "I inform this Serbian nest, when I come to Prnjavor again, I will kill all Serbs with my own hands, and you will help me!"

On June 10, I traveled to Belgrade, and left my family in Prnjavor. I got a job in the cadastral administration in Kragujevac, where I served until the end of November 1941.

On October 15, 1941, I traveled to Prnjavor with a German pass with the intention of transferring my family to Serbia. I arrived in Prnjavor on October 17. Neither I nor my family received the necessary passes, which is why we could not travel to Serbia.

As long as the District Chief Paulić stayed in Prnjavor, the place was peaceful and quiet. At the end of November 1941, however, Paulić was transferred to Našice, and replaced by a Croat from Našice. From this time, a difficult time began for us Serbs.

At the beginning of September 1941, an Ustasha group of 300-400 people came to Prnjavor under the leadership of a major. The city commander in Prnjavor was the Ustasha lieutenant Naglić Ivan.

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<sup>473</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 301-302.

<sup>474</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

At the beginning of December 1941, the killings of Serbs began, and Serb villages were set on fire. The villages of Srpska Moravica, Kremna, Čorle and Vučijak<sup>475</sup> were particularly affected. In the village of Kremna, 27 Serbs were killed, mostly from the Petrović family. 31 Serbs were taken from the village of Čorle to Prnjavor, they were killed and their bodies were buried next to the Radlovac stream.

All these villages were looted, 300 cattle were taken to Prnjavor, which were slaughtered, and a big drunken party was organized for Ustasha officers in the house of Judge Hušo.

From the villages of Lužani, Tabak-Ilova and Grabik-Ilova, 37 Serbs were taken to Prnjavor, where they were killed and all were thrown into a pit located on the property of Ziha Andrija. At the beginning of January 1942, Ignjatić Petar from Lužani and Kon, the manager of the Munčić Company from Prnjavor, were also thrown into this pit.

On January 17, 1942, at 3 o'clock in the morning, the following Serbs were arrested in Prnjavor: Jovanović Milan, Vrabac Stevan, municipal clerk, Mikić Živko, pensioner, Gavrić Milan, head of the tax administration, Kojić Obrad, innkeeper, Knežević Milan, innkeeper, Đukanović Sava, innkeeper, Adamović Dmtar, sales assistant, Spasojević Simo, landowner, Janić Nedo, pensioner, Neimarević Miko and Stanko, traders, Stojanović Đorđe, barber, Jovanović Milo, shoemaker, Savković Kosta, innkeeper, Dudić Rado and Dušan, shoemakers and many others whose names are not known to me. Lazić Jovan, an attendant in the district administration, was killed in front of the Serbian church. That night, the Ustashes came to my home, but I managed to escape in time. All these people were taken to Slavonski Brod, and their fate has remained unknown.

Then the action of conversion to the Catholic faith began here as well. In these atrocities and murders, the following stood out in particular:

District Chief in Prnjavor HORVAT, Korić Arif, the Mayor, Naglić Ivan, Ustasha First Lieutenant, Softa Ivan, Bandić Branko, Roman Catholic priest. Catholic peasants who had previously settled from Herzegovina also stood out in particular.

Because of these horrible atrocities, I had to leave Prnjavor again. On January 21, 1942, I set out; and I received a pass from the German Municipality of Glogova. I came to Zemun with this pass.

On January 22, I was transferred to Belgrade by a Croatian railwayman. My family has stayed in Prnjavor.

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<sup>475</sup> Unidentified village.

STATEMENT OF TWO REFUGEES FROM BOSANSKI BROD, ABOUT THE CRIMES OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA IN BOSANSKI BROD AND SLAVONSKI BROD, FORCED CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM AND DISSATISFACTION OF CROATS.<sup>476</sup>

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Two refugees state:

In April last year, the Ustashas arrested 70 Serbs from Bosanski Brod, including the two of us, but they released us again after 10 days.

By the end of June this year, there was a break in connection with this, whereafter arrests took place again. The following were arrested: Pantić Kosta, a merchant, Đureković Petar, Radovanović Stevo, all from the village of Brusnica, as well as Jelić Ignjo from Liješće. After a few days, they were taken from Bosanski Brod to the camp in Jasenovac, and their fate is completely unknown to this day. The arrests in Derventa District then continued. Serbs were taken en masse to court prisons in Bosanski Brod and to the warehouses of the Kostić brothers, traders from Bosanski Brod. All of them were taken to various concentration camps, and most of them to the camp in Slavenska Požega, where 480 people were killed from the Derventa District alone. As many as 48 Serbs were killed on the bridge connecting Bosanski Brod and Slavonski Brod, for no reason. The bodies of 28 Serbs floated along the Sava, and the other 20 were thrown into a pit next to the slaughterhouse in Bosanski Brod. These Serbs were mostly from the villages of Lužani and Žeravac.

We note that the Ustashas threw the lightly wounded Serbs tied up in a pit and would finish them off with a revolver. During these atrocities, Hanček Ferik from Bosanski Brod and Has Ivica, a bricklayer from Bosanski Brod, stood out, stating that he [Has – *Subeditor's note*] himself killed 13 Serbs. A certain Miličević, a student of the 6<sup>th</sup> grade of grammar school, and Ćumu Ivica, both from Bosanski Brod, also stood out. After these events, there was another break, after which the action of conversion to the Catholic Church began. After that, arrests of Serbs and Croats took place again. The

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<sup>476</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 303.

<sup>477</sup> Handwritten note and initials.

latter were arrested because they did not want to be members of the Croatian army, thus announcing their dissatisfaction with the situation in Croatia. Serbs were threatened with concentration camps if they did not convert to the Catholic faith. This action was not a success. Serbian villages organized themselves and decided not to convert to the Catholic faith.

Today, it is reliably known that 700 Serbs from Bosanski Brod were partially killed and partially disappeared. In the District of Derventa, the villages of Podnovlje, Lužani, Barice, Žeravac and Višnjica were stricken very hard. All Serb men were taken from the village of Podnovlje, and they were killed by the Ustashes as soon as being on the road. Also, a lot of women and children fell as victims, so the dogs dragged parts of their corpses along the road.

Railway workers Vrdoljak and Šenk, both from Bosanski Brod, stood out especially in these atrocities, in addition to those already mentioned. Vrdoljak demanded 100,000 Dinars from the merchant Srećko Pantić from Brusnica, and when he was released, he arrested Papić Stevo from Gornji Klakar.

In Slavonski Brod, from January 1 to the end of February 1942, 300 Serbs, mostly peasants from Slavonski Brod, were arrested and taken to a camp in Jasenovac, while 100 Croatian peasants sought refuge in the forests. Certain Kavaj and Findrik, as well as student Babić, were killed by Croats.

We came to Serbia without any pass, no one controlled us on the way, and that is because we paid the train conductors 1000 Kuna each.

STATEMENT OF FIVE REFUGEE WOMEN FROM GLINA ABOUT MASS CRIMES AGAINST THE SERBS, MASSACRES IN THE GLINA CHURCH AND FORCED CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM.<sup>478</sup>

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RADOJČEVIĆ ZORKA, refugee, wife of Radojčević Živko, director of the Serbian Savings Bank in Glina, 55 years old, no children, now in Belgrade, Prote Mateje 25, SUŽNJEVIĆ DANICA, wife of Sužnjević Đuro, doctor from Glina, 49 years old, mother of 3 children, now in Belgrade – Kneginje Zorke Street 64, BABIĆ KATICA, wife of Babić Aleksandar, merchant from Glina, 44 years old, mother of 3 children, now in Belgrade, Prote Mateje 25, RADOVANOVIĆ ANĐA, wife of Radovanović Petar, retired senior gamekeeper, 47 years old from Glina, mother of 4 children, now in Belgrade, Prote Mateje 25, and EREMIĆ EVA, widow of the late Eremić Đuro, gamekeeper from Glina, 72 years old, now in Belgrade, Prote Mateje 25, jointly declare:

In the second half of April 1941 – a date I can no longer remember exactly – the Ustashas arrested in Glina: Dr. Gajić Milica, a physician, Štefančić Dragan, a teacher, Sužnjević Simo, a hospital employee, Šurbat, a surveyor, Korak Adam, a farmer and other Serbs from Glina whose names we can no longer remember. All of them were taken by the Ustashas to a police prison in Zagreb. Štefančić Dragan, who is a Croat by nationality, was released after 3 months, Dr. Gajić Milica was released after 7 months, the fate of other Serbs, however, has remained unknown to this day.

On April 28, 1941, the Ustashas arrested Dr. Sužnjević Đuro, a physician, Rebrača Stanko, a retired official in the district administration and Živković Milan, a blacksmith, all from Glina. The Ustashas also took them to a police prison in Zagreb. From there they were put in the concentration camp at Koprivnica and then in Gospić. Nothing further is known about their fate.

In early May 1941, the Ustashas arrested Resanović Adam, a shoemaker from Glina, and Slijepčević Stojan, a farmer from Majske Poljane.

The two were thrown into the municipal prison in Glina and were killed a few days after horrific abuse. Bunčić from Šušnjari was imprisoned

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<sup>478</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 304-306.

<sup>479</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

together with them. The Ustashas wanted to kill him, too, however, at the intervention of the Ustasha Kreštalica and the orders of the Minister of Justice, Dr. Puk, he was first to be abused for a month and then killed. However, Bunčić was lucky to escape from prison and is now in Belgrade.

On the night of May 8-9, 1941, the Ustashas broke into the apartment of Ratković Rade from Glina, took him to a barren field and killed him there. They threw a roller over his corpse, so that his wife took his corpse out of the mud and dirt only with extreme effort and labor.

On the night of May 10-11<sup>480</sup>, the local Ustashas, with the help of Ustashas who arrived from Zagreb, arrested the following persons, namely: Babić Aleksandar, merchant, Babić Branko, jurist, Petar Radovanović, retired gamekeeper, Radovanović Jovan, student of business school, Radojčević Marko, director of the Serbian Savings Bank, Jeremić Đuro, pensioner, Sužnjević Nebojša, hospital employee, Sužnjević Ratko, Badrić Jovo, retired school inspector, Davidović Svetozar, former mayor, Dr. Branković Stevan, notary, Haler Stojan, surveyor, Vujičić Stojadin, court clerk, Pijevac Ilija, farmer, Pjevac Đuro, theologian, Pjevac Dragan, farmer, Pjevac Petar and Đura, farmers, Krnjajić Stevan and Miloš, Bogunović Stanko, Arbutina Đuro, Dušan and Mile, Kukuleča<sup>481</sup> Nikola, all farmers, Kukuleča<sup>482</sup> Petar, merchant, Rebrača Mileta, innkeeper, Bogunović Ilija, merchant, Čavić Tanasije, retired railwayman, Čavić Slavko and Ranko, farmers, Metikoš Damjan and Božo, merchants, Meandžija Nikola, butcher, Sunajko Kosta, baker, Sunajko Nikola, innkeeper, Jakšić Stanko, tailor, Džakula Miloš, merchant, Džakula Pero, shoemaker, Arbutina Lazo, farmer, Stojić Janko, retired municipal clerk, Miletić Pero, retired finance clerk, Gavrilović Đorđe, retired high school headmaster, Tomić Dragomir, merchant, Tomić Dušan, merchant, Drekić Mile, brickmaker, Samardžija Miloš, blacksmith, Samardžija Milan, captain, Muždeka Stevo, innkeeper, Sarapa Lazo, worker, Pejić Adam, wood merchant, Pokrajac Bogdan, sales assistant, Momić Mile, merchant, Opajić Milan, technical secondary school student, Gavrilović Josif, merchant, Dmitrović Đuro, landowner, Dmitrović Nikola, merchant, Vujasinović Marko and Mojsije, merchants, Đukić Stanko, tailor, Baltić Petar, harnesser, Šteković Pero, student of academy of commerce, Vujaklija Stojan, tailor,

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<sup>480</sup> See: B. Vujasinović, Č. Višnjic, *Glina 13. maja 1941. U povodu 70. godišnjice ustaškog zločina*. Đuro Rokсандić, *Spisak žrtava fašističkog terora godine 1941. kotara Glina*, Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo Prosvjeta, 2011.

<sup>481</sup> Kukuleča.

<sup>482</sup> Same as previous.

Ćeran Miladin, tailor, Gvoić Mileta, merchant, Mrkobrad Vojo, clerk, Brković Miloš, blacksmith, Brković Milan, surveyor, Grebeljanović Joco, baker, Baltić Rodoljub, tailor's assistant, Vijuk Pavle and Nikola, shoemakers, Bratić Jovo, school attendant, Krivokuća Jovo, school attendant, Uzelac Nikola, Senior and Uzelac Nikola Junior, innkeepers, Medić Petar, sales agent, Gledić Savo, road supervisor, Đaković Stanko, tailor, Vujaklija Pero, farmer, Gagić Nikola, Šeović Stevan, farmers, Badrić Marko, carpenter, Bajić Nikola, farmer, Vujaklija Drago, municipal clerk, Vujaklija Đuro, farmer, Milošević Janko, innkeeper, Oreščanin Stevo, senior gamekeeper, Letić Dušan, high school student, Oreščanin Stevo, merchant, Opalić Marko, merchant, Opalić Strahinja, student of academy of commerce, Stojanović (Peleš) Slavko, merchant and Stojanović (Peleš) Petar, jurist, Vorkapić Stanko, retired postal clerk, Milojević David, retired gendarme, Mirković Jovo, judge, Dr. Gajić Ljubomir, physician, Gajić Stevo, wood merchant, Carević Nenad, high school student, Carević, financial clerk, Opačić Bogdan, priest, Carić Dmitar, landowner and his son Jozef,<sup>483</sup> sales assistant, Knežević, shoemaker and his son Branko, theologian, Jovanović Nedeljko, theologian, Jakšić Stanko, shoemaker, Grubić, retired gendarme, Čelap, landowner, Kosanović, gendarmerie sergeant, Dukić Luka, carpenter, Dukić Stojan, barber, Dražić Mihailo, clerk, Crevar Dragan, clerk, Pulić Milan, kettle-maker, Nikolić Đorđe, school inspector, Korać Đuro, railway worker, Dragojević Dušan, railway worker, Novaković Simo, railway worker, Ljubičić Đuro, shoemaker, Badrić Stevo, tailor, Marjanović Milan, tailor, Badrić Stevo, photographer, Martinović Stevo, cooper and his son, Egić Branko, an army officer, Branković Stanko, locksmith, Letić Ilija, baker and his 2 apprentices who were killed the same night, his son Dušan was wounded and taken away in that condition. Dr. Metikoš Milan, lawyer, Dr. Guteša Veljko, physician, Tomić Dragomir, bank clerk, Tomić Dušan, merchant, Štula Đuro, bookstore owner, Štula Vaso, bookstore owner, Ćorković Pero, merchant, Šušnjar Stojan, innkeeper, Arbutina Nikola, innkeeper, Sužnjević Stevo, tailor, Mrkalj Stevo, retired teacher, Madžarac Miloš, retired teacher and his 2 sons, Branko, jurist and Branko, court clerk, Popović, judge, Blidović, judge, Janković Đuro, bank clerk and his son Dušan, sales assistant, Lacković Nikola, barber, Breka Marko, barber, Relić Pero, farmer, Meandžija Jovo, butcher, Rade Crevar, retired senior gamekeeper, Novaković Nikola, postal clerk, Miloš Jojić, postal clerk, Čelap Pero, postal clerk, Orlić Stevo, Šeović Stevo, farmers. The funeral of their murdered father Ratković

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<sup>483</sup> Josif.

was attended by both his sons, his brother and both his relatives from Čemernica. All of them were arrested and taken away by the Ustashas the same night. We no longer remember the names of all those Serbs who were taken that night, but we know exactly that 582 Serbs were taken from Glina. That night, 80 boys and craftsmen were taken from the boarding school for boys in Glina. All the above-mentioned Serbs were waiting for their fate in the court prisons in Glina, and on the night of May 11-12, 1941, they were loaded into trucks and taken away in an unknown direction. We know nothing about the fate of these unfortunate people.

During the arrests, houses were searched, where everything was confiscated on this occasion. Grebeljanović Joco was also arrested, and on that occasion, 30,000 Dinars of cash and tobacco worth 2,500 Dinars were confiscated from him. They stole a suitcase full of decorative items worth 500,000 Dinars from Stojanović Slavko, a merchant. These decorative objects were stolen by Hanih Josip, a music teacher and Ustasha in Glina. Papa Slavko, an Ustasha, stole 4,000 Dinars of silver from Stana Pejić. In prisons, everyone was horribly abused, before being taken in an unknown direction.

After 15 days, the remaining Serbs, this time their wives as well, were arrested. The arrested included: Jović Nikola, retired municipal clerk, Škarić Evica, wife of Škarić Miloš, retired captain, Rebrača Seka, wife of Rebrača Boško from Majske Poljane, Samac Staka, wife of Savo from Majske Poljane, Vorkapić Stanko, worker from Glina, and many others, whose names we no longer remember. They were all loaded into trucks and taken in an unknown direction. Their fate is unknown to us.

Between June 26 and August 2, 1941, the Serbs from the villages in the Glina and Vrginmost Districts were brought to Glina by truck. All of them were killed in the Serbian Orthodox Church in Glina. Their bodies were then loaded into trucks and taken in an unknown direction. We do not know how many Serbs were killed. Blood flowed from the church to the street, from which it could be seen that the number of the killed people was considerable. The trucks were stained with traces of blood. Three Serbs climbed the church tower, where they stayed for three full days. They were so thirsty that they sucked raindrops from their palms. When the Ustashas noticed this, they shot them making short work thereof. All three fell dead to the ground from the church bell tower.

In the period from August 1 to 3, 1941, new arrests of women and children were made, because there were no more men in Glina. 250 people were arrested. Among those arrested were us, Radovanović Anđa with her

daughters Marta and Kata, and Eremić Eva. All arrested women and children were thrown into the prisons of the District Court. They were promised that those who would apply to convert to the Catholic Church would be released. In fact, they were all released, including those who did not apply. They were ordered to leave Glina within 2 days.

At the beginning of August 1941, the Serbian church in Glina was destroyed by the Ustashas. This holy place was destroyed by fire by Stjepan, a miller from Junkinac<sup>484</sup> near Glina, while Šubalić Stjepan, a tinsmith from Glina, climbed the church tower and broke the cross.

The following Ustashas stood out in particular in persecution, abuses and murders, namely: Papa Slavko, tailor's assistant, Vidaković Stjepan, student, Vidaković Mate, carpenter, Kreštalica brothers, Nikola, Paja and Stjepan, Muretić Ivica, innkeeper, Hanih Josip, music teacher, Mihaljević Stevo, police officer, Butorac Francek, butcher, Žinić Joco, butcher, Dr. Devčić Juraj, lawyer and camp commander, Dr. Rebok Juraj, physician and Ustasha captain, Dr. Vojvoda Katarina, physician, Dr. Jerec Mirko, lawyer and Great Prefect in Petrinja, Cvitovac Mihovil, district judge, Imper, District Chief, Klobučar Mirko, student, Žinić Zvonko, student, Prhlik Ivo, teacher, now in Petrinja, Kalajdžić Drago, confectioner, Mican, merchant, Novak Božo, driver, Tiljak Mato, merchant, Mrgan Slavko, innkeeper, Mrgan Pavao, merchant, Haupt, pharmacist, Tompić Gabrijela, pharmacist, Medved Stevo, carpenter, Fabac, carpenter, all from Glina and a peasant named "Čuklje", from the village of Prekope.

We came to Belgrade in July and August last summer and now we live permanently in Belgrade. We left all our movable and immovable property in Glina.

I, Danica Sužnjević and Katica Babić, received passes from the Croatian authorities only after we had given a statement that we were leaving all our property to the Croatian state and that we would never enter Croatian territory again.

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<sup>484</sup> Junkinac.

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM TOPUSKO ABOUT THE KILLING OF SERBS IN KORDUN AND BANIIJA, FORCED CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM, ABOUT BEING TAKEN TO THE GOSPIĆ CAMP, THE UPRISING OF THE SERBS AND ABOUT THE JOINING OF CROATS TO THE INSURGENTS.<sup>485</sup>

15/4 42<sup>486</sup>

One refugee from Topusko states:

In April 1941, I found myself as a prisoner of war in the camp in Doboj, from which I escaped one day and walked home to Topusko via Banja Luka.

In May of the current year, the Ustashas in the Vrginmost District arrested prominent Serbs, namely: Žutić Miloš, landowner, Roknić Nikola, retired gendarmerie sergeant, Kordić Milutin, farmer, Dr. Branko Vurdelja, Jovo Vorkapić, hotelier, Stanko Škara, innkeeper, Vujošević Milutin, merchant, native of Montenegro, Škara Nikola, waiter, Bjelić Nikola, waiter, Mamuzić Ilija, farmer, Janjanin Stojan, farmer, Čelap Nikola, farmer, all of them from Topusko. They came to Sisak from Topusko and from Sisak to Petrinja. They were held in Petrinja for 1 month, whereafter they were all taken in an unknown direction. Shortly afterwards, it became known that all the aforementioned Serbs from Topusko had been killed in the Brezovica forest near Sisak. These atrocities were discovered because the Ustashas ordered some Gypsies to bury the corpses of these Serbs and take their clothes. That is how a Gypsy was seen in the suit of the murdered Škara, and a letter written by Škara to his wife was found.

After these murders, the action of conversion to the Catholic faith began, which, however, had only a few followers.

On the night between July 27 and 28, in the village of Poljana near Topusko, Breški<sup>487</sup> Šime from Zagreb was killed. Serbs were accused of killing him, which led to a terrible reaction from the Ustashas. 370 Serbs were arrested. One part was imprisoned in the municipality building and the other part in the Orthodox church in Topusko. On that occasion, I was also arrested and driven

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<sup>485</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 310-311.

<sup>486</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>487</sup> Briješki.

to the church. We were beaten and abused here. A few days later, Rajšić Luka, a farmer from Ponikvar, and Škundrić Ilija, a hotelier from Topusko, died as a result of these horrible abuses. The Serbs who were imprisoned in the municipality building, 70 of them, were taken by truck to the Topusko railway station, from where they were driven to the concentration camp in Gospić and from there to Jasenovac. There is no trace left of these Serbs, and most likely they were all killed. Among them were: Obradović Matija, hotelier, Batalo Mitar, merchant, Miljević Milan, merchant and Miljević Milan, clerk, Batalo Mirko, clerk, Žutić Matija, butcher, Batalo Milan, Matija, farmers, Mišćević Nikola, Miljević Ilija and Đura, Zlokas Vasilije with his sons Nikola and Pero, Zlokaš<sup>488</sup> Miloš and Sima, Miljević Stojan, Škara Milan with his son Pero, Škara Marko, Bjelić Matija, carpenter, Dragojević Marko, landowner, Ratković Nikola and his son Dane, Radićanin Pera, Lončar Pera, farmers, brothers Gušić Milan and Rade, Vorkapić Nikola, farmers.

Personally, I saved myself, by hiding in the church tower and throwing church wreaths on myself. I heard everything that was happening in the church. The Serbs were abused in the most horrible way, beaten with rifle butts, forced to sing Ustasha songs and swear allegiance to Ante Pavelić. Then all but 3 people were taken to Glina. Petković Tošo, pharmacist, Vorkapić Pajo, notary and Korić<sup>489</sup> Adam, landowner, were released to go home. Thousands and thousands of Serbs were killed in the Orthodox church in Glina, so that their blood spilled through the church door. At midnight, I managed to get away from the church, whereafter I hid in the field for 3 days. As the Ustasas did not find me at home, they arrested my wife Olga together with the children, and took them to the camp in Petrinja, from where they were released after a five-week stay to go back home. Every day the Ustasas searched for me; one day they found me with my brother-in-law, the Muslim Hasan Karaić. I was taken to court. Thanks to the statements of my relatives and friends, that I did not carry any weapons with me, and that I did not hide among the Chetniks in the forest, I was released and came to Kraljevo, where I stayed with my cousin, Simić Pera, a teacher, until 20 January 1942.

After these events in Topusko, the remaining part of the Serbs who survived hid in Mt. Petrova Gora and an uprising against the Ustasas was organized. The Ustasas took revenge again on old and weak women and the elderly, as well as on children. They looted and set fire to all the neighboring

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<sup>488</sup> Zlokas.

<sup>489</sup> Korać.

villages in Topusko. The villages of Katinovac and Vorkapić were spared from the torching.

Nobody buried these corpses, and I witnessed in the village of Vorkapić how the dogs tore these corpses to pieces. These killings by the Ustashas have continued in the districts across Banija and Kordun since August of this year to this day. They plunder all movable property and livestock.

1500 Serbs were killed in Vrginmost. In the Municipality of Topusko, 400 Serbs lost their lives, in the Municipality of Čemernica 600 of them, and in the villages in the District of Vrginmost, 500 Serbs lost their lives. These numbers do not include the number of children, women and the elderly killed. The Serbs from the village of Čemernica were shot in a ditch near Krnjak. That is how one of my relatives, Milan Jarčov, was killed here.

In the forest of Mt. Petrova Gora, among the insurgents, who declared that they did not agree with the policy of Supreme Leader Ante Pavelić, there were a lot of supporters of Dr. Maček, and those were some workers from Zagreb, Sisak and Karlovac. The Croats, who joined forces with the Chetniks in Croatia, ravaged and set fire to all Croatian state organs, the railway and telephone lines.

Among the Ustashas who stood out in particular, I mention: Malinac Mato, house painter from Hrvatsko Selo, Putrić Jure, farmer from Vranovina, Orečić Mirko, worker, Briješki Ilija, Kocman Anton, teacher from Topusko. There were also those Croats who took Serbs under their protection: like Babić Ivo and Stevo, farmers from Topusko, Išeka Stanko, shoemaker from Topusko, Darović, then manager of the power plant in Topusko, and Muslim Hamdija, confectioner from Topusko.

The District Chief from Topusko, Čidić, also strongly advocated for the Serbs, which is why he was fired. He was replaced again by a Croat who committed suicide due to horrific atrocities committed against innocent Serbs. During his tenure, two full train wagons loaded with ammunition of Italian origin were discovered, and he was accused of being involved in this affair, and that the ammunition was intended for those Serbs who joined the Chetniks. According to one story, this affair was the reason for his suicide. On this occasion, 6 Italian officers were also accused of delivering the ammunition in question to the Serbs.

The Italian authorities are still in Vrginmost today. The Croatian authorities, in agreement with the Ustashas, continue their work, not caring about the Italians.

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM VRGINMOST ABOUT THE USTASHA MASS KILLINGS OF THE SERBS IN VRGINMOST AND THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES, AND ABOUT THE KILLING IN THE GLINA CHURCH.<sup>490</sup>

15/4 42<sup>491</sup>

One refugee from Vrginmost states:

On May 6 of this year, an Ustasha named Marko came to Vrginmost from Lika or Dalmatia with 10-15 other armed Ustashas from Topusko, and arrested 11 prominent Serbs from Vrginmost, who were taken to the concentration camp in Koprivnica. The following were arrested: Košutić Stojan, innkeeper from Vojnić – railway station, Zorić Đuro, retired forest ranger from Slavsko Polje, Vrga Stevan, cooper, Malobabić Vaso, butcher, Dragojević Rade, retired forest ranger, Vrga Pero, landowner from Podgorje, Crevar Pero and Dušan, merchants, Nastašić Nikola, butcher, Ajdinović Mile, landowner and Polimac Milan, landowner from Vrginmost. All of the above were first taken to Koprivnica and then to Gospić. We know nothing about their further fate.

On May 11, the Italian army came to Vrginmost and remained there until July 29 of this year. During this time, there was total peace in Vrginmost and the surrounding villages.

On July 27 of this year, near Topusko, Briješki Pero, a peasant from Topusko, was killed. He was allegedly killed by another Ustasha. The Serbs were blamed for this case, which resulted in the Ustashas invading the Serbian village of Ponikvari – Poljani on July 28. In this village, the Ustashas killed everything they could get their hands on, that is, men, women and children, and the houses were set on fire.

On July 29, when the Italian army left Vrginmost, the Ustashas came in several trucks. These were Ustashas from Glina, Topusko, Petrinja, Zagreb and Osijek, 50-60 of them. They arrested a lot of Serbs, 50 of them, took them to a forest, where they were all killed. Their corpses remained unburied in the forest for several weeks. The following Serbs were also killed:

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<sup>490</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 312-313.

<sup>491</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

Tepšić Jovan and Stanko, Jerosimić Đuro and his son Rade, Jerosimić Mile, Rodić Stevo and Vojislav, Tepšić Nikola and his son Rade, Tepšić Pavao and his grandson, Korkut Ljubomir and his son Miloš, theologian, Janjanin Petar, retired gendarme, Jarčov Milan, baker, Marković Dušan, sales assistant, Vladić Stojan, butcher, Pavlović Gojko, baker, Romčević Branko, innkeeper, Malobabić Janko, municipal treasurer, Ivković Marko, railway clerk, Obradović Mile, railway worker – all from Vrginmost. Lapčević Pavao, Vrga Nikola, Linta Petar, J.[unior] Bulat Marko, Linta Maksim, Bulat Miloš – all from Podgorje. The remaining Serbs escaped by fleeing into the woods.

A group of Ustashas came to the village of Perna. When the villagers saw the Ustashas, all the church bells started ringing. Such fear seized the Ustashas because of the bells that they immediately returned to Vrginmost.

On July 31 of this year the Ustashas came again. Whoever could escape was hidden in the surrounding forest. As the Ustashas did not find anyone, they started firing rifles. Thereby, they killed Pavlović Rade, who tried to run away from his house.

On 1, 2 and 3 August of this year, local Ustashas Klemenčić Joco, butcher from Vrginmost and Šprajc Anton, forest ranger also from there, went around the villages. They announced to the Serb peasants that they should not leave their homes, but report to the Ustasha commander and that they should convert to the Catholic faith. By order of the Ustasha commander, all Serbs should appear at the Sokoli Hall<sup>492</sup> on August 3 at 7 a.m., where preparations would be made for their conversion to the Catholic faith. As ordered, 1,700 Serbs gathered. The Serbs were even greeted with music. Živčić Josip, a Croat, brought the largest number of Serbs. They were left to wait in the Sokoli Hall until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, because they were told that the great prefect from Petrinja would give a speech at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Nothing happened and the Serbs were thus repeatedly deceived until the next day and told that they would be taken to Glina to take the oath. During the night, the Serbs were guarded, and on August 4, they were all loaded onto trucks and taken to Glina. There, they were literally massacred in the Orthodox church. They were: Crevar Simo, Jerosimić Nikola, Vukmirović Ilija, Tepšić Stevan, Rodić Dragan, all from Vrginmost. I do not remember the names

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<sup>492</sup> *Sokoli* ('Falcons') were athletes, members of the pan-Slavic Soko(l) Movement (founded in Prague, in 1862) as an all-age gymnastics organization, following the principle of "a strong mind in a sound body"; their sports halls/gymnasiums (*sokolski domovi*) were built in numerous towns, especially in the Slav-settled lands of Austro-Hungary. – *Subeditor's note.*

of the others. The following men were taken from Podgorje to Glina and killed there: Vrga Stanko, Lapčević Nenad, Nikola and Pane (brothers), Lapčević Pavao and Sava, Ajdinović Janko and Petar, Vrga Matija, Polojac Vujo and Rade, Linta Teodor and Miloš (brothers), Linta Janko and Petar, Linta Miloš and Stojan, Pova Milan, etc.

After these horrific murders, the people hid again in the woods and fields. The killings, which continued in the Vrginmost District, lasted from July 28 to September 20. Most murders took place on September 16, 17 and 18 of this year. In those days, the Ustashas were divided into 3 groups. One group went to the villages of Perna and Malička, another group to the villages of Crni Potok and Pecka and the third group to the village of Blatuša. In the said villages, they killed whoever they could get their hands on. They also took Gypsies with them, who helped them set houses on fire.

In the village of Malička, my relatives were killed and then their house was set on fire. Their bodies were thrown into the blazing fire. Pajić Ljubica and her daughter Ružica, as well as her other relatives, were killed in the neighborhood.

I know that 30 people were killed from the house of Vojnović Rade in Crni Potok alone. All these persons were burned alive. They took all movable property as well as cattle with them to Topusko. Most of the robberies took place in the villages of Blatuša and Pecka. The village of Perna was completely torched, so that not a single building remained. In the Serb village of Staro Selo, too, everyone lost their lives. Only 4 people survived. The Orthodox churches in Perna, Bović, Topusko, Čemernica and Slavsko Polje also fell victim to fire. In the village of Blatuša, the church was looted, but not burned. At the time of these horrifying murders, the Ustashas also raped a great many women and girls. The gendarmerie sergeant Pavlović from Vrginmost brought women to the Ustashas. The wife of the blacksmith Vrga Pavle resisted these abuses, which is why she was taken to the forest and killed there. During these atrocities, big drunken parties were organized. 5-6000 Serbs were killed in the Vrginmost District. The District Chief in Vrginmost, Čidić Andrija, took the Serbs under his protection, and Ustashas were not satisfied with this.

Of the local Ustashas, the following stood out: Klemenčić Joso, butcher and Šprajc Antun, forest ranger, both from Vrginmost, and the gendarmerie sergeant Pavlović.

Until September 25, I hid in the forests and the nearby villages, and on September 26, I arrived in Belgrade.

## No. 91

### STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM TREBINJE ABOUT THE MASSACRES OF THE SERBS IN TREBINJE AND THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES, DEPORTATION TO THE GOSPIĆ CAMP AND PUBLIC HUMILIATION OF THE SERBS UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE ITALIAN SOLDIERY IN SEPTEMBER 1941.<sup>493</sup>

15/4 42<sup>494</sup>

One refugee states:

Until May 30, 1941, while the Italian army was in Trebinje, there had been total peace in this town and its districts. No harm was done to the Serbs.

On May 30, 1941, the Croatian army took over the administration in Trebinje. The next day, the Ustashas arrested the former police chief Boško, Miljković Stevo, a police officer, and Bulić Nikola, the warden of the district prison.

On June 1, 1941, the Ustashas went from house to house and arrested all Serbs. The following were killed: Kovačević Gaša, he was killed before the very eyes of his seven children, then Brković Milan, a municipal official, he, too, was killed before the very eyes of his five minor children, Babić Vaso, merchant, Nagulić Dušan, merchant, Palikuća Vljako, shoemaker, Đurić Šćepan, butcher's assistant, Lečić Radovan, barrel maker, Popović Vlado and Kukurić Ilija. These unfortunates were almost all killed in their homes. Among the many Serbs who were arrested was Davidović Bogdan, president of the District Court, Bokić Rajko, professor. All of the arrested Serbs had to perform the roughest work on the roads.

On June 23, 1941, 16 Serbs were taken from prison and to the village of Pridvorci, where they were beaten dead at the crossroads. Their bodies were thrown into a cave. Then the victims were: former police chief Boško, Miljković Stevo, police officer, Babić Trifko, railway clerk, Kukurić Lazar, innkeeper, Piđžula Božo, innkeeper and his only son Milorad, 19 years old, Sokolović Aleksa, pensioner, Ćurić Blagoje, innkeeper, Ćurić Đorđe, worker, Madžar Jovo, innkeeper and Stijačić Obren, farmer. At the last moment, Škoro Jefta, post clerk, Vlačić Jovo, railway clerk, and Popovčević Vasa, farmer,

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<sup>493</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 314-315.

<sup>494</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

managed to escape. They left for Montenegro, whereafter they came to Trebinje again in September, because the Italian authorities took over the administration.

On July 2, 1941, the arrested Serbs in Trebinje were released again, whereafter they were arrested again. During the month of July, 3 transports were taken to the concentration camp in Gospić. In the first and second transport there were: Čučković Filip, landowner and merchant, Komad Ubavko, saddle maker, Čučković Milan, high school student, Jeremić Mića, bricklayer, Govedarica Vaso, shoemaker, Tarana Savo, tailor, Vuković Dimitrije, shoemaker, Kovačević Vlada, school inspector, Stijačić Mara, innkeeper, Simović Persa, housewife, Kovačević Bosiljka, housewife, Tupanjanin Anđa, midwife, Vujin Krsta, housewife and her sister Zora with one six-year-old child, Osmokrović Bosiljka, a clerk in the District Court, and many other Serb men and women. Their fate is unknown to me. The third transport went to Čapljina. Of the 27 Serbs in this transport, all were killed. Among them were many whose last names were Milojević and Šišković, as well as Ratković Aćim, an innkeeper.

In July 1941, the Ustashas killed 8 Serbs in the village of Zupci.<sup>495</sup> Their names are unknown to me. In the village of Lastva, 2 Begenišić brothers and their 2 sons were killed. In the village of Trebilovci,<sup>496</sup> Tanasković Dušan was killed, and in the village of Poljice, Risto Miljević, the Mayor and his son Jovo. Miljević's legs were cut off while he was still alive, and his son's eyes were plucked. The father witnessed these atrocities. They further beat Ninković Boro, whose eyes they had previously plucked, and cut off his nose and other parts of his body. In the village of Poljica, 300 Serbs were killed. 700 Serbs were killed in the village of Ljubinj. In the village of Trebilovci<sup>497</sup> near Čapljina, 30 Serbs were killed in June. The others fled into the woods. The women and children who remained in the village were picked up by the Ustashas and thrown alive into the abysses between Kručevići and Šurmanovci.<sup>498</sup> Lero Milena was also arrested in June and then released.

I fled to Montenegro, too, where I stayed until September 1941, and then I returned to Trebinje. In December 1941, the police arrested me under the pretext that I was in agreement with the Chetniks. I was in prison for 25 days, and I was released from prison on January 13, 1942.

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<sup>495</sup> Zupci.

<sup>496</sup> Prebilovci.

<sup>497</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>498</sup> Šurmanci.

Apart from the aforementioned horrific murders, the Ustashas belittled the Serbs at every step. In Trebinje, a sign was hung in a public park: "Serbian dogs and Jews are forbidden access to the park!" There was a monument to NJEGOŠ in Trebinje. On New Year's Eve, they tied a horse tail to the monument and dragged it through the city, with music playing.

Among the Ustashas, the following stood out: Srinčić Đorđe, pharmacist, Šarić Muhamed, Mayor and dental technician, Šaran Hakija, chief of police, Radić Miko, high school student, Habul Hilmija,<sup>499</sup> Marolt Nikola, worker, Kisić Nikica, retired postman, Kežić Juraj, photographer, Bračković Omer, merchant, Seklić Šerif, Muharem Ibro and Maho, worker, Fistanić Ivan, gendarmerie sergeant, Kapetanović Adem, tax clerk, Volić Fehin, worker, Resulović Salko, landowner.

On January 24, I left Trebinje. I received a pass from the Italian and Croatian authorities. Originally, the pass was for Vinkovci. An employee of the district administration extended my pass to as far as Zemun. When I came to Zemun, I got on a railway car that was going to Belgrade, and that is how I came to Belgrade. I will live in Belgrade with my sister, Lero Milena. My sister has lived in Belgrade since before the war, where her husband works in the company Dragomir Zdravković. She lived in Trebinje from April 4 to November 30, 1941.

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<sup>499</sup> Hilmija.

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM PRIJEDOR ABOUT THE USTASHA MASS KILLINGS AND LOOTING OF THE SERBS IN PRIJEDOR AND ITS SURROUNDINGS, AND THE CONVERSION OF THE REMAINING POPULATION TO CATHOLICISM.<sup>500</sup>

15/4 42<sup>501</sup>

One refugee states:

On July 31 and August 1 this year – Thursday and Friday – the Ustashas gathered Serbs in Prijedor and killed them. They took these from their homes and imprisoned in the primary school and in the police prison, from where they took these people to the sites of “Crnića Kuruze” and “Urije”, which are located near Prijedor, and killed them there. Many Serbs met sudden death in their homes and in prisons. 40 corpses were loaded on a truck and buried in a field called “Urije”. The following people were killed in Prijedor: Despot Simo, carpenter, his sons Nikola and Ljupko; the latter was shot by his school colleague Bilješković Drago. Next, Đanić Lazo, worker, Đikić Mirko, worker, Topić Novak, Kotorman Joso, Jovanović Đuro and his son Dušan, Marijanović Mane, merchant, Grebeljanović Dušan, merchant and his relative Stojanović Ljubo, merchant, Damjanovć Rade, innkeeper, Damjanović Dako, merchant, Vujasinović Mile, miller, Radetić Pero, merchant and his half-deaf son Milovan, Rađenović Pero, merchant, Kos Lazo, railroad worker, Baškot Branko, railroad worker, Crnogorac Dušan, railroad worker, Vujasinović Simo, pensioner, Brdar Mile, timber merchant, Ban Braco, carpenter, Čanak Mile and Drago, innkeepers, Karan brothers, Majkić Ostoja, bricklayer, Medić Mića, blacksmith. On July 31 and August 1, 800 Serbs were killed in Prijedor alone, and 4,000 Serbs were killed in the nearby villages. At the same time, all Serbian houses were looted and everything that fell into their [Ustasha’s – *Subeditor’s note*] hands, that is, money, gold items, bedding, Gypsies and Muslims even extracted gold teeth from the corpses.

These killings, robberies and arsons were carried out by the Ustashas in the Serbian villages of Crna Dolina, Palančiste, Jelovac, Svodna, Dragotinja and Brežičani. The school and the church were set on fire in the village of Palančište. The girls were raped.

<sup>500</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 316.

<sup>501</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

On September 9, 7,000 Ustashas came to Prijedor. On September 10, at half past six in the evening, 35 Serbs from the nearby villages were loaded into a truck, and my husband was among them, they were taken to the “Urije” field and everyone was slaughtered there.

Of the Serbs, only 3 railway workers remained in Prijedor, those who converted to the Catholic faith.

Of the local Ustashas, the following stood out: Zaidić Suljo, Ustasha-Muslim, Huso, Gipsy, Biber, Gipsy, Latić Zvonko, student of the 5th grade of high school, Bilješković, Roman Catholic priest, Kurtagić Amid, Dekić Safet, Cici, Gipsy.

I would like to add that Despot Darinka identified the coat of her murdered son Nikica on an Ustasha-Gypsy.

On September 12 this year, I traveled to Belgrade, where I arrived on September 13.

STATEMENT OF TWO REFUGEES FROM MRKONJIĆ GRAD ON THE KILLING AND DEPORTATION OF THE SERBS, THE UPRISING AND THE MASS CRIMES OF THE CROATIAN ARMY.<sup>502</sup>

15/4<sup>503</sup>

Two refugees state:

According to the 1931 census, the Mrkonjić Grad District had a population of 27,000. Of that, 21,000 were Serbs and 6,000 Croats and Muslims together.

After the founding of the Independent State of Croatia, Budimir Simo, a former member of the National Parliament, Roljić Đorđe, a municipal official, and Pajić Branko, the owner of a bus company, were taken from Mrkonjić Grad to Banja Luka and imprisoned there. After that, Roljić Đorđe was killed by the Ustashas, Pajić Branko was allowed to go home, while Budimir Simo was further transported to Gospić and nothing more was heard about him.

On July 26 of this year, by the orders of the Ustasha commander GUTIĆ from Banja Luka, 78 Serbs from Mrkonjić Grad were arrested. On the same day, all 78 of us Serbs were to be killed. URUMOVIĆ KOSTA, judge and Lieutenant Matekalo Milan, prevented this plan, set up guards in front of the prison and ordered that no one should be let through. One by one, we were released from prison, so on August 27, of this year, 18 more Serbs remained in prison, they, however, were freed by the Chetniks, considering that these occupied this town on the same day.

On August 5 and 6, the Ustashas came from Mrkonjić Grad to the nearby village of Podrašnica, where they killed 28 persons, women and children, for no reason, and then burned 17 houses.

After this murderous act, DRENOVIĆ UROŠ, a teacher from the village of Barači, organized an uprising to protect the Serbs and their villages. He immediately organized 20 people, who were armed with only 4 rifles, and the other peasants had 2 m long bars, at the end of which iron tools were attached. Within a short time, as many as 1500 people gathered, and they had a total of 19 rifles, while the forks for hay, scythes, knives, etc. were always in abundance. All Catholics and Muslims in our district were well armed.

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<sup>502</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 317-318.

<sup>503</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

On July 20 of this year, Croatian authorities sent 500 soldiers, 100 gendarmes and 100 Ustashas from Banja Luka. There was 1 field gun, 8 heavy and 12 light machine guns and 8 rifles. This army occupied the village of Borovići. The positions of the teacher Drenović were bombed every day.

On August 25 of this year, Drenović managed to surround the Croatian army and disperse it. On this occasion, 1 field gun, 3 heavy and 8 light machine guns, 300 rifles and some ammunition fell into the hands of Drenović. 41 soldiers were captured, to be released a few days later.

On August 27 of this year, Drenović entered Mrkonjić Grad. The Chetniks remained calm. A board of 6 people was appointed; there were 2 Serbs, 2 Croats and 2 Muslims. All civilian administration was handed over to this board.

On September 1 of this year, the Croatian armed forces – 3,500 people – marched under the command of Colonel Lukac.<sup>504</sup> The Chetniks were forced to withdraw.

On September 2 of this year, Colonel Lukac issued a proclamation warning the Serbs to lay down their weapons at noon. He threatened: “All of you, including your children and everything that is Serbian, will be destroyed!” At the same time, he gave the order for the Ustasha and the army to destroy and kill all Serbs in the Serb villages.

On September 2, the Ustashas broke into Mrkonjić Grad, and immediately killed a Serb peasant and 1 peasant woman, whom they found on the road. On the same day, the following were killed: Gašić Pera, bricklayer, Perak Mika, barrel maker and his son Stojan. Dr. Čareta Rafael, a Croat lawyer, took the Serbs under his protection. He personally sent a request to Colonel Lukac that Serbs from Mrkonjić Grad be taken under protection, because they had protected the Croats when the Chetniks took over the town.

In all Serb villages in the Mrkonjić Grad District, at least 5,000-7,000 persons, women and children were killed. This number is increasing day by day. At the same time, 1,200 Serb homes were burned. The surviving population fled to the forest. On the night between September 12 and 13, of this year, the Ustashas set fire to the Serbian church in Mrkonjić Grad. Previously, the church had been used as a toilet.

In Mrkonjić Grad, they arrested Ćućuz Nikola, a landowner, over whom they committed horrible crimes. Previously, they had broken both his hands, cut off his ears and nose, plucked his eyes and finally slaughtered him. These

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<sup>504</sup> Franjo Lukac, Ustasha colonel; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 243 (M. Rupić).

killings were committed by Ustashas from Mostar and Herzegovina, including many Muslims.

The following Ustashas from Mrkonjić Grad stood out: Taparić Leopold, Bešlić, porter, Duvnjak Anton, blacksmith, Čurić Niko, carpenter, Tomše Wolfgang,<sup>505</sup> surveyor, Zaimović Sabrija, judge, Stipančić Jozo, law student and his brother Tomislav, merchant.

On September 26 of this year we left Mrkonjić Grad.

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<sup>505</sup> Wolfgang.

STATEMENT OF TWO REFUGEES FROM SANSKI MOST, ABOUT THE MASS KILLINGS OF THE SERBS IN SANSKI MOST AND THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES IN JULY AND AUGUST 1941.<sup>506</sup>

15/4<sup>507</sup>

Two refugees state:

On July 27 of this year, three Ustashas came to the village of Zdena. One of them was Zečević Zdeno, and we did not know the other two. They immediately came to the house of Mandić Jovan and took his brother Milan to Sanski Most, where they imprisoned him in the primary school.

All prominent Serbs were arrested in Sanski Most, including: Jovo Kragulj, innkeeper, Tontić Stevan, merchant, Tontić Milan, private clerk, 7 Ivanić brothers, Zurnić<sup>508</sup> Pero, merchant and his brother Tošo, Miličević Lazo, innkeeper, Novaković Đuro, innkeeper, Kovačević Dušan, Todić Drago, driver, Gvozden Pero and his brothers Milan and Mladen, students, Dodig Đuro, court clerk, Mijatović Vid, merchant, Praštalo Ilija, innkeeper, Basara Ilija, innkeeper and his son Dušan, student, Vezmar Đuro, gendarmerie patrolman, Martinović Josip, same, Popović Milan, pensioner, Sakradžija Milan, farmer and his son Ilija, postal clerk, Nedimović Milan, engineer, Milinković Jovo and his son Lazo, veterinarian, Lazić Milan, head of the railway station and his two sons Branko and Svile, students, Vojvodić Vid and his brother Jovo, shoemaker, Mijatović Slavka, teacher, daughter of Mijatović Vid, and many others, whose names we do not know. On the same day, 140 Serbs were arrested. The next morning, another 160 Serbs from the vicinity of Sanski Most were arrested; there were therefore a total of 300 Serbs.

Until August 2, of this year, they did not commit any atrocities. Of the 300 imprisoned Serbs, 18 were singled out, and then taken to a granary, where they were first abused and then killed: Zurunić<sup>509</sup> Pero, merchant, Gvozden Mladen, merchant, Sakradžija Mile, innkeeper and his son Ilija, postal clerk, we cannot remember the names of others.

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<sup>506</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 319-320.

<sup>507</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>508</sup> Zrnić.

<sup>509</sup> Same as previous.

Mara Mandić was shot in front of the school building.

On August 3 of this year, they took the remaining 282 Serbs to the site called “Šušnjar” and there they were all killed and buried behind the Orthodox cemetery.

From July 30 to August 4 of this year, the Ustashas from Sanski Most gathered Serbs from the following villages: Zdena, Hrast, Usimovci, Kruhari, Čaplja, Kljevci, Usorci, Koprivna, Oštra Luka, Rasovci, Brdari, Džepar, Suvača, Podvidača, Budimlić, Japra,<sup>510</sup> Dabar, Bosanski Milanovci, Djedovača, Tomina, Trmošnja, Kozica, Podovi, Umci, Fajtovci and Lukavice. Most of the Serbs were driven to the granary, where they were abused and then killed. The corpses were buried by the Sana River. 3000 Serbs were killed in this storehouse. As mentioned earlier, large massacres took place in the “Šušnjar” field. Two large pits, 100 m wide, 4 m wide and 2 1/2 m deep, were ready for these victims. Before they fell as victims, they had to sing a song, and that was: “Pavelić, Pavelić, may you live long, long, for you’ve killed Serbian hajduks all”, or “Pavelić, long live your guard, for you won’t let Serbia rule.” Thereafter, they had to enter the dug pits, where they were mowed down by machine guns. The next day, other victims were lined up again, and so it went from July 20 until August 4 of this year. At this “Šušnjar” site, 4,000 Serbs met their death. We are of the opinion that 7,000 Serbs fell victim in the grain storehouse and in “Šušnjar” alone, and in the entire District of Sanski Most, hence, over 10,000 Serbs. From July 30 until August 4, the greatest atrocities were committed. For example, young girls were raped and then beheaded. That happened in the village of Suvača to the daughters of Dobrijević Dušan and Štrbac Mileta. The same thing happened in the villages of Kljevci, among other places. After that, the villages were usually looted and set on fire. Djedovna, Umci and Usimovci were completely burned. 300 houses were burned in the village of Dabar, and many fires were recorded in the villages of Kljevci, Lušci Palanka, Miljevci and Praštali.

These massacres, robberies and arson were committed by the Ustashas from Herzegovina, Bosnia and Croatia, together with the local Croats from Sanski Most under the command of Ljevar Mile, a merchant from the village of Sasin, and an Ibrahim, whose last name I do not know. The latter is tall, dark-skinned, about 40 years old.

Among the local Ustashas, the following stood out in these atrocities: the District Chief from Sanski Most Ivica, last name is unknown to me, Cerjan

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<sup>510</sup> Budimlić Japra.

Josip, lawyer, Pašić Ibrahim, judge, Krupić Ferhat, Usumović Salko, Nalić Ibrahim, police officers, Kamber Ibrahim and his brother Alija, Kamber Islam and his brother Bejdo, Kamber Maho, Kamber Ibrahim, merchant, Jakupović Ibrahim, merchant and his sons Miralem, Sulejman and Dedo, Okčić Šemo, Burnić Bego, Burnić Smajil, Karabeg Vehat, blacksmith, all from Sanski Most.

The Serbs were taken under protection by Banović Vid, Dane and Stjepan, all from Brdari, Čorak Vlado, Marko, Mile and Luka.

Because of these atrocities and abuses, we left our homes and came to Belgrade.

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM BOSANSKA KRUPA, ABOUT DEPORTATION TO THE GOSPIĆ CAMP AND MASS ELIMINATION OF THE SERBS IN BOSANSKA KRUPA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS, BY USTASHAS AND MUSLIM CIVILIANS IN JULY AND AUGUST 1941.<sup>511</sup>

15/4<sup>512</sup>

One refugee states:

As long as the German and Italian armed forces were in Bosanska Krupa and Otoka, complete peace reigned everywhere. The German armed forces confiscated weapons from everyone, unsparingly. Everyone's personal property was made safe. The German armed forces remained in these parts for 3 weeks, whereafter they were replaced by the Italian armed forces. After the departure of the Italians, the Muslims of the Bosanska Krupa District took up arms. The gathering of all prominent Serbs began, and they were taken to Gospić – allegedly for forced labor. The following citizens were taken from Otoka to Gospić: Dražić Simo, merchant, and Gajić Dušan, also a merchant. From the village of Bušević: Škorić Mirko, merchant, Karan Stevo, Tumić Nikola and Marijan Obrad. From the village of Ljusina: Nikolić Mile, pensioner, Marjanović Milan and Ilić Pajo, pensioner. From the village of Glodina: Rašeta Rade, Tatić Vaso, merchant and Dakić Nikola. I don't know the names of the others. There were a total of 150 Serbs, whose fate is unknown.

On July 26, the Ustashas also gathered the Serbs from the surrounding villages, took them to Otoka where they were all killed, and their bodies were thrown into the Una River. These massacres in the District of Bosanska Krupa lasted uninterruptedly from July 26 to August 4 of this year.

July 27 of this year – it was Monday – a market day in Bosanska Krupa, the Ustashas gathered all the Serbs and took them to the place Kraljevi Dom, where they were all killed. Pits had already been dug for their bodies. On the same day, the following persons were expelled from Otoka to Bosanska Krupa and killed there: Škorić Aleksa, merchant, Nikolić Tešo and Pavle, Zec Ilija, Prauljac Nikola, and many others whose names we cannot remember. I know that on the same day, 1,000 Serbs were taken to Kraljevi Dom and killed there.

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<sup>511</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 321-322.

<sup>512</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

On the same day, 3 more trucks full of Serbs were brought to Crno Jezero, they were killed there, and their bodies were thrown into the lake.

From July 26 to August 4, the Ustashas killed all they could get their hands on in Serbian villages. In my estimation, more than half of the Serbs were killed in the Bosanska Krupa District.

The following Serbs were also killed in the village of Otoka at that time: Bursać Petar, innkeeper, Radošević Mićo, railway worker, Semzović Đorđe, Knežević Nićifor, merchant, Marmut Nikola, innkeeper, Gajić Mirko, merchant, Kantar Luka, pensioner, Borojević Ljuban, Čulibrk Miladin, Repija Đukan, Santrač Luka, baker and his wife Savka, Mikić Staka, innkeeper, Stapar Marko, innkeeper and his granddaughter Nada, 17 years old, Đulibrk<sup>513</sup> Milan, Mirko and Dušan and many others whose names I do not know. According to the lists kept by the Ustashas, 500 Serbs were killed in those days. In my opinion, many more Serbs were killed, not all cases of murders were recorded in the list. There are no more Serbs in Otoka. A lot of young girls were raped and then killed. After all these murders, looting of movable property followed. All the food they found, they carried with them; then they set fire to houses and churches. Churches were destroyed in the villages of Ivanska, Banjani and Bušević. The Sokoli Hall in Bušević also fell victim.

These massacres, robberies and arsons were carried out by the Muslims from the villages of Otoka, Jezersko, Bužim, Bušević and Pištalina. Among the Ustashas, the following stood out: Omerčehajić Husnija, barber from Otoka, Bešić Ibrahim, baker, Ramić Đemo, Bratić Mustafa, Bešić Kasim, Mujagić Kušim, Bešić Ethem, Bratić Muhamed, Suljić Husein, student, Komić Avdaga, butcher, all from Otoka. Kerkez Pero, a former forest ranger, a Serb, had immediately joined the Ustashas, converted to the Catholic faith and killed the Serbs together with Muslims. He is now in Belgrade as a coachman.<sup>514</sup>

Tajić Slavko and Stanko, innkeepers, Biršl Josip, road supervisor, Lončarić Joško and his mother Marija, landowner, all Croats, interceded strongly for the Serbs. The Croats from Otoka did not participate in these atrocities at all, but Muslims only.

I saved my life by hiding with a Croatian family.

At the end of August of this year I came to Belgrade.

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<sup>513</sup> Čulibrk.

<sup>514</sup> Underlined in translation, and then with a red pen.

STATEMENT OF A GROUP OF REFUGEES ABOUT THE MASS KILLINGS OF SERBS BY GENDARMES, USTASHAS AND MUSLIM CIVILIANS IN STABANDŽA AND OTHER VILLAGES AROUND VELIKA KLADUŠA IN JULY AND AUGUST 1941.<sup>515</sup>

15/4<sup>516</sup>

Several refugees state:

Until mid-July, complete peace reigned in our village. After that, the gendarmerie sergeant, PILINGER MARTIN, gathered 50 most prominent Serbs in Ravnica. They were sent under guard to Gospić, from where every trace of them is lost.

Those taken from our village to Gospić include: Božičić Jovo, Tintor Stojan, Dacijar Rade, Bajić Rade, Banjac Petar, Bikanović Mića-Milin, Dondur Trivo and Sava, Radić Petar and Jovo, Tintor Dušan, Vranješević Miško, Majkić Nikola and Ilija, Milinović Đuro, Trivo, Tintor Ostoja, Marjanović Stojan, Čeran<sup>517</sup> Marko and Dondur Dušan, a total of 20 people.

On July 28 of this year, two armed uniformed Ustashas and 10 Muslims, equipped with hoes, hay pitchforks and poles, came to our village and ordered all Serbs to come to the municipal building of Vrnograč, where they must take the oath to Pavelić, and after that they can peacefully return to their homes. The people believed these statements and went to Vrnograč. When they got there, they were surrounded by 300 Muslims. They took all of them to the place "Poljica" right next to Vrnograč, where pits had already been dug for them. All of them were killed, and 150 people from the village of Stabandža were killed: Bajić Đuro and Stojan, Pilić Simo, Anušić<sup>518</sup> Simo and Jovo, Zdjelar Ilija, Mijić Mile, Popović Đuro, Miloš, Mile, Pero, Majkić Lazo, Milinović Mile, Božičić Đuro, Zec Nikola and Vid, Mijić Mića, Tintor Miloš, Popović Rade, Stojan, Zec Stevo, Dondur Janko and Petar, Milinović Ilija, Zec Ilija, Dejanović Jovo, Mandić Rade, Milan and Dušan. We do not remember the names of others.

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<sup>515</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 323.

<sup>516</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>517</sup> Čeran.

<sup>518</sup> Anušić.

After this killing, the people fled to the neighboring District of Dvor na Uni and hid.

Gendarmerie Sergeant PILINGER MARTIN and several other Ustasha persuaded the people that they could return to their village, and that no harm would be done to them. The people believed them and they returned to Stabandža.

On August 22 of this year – it was a Friday – Mayor Ljubijankić Hasan came to our village under the leadership of Pilinger with a large number of Muslims. Among them were 12-year-old children. They were all armed with rifles, hoes, scythes, hay pitchforks and other. The innocent victims were taken to various sites, “Gakov Jarak”, “Padjenov Dol”. “Mali Grljevac” and “Medjenjak” and they were all killed there. Whoever tried to escape was shot while still in the village.

On the same day, they killed my wife Mara, my 4 daughters, only I managed to save myself. On the same day, the following were killed: Anđa Tintor and her three children, then Božočić<sup>519</sup> Mileva and her three children. Božočić<sup>520</sup> Mileva was pregnant, so they cut her stomach and took the child out. Her sister-in-law with daughter Mileva also suffered a sad death. Furthermore, the killed included: Anica Mijić and her two children, then Marija Božičić, Anušić Simo, Stana, Jovo, Anica and Mladen. We saved our lives by fleeing. More than 2/3 of the villagers were killed. Thereafter, they looted all movable property and set the houses on fire. They even took dog chains and let the dogs off the chains.

We hid in a nearby village of the Dvor na Uni District, where we received passes from the District Chief, and arrived in Belgrade on September 10.

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<sup>519</sup> Božičić.

<sup>520</sup> Same as previous.

STATEMENT OF TWO REFUGEES ABOUT THE MASS KILLINGS OF SERBS BY USTASHAS AND MUSLIM CIVILIANS IN THE VILLAGES OF ZBORIŠTE AND ČAGLICE NEAR VELIKA KLADUŠA, IN JULY AND AUGUST 1942.<sup>521</sup>

15/4<sup>522</sup>

The two refugees state the following:

The Italian army was in our village until the middle of July this year. After that, Ustashas and Muslims took hold of our village. They gathered all the Serbs, abused them and threw those severely wounded or still alive into the abyss named "Poljica". The Ustasha that stood out in these atrocities is TILINGER<sup>523</sup> Martin, former gendarmerie sergeant in Ravnice, Bosanska Krupa District. Among these unfortunates were: Stanko Medić, 65, Lujin Velimir, 60, Jovan Đeran,<sup>524</sup> 50, Mile Đeran,<sup>525</sup> 45, Đuro Suzić, 50, Đuro Belajac, 40, Stevan (40) and Ilija (42 years old) Drobac, Pero Šaša, 42 years old, Adam Mijatović, 45 years old, and his son Milan, 19 years old, Mile Zamaklar, 40 years old, Jovan Ostojić, 50 years old, Milan Ćirić, 25 years old, Petar Končar, 50 years old, Stojan Ostojić, 22, Rajko Banjac, 25, Mile Božić, 50, Đuro Drobac, 45, Petar Argarac, 70, Tomo Mijatović, 37, Rade Mijatović, 62, Mile Ciganović, 36, Ilija Balaban, 70, Milo Drobac, 40, Ilija Božičić, 50, Stevo Radošević, 25, Đuro Ostojić, 18, Pero Ciganović, 18, Šuro Grubor, 21, Stojan Božičić, 25, Ilija Milinović, 35 years, Damjan Davidović, 50 years old, Stanko Davidović, 40 years old, Miloš Zec, 70 years old, Milan Zec, 30 years old, Gruja Zec, 45 years old, Rade Zec, 50 years old, Ilija Zec 50 years, Stole Zec, 60 years, Gligo Popović, 25 years, Kosta Popović, 18 years, Lazar Davidović, 30 years, Vukašin Davidović, 37 years, Mile Davidović, 38 years, Cvijo Mandić, 25 years, Marko Romić, 65, Mile Romić, 21, Dušan Drobac, 18, Sava Zec, 21, Jovo Dejanović, 50, Ilija Mihajlica,<sup>526</sup> 55, Pero Mujajlica,<sup>527</sup> 40, Marko Banjac, 50, Ilija Banjac,

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<sup>521</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 324.

<sup>522</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>523</sup> Pilinger.

<sup>524</sup> Ćeran.

<sup>525</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>526</sup> Mihajlica.

<sup>527</sup> Same as previous.

40 years, Pero Banjac, 35 years, Rade Babić, 70, Lazo Babić, 40, Mile Babić, 16, Vid Babić, 50, Petar Dabić, 65, Dušan Babić, 21, Ilibašić<sup>528</sup> Mile, 25.

On the same day, Pero Ostojić was wounded in Zborište; in this condition, he had to carry 80-year-old Marko Drobac on his shoulders. They were both killed on the way. This happened on August 1 this year. After this atrocity, whoever could escape, escaped from the villages of Zborište and Žirovac. Sergeant Pilinger, the Muslims Maša Duranović, Hasan Ljubijankić, the Mayor of Ljubinje, and Huso Begić, his deputy, came to Žirovac again. Pilinger persuaded the people to return to their homes and that no harm would be done to them. When they returned home, they were all killed in the most horrible ways. Women and children were killed with hoes, scythes, knives and other. And 3 days after this, still alive women with their necks cut were found in the trenches by the road. One girl, 15 years old, daughter of Grubor Radeta, survived; she was only slightly wounded, and the corpses of other unfortunates were thrown over her body. She freed herself from this horrible envelope and came to the village dressed only in a shirt that was soaked in blood. 15-year-old Jovanka Božičić was found in this group by her uncle Petar Božičić after 5 days. She lived under these bodies for 5 full days. She is now being treated in Glina by a doctor. There were 150 dead in these trenches and pits, mostly children and women. After this horrible massacre, a robbery of movable property took place in the village. When the village was completely looted, all the houses were set on fire. The village of Čaglica has a total of 35 houses. Only 7 men and 1 woman survived from the whole village. The men were taken to Vrnograč together with the Serbs from Zborište, where they were all killed, while the women and children died in the house of Petar Drobac, which they set on fire. That was on the night of August 19 of this year. The children were stoned alive, nailed to stumps alive, etc. Very often, children were found lying wrapped in diapers on the roads with their heads cut off. Women were raped and then killed.

My four children, father and my brother's child were taken away and then burned. After we had escaped from Zborište, we spent 6 weeks in Žirovac, then went to Dvor where we got passes, and on September 11 this year we came to Belgrade.

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<sup>528</sup> Ilibašić.

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM THE VILLAGE OF BABINA RIJEKA NEAR KOSTAJNICA, ABOUT THE KILLING AND LOOTING BY USTASHA NEIGHBORS AND THE INTERNMENT OF SERB WOMEN IN AUGUST 1941.<sup>529</sup>

15/4<sup>530</sup>

One refugee states:

In our village Babina Rijeka there are 76 Serb and 19 Croat homes.

In the second half of August of this year the Croats from our village were given rifles from the main Ustasha barracks in Kostajnica, while the Serbs had to surrender their weapons immediately after the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia. The Serbs were even deprived of kitchen knives. The Croats, since they now came into possession of weapons, tried in every way to provoke the Serbs to some act. Thus, for example, they let the cattle graze in their fields. On August 20 of this year the Ustasha Jurić Stjepan, a landowner in our village, house number 32, was walking through the village. He fired his rifle and shouted at the top of his voice: "You Serbs, how are you going to celebrate your slavas<sup>531</sup> – the slavas you'll have to forget about now", and he further cursed the "Serbian mother" and other things.

All Croats from our village are Ustashas. Their leaders are Milinković Lovro, a forest ranger and his deputy Nikola, I don't know his last name, both from Lika, and Jurić Joso, a farmer also from our village.

On August 27 of this year the three Ustashas mentioned above walked through the village. Along the way, they arrested the Serbs Marko Pajagić, house No. 50, Živanović Petar, blacksmith, house No. 25 and Latinin Đuro, house No. 72, and locked them all up in the basement of Milinković Lovro's house. The basement was guarded by the Ustashas Jurić Petar, house No. 53 and Jurić Stjepan, house number 55. Furthermore, the latter two arrested Tarbuk Petar, a volunteer, Radulović Nikola, Bujinac Milan, Đukić Đuro, Radulović Milan and several women and took them all to the above-mentioned basement.

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<sup>529</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 325-326.

<sup>530</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>531</sup> *Slava* is a family patron's day when the Serbian families celebrate the day, usually the feast day of a saint, on which their ancestors were Christianized. – *Subeditor's note.*

Radulović Nikola fled, but was wounded by Milinković Lovro and Jurić Joso with one bullet from a rifle. Ustasha Nikola aimed his rifle at Tarbuk Petar and severely wounded him. Both wounded men remained lying on the spot, while the other Serbs ran away in all directions.

The next morning, on August 28, of this year, the Ustashas Milinković, his deputy Nikola and Jurić Joso with 10 other friends came to the houses of both severely wounded Serbs. They dragged the severely wounded Radulović Nikola from the house, threw him on the garbage dump, which was located next to the house, and abused him until he died. At first, they wanted to bury him in the garbage dump, but at the request of other villagers, he was buried in the cemetery. The severely wounded Tarbuk Petar was also dragged in front of the house, and abused until he died. His wife Jelica was ordered to bury her husband. She then dragged her husband into the garden, covered him and fled the house out of fear.

The following were arrested: Radulović Ulinka,<sup>532</sup> 18 years, Radulović Danica, 14 years, daughters of Mihailo and Janja, Tarbuk Ivan, 73 years, Budić Petar, 68 years, Budić Matija, 74 years, Budić Julka, 57 years, Ognjenović Petar, 67 years, Šestić Đura, 65 years, Pajagić Mihajlo, 59 years, Tarbuk Nikola, 53 years, Pajagić Marko, 47 years and his wife Marija, 40 years, Latina Đuro, 57 years, his wife Marta, 55 years, Pajagić Draginja, 24 years, Marjanović Mihailo, 60 years, Živanović Laza, 60 years, Živanović Stana, 40 years, Živanović Petar 50 years, Karavidić Petar, 72 years and his wife Sofija, 70 years, Pajagić Draginja, 34 years, Ognjenović Kata 44 years, in total 24 people.

All of the above were also imprisoned in the basement of Milinković, the forest ranger. Radulović Ilinka and Danica were raped collectively by the Ustashas in the basement. They organized a whole feast, eating roast pork and drinking brandy, while the Serbs had to dance kolo and entertain the Ustashas by singing.

After this revelry, they took all the arrested Serbs to the Karavidić stream and killed them all there. Pajagić Nikola, house No. 28, Marjanović Ljuban, house No. 31 and Janko Karavidić, house No. 67, all from the village of Babina Rijeka, had to bury the bodies of these unfortunates.

On August 29 of this year, the Ustashas undertook arrests again; men were taken by car to Bosanska Kostajnica, where they were all killed immediately, while women were taken to the camp in the village of Crkveni Bok,

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<sup>532</sup> Ilinka.

where they remain to this day. Thus, on that day, 100 people were taken from the village of Babina Rijeka. Only from the house of Pajagić Mihajlo, house No. 18, 7 persons were taken away, 4 adults and 3 children. Further, they took Tarbuk Milja and her 3 grandchildren; Živanović Stana and Pajagić Draginja, however, were killed in their homes. Many of these peasants left their homes. Ustasha Babić Petar persuaded the peasants that they could return home, that no harm would happen to them. As soon as the peasants came home, they were abused by the Ustashas.

On August 28, 29 and 30 of this year, the Ustashas looted all the cattle there were in the villages. They also took grain, lard and other foodstuffs. After completely looting the village, they set fire to 40 houses.

I fled my village on August 28 of this year and hid in the vicinity until September 10 of this year, whereafter I left for Belgrade and arrived there on September 11, of this year.

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM THE VILLAGE OF UTOLICA ABOUT THE USTASHA KILLINGS OF THE SERBS FROM UTOLICA, RAUSOVAC, KRČEVO AND OTHER VILLAGES AROUND KOSTAJNICA IN JULY AND AUGUST 1941.<sup>533</sup>

15/4<sup>534</sup>

One refugee states:

On July 30 or 31 – I cannot remember the exact date – 10 armed Ustashas came to the village of Utolica, namely: 8 from Kostajnica and 2 from Utolica, namely Kajić Jure and Alar Petar. Both of the latter drew the attention of the Ustashas to the fact that Serbs should be arrested and killed.

On the same day, 15 Serb peasants were arrested in Utolica, taken to Kostajnica, killed on the bridge over the Una, and their bodies were then thrown into the Una River. They are these Serbs: Ličanin Mile, his son Jovo, his grandson Pero, Ličanin Stevo, Vrabac Janko and his son, Kosjer Janko, Rak Ostoja, Kokanović Ilija, Kokanović Rade, Ličanin Milan, Bajić Boško, Podunavac Stevo and Kurilj Andrija.

The very next day, the Ustashas came to my village Rauševac,<sup>535</sup> but they did not find me at home. My wife and brothers were ordered that I, along with 5 other respectable peasants from my village, have to come to the municipality offices of Majur, in order to guarantee there that my village would remain peaceful. The next day, 5 peasants went to the municipality offices of Majur, namely: Batnožić Cvijo and Batnožić Đuro, Rakić Pavle, Mecić Mirko and Bunjevac Stojan. Đuro Batnožić was the village headman. I did not go to Majur, because I had learned that Drakulić Pero<sup>536</sup> from Donji Hrastovac, Majur Municipality, was to be lured and then killed in the same way; Drakulić managed to escape at the last moment. The above-mentioned 5 peasants were killed by the Ustashas on the same day and thrown into a well.

On the same day, another 80 Ustashas came to my village, surrounded it, arrested 28 villagers, took them to the “Bajića Jama” forest and killed them all there after horrible abuses. These were the following peasants: Batnožić

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<sup>533</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 327-328.

<sup>534</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>535</sup> Rausovac.

<sup>536</sup> See: P. Drakulić, *Korak do smrti*, Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2014.

Janko, Tomašević Jovo, Petrinjac Ljuban, Ćorić Milan and his 3 sons Miloš, Nikola and Ljuban, Bunjevac Dušan, Radojčić Janko, Sanković Miljko and Dušan, Mecić Petar, Batnožić Mirko, Nikola and Stojan, Batnožić Nikola and Đuro and their nephew Boško, student, Vender Janko, Rakić Mirko, Pavlović Gligo, Batnožić Petar, Mirko, Đuro, Batnožić Đuro, Sr., Batnožić Mirko, son of Simo, Pavlović Ostoja and Damjan.

16 Serbs were killed in the nearby villages of Rastouc<sup>537</sup> and 6 in Krčevo.

On August 2 of this year, the Ustashas arrived in the villages of Ćukur<sup>538</sup> and Panjani, Majur Municipality, Kostajnica District, and ordered people to come to Kostajnica where they would be given weapons. When they came to Kostajnica, the Ustashas killed all the Serbs, and took the women and children to the concentration camp, where they are still today. Their movable property was looted, so that both villages stand completely deserted and empty.

As early as July 29 of this year I went to the forest, and I would come home only when the Ustashas were not in the village. I was in the woods until August 12 of this year, and using someone else's pass, for which I paid 2,000 dinars, I came to Belgrade.

Before all this, I had been arrested and imprisoned in Bosanska Kostajnica with other prominent Serbs. I suffered the most horrible abuse in the dungeon, so I have to undergo treatment by a doctor. Dr. Stipančić Branko, a doctor from Kostajnica, gave the Ustashas directives on how to abuse me. The following were abused in the dungeon: Dr. A. Tadić Gliša, lawyer from Kostajnica, Dr. Stepanović, physician from Bosanska Kostajnica and many other Serbs.

In committing these atrocities and murders, the following Ustashas stood out in particular: Dr. Stipančić Branko, a physician from Kostajnica, his 14-year-old son, Pečenjak Ivo, a merchant from Kostajnica and his 14-year-old son, Cvetnić Đuro, a merchant and his minor son, Katinčić Pavao, the District Chief who personally committed the murders, Šugić Pajo, Toplak Dragan, Kolar Franjo, Pavičić Pero, Pavičić Braco, driver, Golubić Niko, all from Kostajnica, Lazić Pero, Jagodić Pero, Jamić Nikola and Marko, Jagodić Zvonko and Marić Nikola, all from Majur, Jagić Mato, Ivezić Mato and Stevo, Govorčinović Pajo and Kostić Stevo, all from Selište, Majur Municipality. The Ustasha Bunjevac from the village of Mačaj,<sup>539</sup> Municipality of Majur, and Karanović Milan from Grabostan, Municipality of Majur, stood out in particular.

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<sup>537</sup> Rausovac.

<sup>538</sup> Ćukur.

<sup>539</sup> Mračaj.

No. 100

STATEMENT OF A REFUGEE FROM BLATUŠA ABOUT THE MASS KILLINGS OF THE SERBS FROM BLATUŠA, ČEMERNICA, VRGINMOST, PERNA AND OTHER VILLAGES BY THE USTASHAS AND THE CROATIAN ARMY IN JULY AND AUGUST 1941.<sup>540</sup>

15/4 42<sup>541</sup>

One refugee, a farmer from the village of Blatuša, No. 40, Municipality of Čemernica, Vrginmost District, 43 years old, widower, father of one child, states:

Vrginmost was under Italian occupation until July 28 of this year. During this period, complete order and peace reigned in this district, and the people engaged in their daily work.

On the same day, July 28 – after the departure of the Italian armed forces, an Ustasha group of 25 men came to the Serbian village of Poljani,<sup>542</sup> all of them armed to the teeth. The Ustashas immediately set out to work and killed Serb men and women, regardless of age. In the home of an old man Nikola, 3 women and 3 girls were killed, while he saved himself by running away. A total of 20 people were killed in this village, while the survivors fled.

On July 30, too, Ustashas came to Vrginmost, arrested 25 people and took them in an unknown direction. The following were arrested: Miloš Čiča, barber, Balbaša<sup>543</sup> Stevo, innkeeper, Vrga Jovan, farmer, Vrga Pero, farmer, Barbir Dragan, farmer, all from Vrginmost. I can't remember the names of others.

On August 2 of this year, the Municipalities of Vrginmost and Čemernica ordered that all Serbs who live there, and who want to live in peace, appear on August 3 at 8 a.m. in Vrginmost, where, with the assistance of two Catholic priests, they would convert to the Catholic Church. 2000 people gathered in Vrginmost. I came, too. To our greatest surprise, there was no sign of the Catholic priests; we were surrounded by 300 men, Ustashas. They set up machine guns and forced us to surrender. Some of us managed to

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<sup>540</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 329-330.

<sup>541</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>542</sup> Poljana.

<sup>543</sup> Malbaša.

escape, and all the others, 1714 of them, were taken to the district court prisons and the Sokoli Hall, where they were well guarded over night. On August 4, they were all taken by truck to Glina and shortly afterwards killed in the Serbian cathedral church there.

The day before, the Serbs from the Municipality and the village of Topusko were gathered in the same way. 500 people came to Topusko, and they were all killed and buried in a pit near Topusko. Serb girls were raped and then killed in the local church. It was there that the daughter of the previously killed Dr. Vurdelja was raped.

When I returned to my village of Blatuša on August 3, I found the Croatian army there, which looted and set fires to the surrounding villages. In my village, 20 women and children were killed on the same day, and 14 houses were burned. On August 5, 10 women and children were killed in my village, and 27 people were arrested and taken away. They took us to Vrginmost and locked us up in the prisons of the district administration. There were 110 people in these prisons. During the night we were beaten and abused. We remained in prison until August 18, whereafter we were released, but we had to report to the Ustasha Command in Vrginmost twice a week, Mondays and Thursdays.

After these murders and atrocities, until September 17 of this year, complete peace reigned. On September 17, 50 Ustashes came to the village of Perna, and killed whoever they could get their hands on, looted all the homes and then burned them. The Ustashes took all the cattle, all movable property and other valuables with them, and burned the houses. Thus, in this large and rich village, only the school building and one foresters' apartment remained, which were spared from the fire. The inhabitants of this village, who managed to save their lives only by fleeing, sought refuge in Mt. Petrova Gora, where they are still hiding. The village of Perna no longer exists.

On September 19, 50 Ustashes came to my village of Blatuša again. As in the previous villages, they killed all the Serbs here, stole their entire property and then burned all the houses. In my house, my wife Evica and my three children Petra, Ružica and Milorad, aged 9-12, were beaten to death. They took all my movable property and then burned my house. I saved my life by fleeing as well as the life of my 15-year-old son Dragutin who was in the field. There were cases where houses were burned together with their occupants. Thus, in their own house – that of my neighbor Trkulja, who had been killed earlier in Glina, his wife and their three small children were burned alive. They threw children and women into the burning houses, who

met such a brutal death. That day, 150 people were killed in my village, and only a small part managed to save their lives by fleeing. 100 houses were burned. Other villages in the Vrginmost District suffered the same fate. 7,000 people were killed in the entire district.

These atrocities were committed by the Ustashas under the command of the Ustasha Lieutenant Čeliković. The Ustashas from the neighboring village of Topusko rushed to his aid. The baker Briješki Ilija and Malinac, dyer, stood out for their atrocities.

In the villages of Čemernica, Topusko, Stipan, Kirin, Bović, Slavsko Polje and Perna, the Ustashas demolished all Serbian churches. The church in Blatuša remained rather undamaged but was completely looted.

I hid in the woods. On September 20, I received a pass for Zemun from the municipal official Josip Živkić, a Croat, for which I paid 2,000 dinars. I set off on September 21 and arrived in Belgrade on September 22.

No. 101

STATEMENT OF THE REFUGEE JEKIĆ STEVAN FROM BANSKI GRABOVAC, GLINA DISTRICT, ABOUT THE MASS KILLING OF SERB MEN BY THE USTASHAS AND THE CROATIAN ARMY, AFTER AN ATTACK BY UNKNOWN PERSONS ON JULY 24, 1941.<sup>544</sup>

15/4 42<sup>545</sup>

JEKIĆ STEVAN, refugee, farmer from Banski Grabovac, house No. 97, municipality of the same name, Glina District, 38 years old, married, father of two children, states:

On the night between July 23 and 24 of this year unknown persons took: Šiprak Dragutin, a municipal clerk in Banski Grabovac, Cimbaro Jakob, and the head of the railway station in Grabovac, his name and first name are unknown to me. There is no information about the fate of these 3 unfortunates. Cimbaro Domenik, Jakob's father, was killed in his own house.<sup>546</sup>

The next day, July 24 of this year, Croatian armed forces and Ustashas came to Banski Grabovac. There were 150 of them. On the way, they shot at shepherds and herds on the pasture. When I came home, I did not find my wife and children, they were all looking for shelter in the fields, roads and ditches next to the fields. An Ustasha came to the house of the village headman and ordered him to gather all the villagers in front of the municipal building, from where they would be sent back home after interrogation.

My wife and children came immediately. I came later. About 100 men, women and children gathered in front of the municipal office. The men were lined up, and the women and children were gathered inside the municipal building. The Ustashas were gathering newly arriving people from neighboring houses. In one group was the butcher Nevajda Vasilj from Vlahovići, who immediately fled. The Ustashas opened fierce fire at him, but he managed to escape, whereafter he is still hiding in the "Šamarica" forest. The Ustasha Zadrović Stevo, put a revolver in front of our noses, with the remark that he would level to the ground anyone who just moved. Thus, Jekić Ljuban, a farmer, house number 112 from Banski Grabovac, was immediately shot

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<sup>544</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 331-332.

<sup>545</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>546</sup> See: Đ. Zatezalo, *Narodna vlast na Kordunu, Baniji i Lici*, 35-36.

just because he nodded. After that, Zadrović lay down behind the machine gun and demanded that each of us must tell everything he knows within 3 minutes. An Ustasha who was standing next to him with a rifle shouted at him not to aim at people's heads but at their stomachs. At that moment, a group of 50 people from the village of Luščane was taken out. Zadrović jumped in front of this group when his colleague shouted at him: "Mr. Stevo, this one tried to escape!", and pointed to Miljević Stevan from Luščane. Zadrović singled out Miljević from the group and ordered him to stand in front of the body of the shot Jekić Ljubomir. He did not answer the man's plea to keep him alive because of his six children, he cursed him, his six children and King Peter, and then shot him with a revolver.

He then ordered one of his colleagues to take 2 villagers with him and to take spades and shovels. We had to dig a pit 6 m long, 6 m wide and 75 cm deep.

At 11 o'clock in the morning, a 40-year-old Ustasha came to us and asked Zadrović why this pit was being dug. Zadrović replied: "I will kill this garbage and throw it in the pit!", And he pointed his finger at us. This fellow-Ustasha told Zadrović that this should not happen here, but somewhere else. Zadrović ordered us to bury the pit again. The Ustashas took us in front of the municipal office and allowed us to sit down. There were 3 machine guns placed everywhere in front of us. Zadrović had the bodies of the shot Jekić and Miljević buried in the cemetery.

Women and children were allowed to go home, and we were taken to the field right next to the train station. There were already 450 of us, and we were all strictly guarded. They brought us drinking water and we were allowed to smoke. On the same day, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, we were brought to an unfenced place right next to the train station. Earlier, this place had been used for poultry. A message was sent to the women in the village to bring food to their husbands, because all of us were to be taken to the concentration camp in Petrinja. Then each of us was asked for his name and place of birth, as well as if we could say something about the incident from the previous night. Nobody could say anything.

With the first twilight, two Ustashas came to us with sticks, and they demanded that we stretch out our hands, and they beat us on the fingers with these sticks. Twenty of us were taken to the Kraljevčani gendarmerie station. Five people were singled out from this group, who were taken by a gendarmerie sergeant to a blacksmith, a Russian, in Grabovac, where we were interrogated. After the interrogation, Grčević pushed the door open

with the words: “Guys, get out of my sight, wherever you know.” All the others, except for the five of us, were killed that night by the Ustashas in the forest near Grabovac. From all Serb villages, Ustashas came during the night of July 24, 25 and 26 of this year, brought their innocent victims to this forest, where over 1,020 Serbs were killed. Their corpses are buried in 4 large pits. Among the killed there were 3 of my brothers Vasilj, Adam and Đuro.

I fled to the Šamarica forest, where I stayed until October 17, and on October 18 I came to Belgrade.

STATEMENT OF THE REFUGEE DUŠAN EREMIĆ FROM VOJNIĆ ABOUT THE USTASHA KILLINGS AND LOOTING OF THE SERBS IN VOJNIĆ AND THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES, AT THE END OF JULY AND IN AUGUST 1941.<sup>547</sup>

15/4 42<sup>548</sup>

EREMIĆ DUŠAN, refugee, private-business clerk from Vojnić, 24 years old, unmarried, states the following:

On July 29 this year, at 10 a.m. – it was one Tuesday – uniformed Ustashas from Vrginmost arrived in Vojnić on 3 trucks. All of them were led by the head of the Ustasha police from Zagreb, Cerovski Božidar.<sup>549</sup> They first visited the village of Vojišnica, which is 2 km away from Vojnić. Every Serb they met on the way was called to get on the trucks.

In the village of Vojišnica, they took the following people: Novaković Rade, Arlov Jovan, Kljukovnica Stanko was killed on the spot, Čorda Stanko, Hajdin Miloš, Knežević Petar, Košarić Mihail, Kosić Đuro and Trbojević Mićo. They were all taken to Vojnić.

The following people in Vojnić: Ninković Petar, priest, Živković Mihajlo, clerk, Gušić Marko, clerk, Bendić Mihajlo, clerk, Vrgo<sup>550</sup> Jovan, municipal treasurer, Mihajlović Simo, farmer, Gvozdić Đuro, Rašković Stanko, peasants, Basara Miloš, retired financial clerk, Korać Mihajlo, peasant, and many others, whose names I do not know. The Ustashas also wanted to arrest me, but my brother-in-law, Vujnović Vladimir, a Croat, otherwise a private clerk, saved me from their hands. He helped many other Serbs to escape, that is, he was of help to them.

Bosnić Stanko, a farmer from Vojnić, drove a car full of wood to the Vojnić train station, which was 9 km away, on the mentioned day. The Ustashas met him on the road, took him off the car, hit him in the head with a mallet, threw him on a truck and took him away with other Serbs. Kekić Milan, a 22-year-old butcher's assistant from Vojnić, was ordered to

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<sup>547</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 333.

<sup>548</sup> Handwritten date and initials

<sup>549</sup> *Tko je tko u NDH*, 67-68 (G. A. Blažeković i Z. Dizdar).

<sup>550</sup> Vrga.

slaughter the cattle they had stolen, whereafter he was killed in the garden of Mihailović Petar from Vojnić. Maćešić Milka, 16 years old, who was grazing her cattle, was killed by the Ustashas on the spot. The above-mentioned Serbs were taken by the Ustashas from Vojnić via Tušilović in the direction of Krnjak and Brezova Glava, hit with a mallet and buried.

On August 2 of this year, the Ustashas came again, this time with 7 empty motor vehicles. This time, Cerović<sup>551</sup> was not present. In the early morning hours, they gathered the Serbs in the neighboring villages, namely: Hajdin Nikola and Gliša, Jurić Dragan, Novaković Dušan, Marinković Cvijan, municipal clerk, Bukva Mihajlo, Rašković Đuro, Rašković Dušan and his son Miloš, Korać Jovo and his son Mile, Crnković Pavle and his 15-year-old son Mile, Kljukovnica Nikola and his son Veljko, 28 years old, Lisić Stanko and many others. On that day, they arrested 62 Serbs from Vojnić. On the same day, at 11 a.m., all of them were taken to the Orthodox church in Vojnić. They were abused in the church and whoever the Ustashas could get their hands on was beaten. The next morning they were released.

Kljukovnica Veljko was abused so hard that his internal organs were injured and he spat blood. Hajdin Nikola died in the church from abuse. Hajdin Glišo died of severe injuries after 3 days. Hajdin Nikola (Capan) had a severely injured hindgut. On the same day, Hajdin “Vitez” and Hajdin Ninko were killed on the spot at home. All the found property and valuables, money, watches and rings were transferred to Glina. The next day, the Ustashas completely looted and robbed the villages of Kuplensko, Miholjska and Krstinja. Many Serbs were killed. I don’t know any Ustashas except Cerovski Božidar, but I know exactly that those Ustashas came from Petrinja and Glina.

On the night of August 10, the Ustashas gathered 33 Serbs, took them all to Vojnić, and on the meadow of Blažević Gnjatije from Vojnić, they were thrown half dead into the canal and then buried. On September 3, I left Vojnić, and on September 4, I arrived in Belgrade.

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<sup>551</sup> Cerovski.

STATEMENT OF THE REFUGEES BUDIMIR POPOVIĆ FROM TREMUŠNJAK AND BRANKO TADIĆ FROM MAČKOVO SELO ABOUT THE MASS KILLING OF SERB MEN FROM THE VILLAGES AROUND BANSKI GRABOVAC, AFTER AN ATTACK BY UNKNOWN PERSONS ON JULY 24, 1942.<sup>552</sup>

15/4 42<sup>553</sup>

POPOVIĆ BUDIMIR, refugee, son of the late Miloš and Kata, merchant from Tremušnjak, Municipality of Jabukovac, Petrinja District, 31 years old, married, father of 2 children and TADIĆ BRANKO, graduate, son of Nikola and Kata, from the village of Mačkovo Selo, Municipality of Jabukovac, District of Petrinja, 20 years old, unmarried, stated together:

On the night between July 23 and 24 of this year, unknown persons abducted: Šiprak Dragutin, a municipal clerk in Banski Grabovac, Cimbaro Jakov, a brick manufacturer in Banski Grabovac and the head of the railway station in Banski Grabovac, whose name is unknown to me. Cimbaro Domenik, Jakov's father, was killed that night in his house in Banski Grabovac. Who killed him could not be determined.

The next morning, the gendarmes from the gendarmerie school in Zagreb, Ustashas from Glina and Petrinja, and the gendarmes from the nearby gendarmerie stations came to the village. There were 500 of them. Immediately, they all spread across the Serbian villages in the vicinity, namely: Vlaović,<sup>554</sup> Luščani,<sup>555</sup> Drenovac and Bačuga. All Serbs were taken to Grabovac under the pretext that they would be interrogated in that village.

On the same day, 3 trucks full of Ustashas and gendarmes arrived from the village of Dodoše,<sup>556</sup> Municipality of Kraljevčani. Behind them were 2 passenger cars, in which there were Ustasha officers. Cerovski, the head of the Ustasha police in Zagreb, also came by one. Immediately after arriving in Dodoši, the Ustashas opened fire from a truck at the peasants working in

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<sup>552</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 334-336.

<sup>553</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>554</sup> Vlahović.

<sup>555</sup> Luščani.

<sup>556</sup> Dodoši.

the field. The villagers fled to the nearby forests. Tomić Antonije and his two sons, Dmitar and Jovan, Glamočlija Mojana<sup>557</sup> and his son Nikola, Tomić Stojan and his brother-in-law Tišma Miloš were arrested. The Ustashas asked them if they were Chetniks and if they knew about the events in Grabovac of the previous night. Then they were released with the remark that no harm would be done to them if they did their job in the house and in the field peacefully, but anyone who tried to escape would be shot. Despite all that, they were later arrested again and killed in Grabovac.

In several trucks, the Ustashas continued their way through the village of Dodoši to the village of Miočinovići, Jabukovac Municipality, which is located on the edge of the forest and where the villagers hid. The Ustashas spent the night in the village of Miočinovići. The village almost seemed to be dead, because everyone had fled into the forest. Only Novaković Mojan remained in the village, and he was ordered by the Ustashas to roast piglets and lambs. During the night, the Ustashas fired only a few shots.

The next day, July 25, of this year, the peasants returned to their homes, because they assumed that no harm would happen to them, and 7 peasants from Trepušnjak<sup>558</sup> had previously been released. At 10 o'clock in the morning, a private car headed to the village of Banski Grabovac, however, after one and a half hours, it returned to Dodoši. Arriving in Dodoši, an Ustasha officer stopped the municipal guard Ivanić Gnjatije, who was going from the field to the municipal office, and called him to approach him. After a short conversation, when the guard tried to escape again, the Ustasha officer shot after him and the guard fell dead. The car continued its ride further, the Ustasha officer took out his revolver and shot the 70-year-old Dodoš Miloš, who happened to be coming that way. After these two atrocities, the people fled into the woods again.

The Ustashas and gendarmes withdrew from the village of Miočinovići to neighboring villages and gathered all men aged 16-60. Anyone who tried to escape was shot immediately. From the village of Dodoš<sup>559</sup> to the village of Grabovac, the Ustashas took the following persons: Kekuš Adam, Milan, S.[enior], Kekuš Đuro, Kekuš Milan, J.[unior] and Kekuš Stojan, Mrkalj Adam, Velimir, Stojan, Dodoš Stanko, Lukač Janko, Medaković Nikola, Oljača Petar and his 3 sons: Stevan, Branko and Milan, Dodoš Jovan, Dodoš

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<sup>557</sup> Mojan.

<sup>558</sup> Trepušnjak.

<sup>559</sup> Dodoši.

Luka, Ivanić Jovan. A total of 18 persons were taken away. From the village of Miočinovići, Municipality of Jabukovac, these were taken: Novaković Mojan, from the village of Mačkovno Selo, Municipality of Jabukovac, 27 people, namely: Trkulja Petar, whom they killed with a rifle butt on the way to Banski Grabovac, Mačak Jovan, Mačak Vasilije, Mačak Vasilije (aka Amerikanac), Mačak Adam, Trkulja Mile, Trkulja Simo, Tadić Jovan, Grujić Stojan (son of Ilija), Grujić Stojan (son of Kata), Grujić Milan, Trkulja Stanko, Šoljić Ilija, Šoljić Petar and Grujić Mile. We can't remember the names of the others. From the village of Tremušnjak, Jabukovac Municipality: Glamočlija Mojan and his son Jovan, Marovac Stevan, Kajgana Nikola, Strižak Marko, Stjepančević Stojan, Tomić Stojan, Tišma Miloš, Tomić Petar and his brother Simo, Tomić Antonije, Tomić Nikola, Radasović Milo and his both sons Jovan and Pavao, Janjić Vasilj, Tišma Branko, Jovo and Stevo, Šljivić Mojan, Marjanović Đuro and Simo (the last three were killed on the way to Banski Grabovac), Kljajić Ilija, Janko and Dušan, Matijašević Mile, teacher and I, Popović Budimir, a total of 27 people. From the village of Jabukovac, Municipality of Jabukovac: Bogičević Petar, Strižak Milan, Ljubičić Dušan and Mandić Đuro. We do not know the names of the others, we know, however that 15 people were taken from this village. From the village of Begovići, Municipality of Jabukovac: Vujaklija Simo, Begović Tešo and his son, a certain Pilipović, Begović Milan. 8 people were taken from this village. From the village of Kraljevčani, Municipality of Kraljevčani: Bunčić Janko and his son Milan, Novaković Milan, Bunac Milan, Popović Miloš and his son Bogdan, all together 6 persons. From the village of Mlino, Jabukovac Municipality: Dragaš Stevo and some other people whose names we do not know. At least 30 people were taken from the village of Dejanovići, Jabukovac Municipality. From the village of Lelići, Municipality of Kraljevčani: Lelić Stanko and his 3 sons, Kekuš Todor and Branko and many others, whose names are not known to us. All the men were taken from this village, except for Kekuš Stojan, who was not in the village that day. There were a lot of them from the villages of Grabovac, Vlaović,<sup>560</sup> Drenovac, Luščani,<sup>561</sup> Bačuga, Gradac and Veliki Šušnjar.

On the way to the village of Grabovac, these unfortunates were beaten by the Ustashes and gendarmes with rifle butts. Those from the village of Banski Grabovac, were beaten dead 120 steps far from the train station. 2 large pits were dug – each of them 5 meters long and wide and 3 meters deep. All of

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<sup>560</sup> Vlahović.

<sup>561</sup> Luščani.

them had to line up at the edge of the pit, where the Ustashas shot them. Some of them were even shot with a machine gun. These atrocities lasted for whole 3 days, the 24, 25 and 26 of July of this year. 2000 Serbs were killed here.

I, Popović Budimir, was taken away on July 25 of this year with 30 other villagers from the Municipality of Jabukovac. All the peasants were first abused by drunken Ustashas, and then shot. They stole all the money, watches and whatever they carried. They took 120 dinars from me, which I had with me. When I was about to be shot, at one point I pushed the two Ustashas escorting me to the pit into it, and I took to flight. Behind me, the Ustashas shot at me and wounded me in the foot. I went home to the village of Kraljevčani, where I hid for 12 days in a corn field. On September 11, of this year I managed to travel to Belgrade, where I arrived on September 12 of this year.

I, Tadić Branko, immediately ran away from home, as soon as the Ustashas came to my village. I first fled to the village of Knezovljani, and from there to the Šamarica forest, where I stayed for 14 days. On September 3 of this year I arrived in Belgrade.

The Serbs who were traveling through Banski Grabovac were taken out of the railway car, brought to the mentioned pit and killed there. In this way, 4,000 Serbs were killed in Banski Grabovac. In these atrocities, the following Ustashas stood out in particular: Šarić Tomo from Petrinja, who lost his life in the village of Dodoši 2 months later, Krpan Dujo, a driver from Petrinja and his brother Toma, a certain Kovačević from Petrinja, Pješak, butcher from Petrinja, Mrmić brothers, farmers from the village of Čuntić, Municipality of Jabukovac. They committed these atrocities under the leadership of their commander Cerovski, the head of the Ustasha police from Zagreb.

STATEMENT OF TWO REFUGEES FROM VAROŠKA RIJEKA ABOUT THE MASS KILLING OF SERBS IN THEIR VILLAGE AND THE SURROUNDING ONES, BY MUSLIM USTASHAS FROM VRNOGRAČ AND BUŽIM IN AUGUST 1941.<sup>562</sup>

15/4<sup>563</sup>

Two refugees state:

There are 37 Serb houses in our village Varoška Rijeka, the rest are Muslim.

The Ustashas – Muslims from Bužim and Varoška Rijeka started looting Serbian houses. They stole cattle and other property.

On August 1 of this year, the Muslims came to our villages again. They were equipped with rifles, scythes, hay forks and other. They gathered all the men they found in the houses and took them to Vrnograč, where they were all killed. The following were taken from our village: Medić Pavle and his son Ostoja, his granddaughter Stanka, Medić Vid and his son Gojko, Medić Ilija, Čojanović Pera and his sons Miloš, Ilija and Gojko, Drobac Marko, Dukić Nikola, Čojanović Ilija, Miloš and Stojan, son of the latter, Ilija, and brother Pero, Bekić Stojan, Čojanović Gruja and Vid, his son Ilija and grandchildren Miloš and Pero, Bašić Stojan, his brother Ilija and son Mile, Anušić Ilija and his son Jovan, Majkić Lazo, Popović Miloš, Đuro, Stojan, Pero and Rado, Zec Stevo and Majkić Milan, a total of 36 Serbs. Only women and children remained in the village. The next day, August 2, they completely looted all Serb houses.

On August 22, they continued the massacres of the innocent Serbian people. Some victims were dragged to the nearby “Dubrava” forest and killed there. Majkić Anđa, Dragica, Stoja, Milja, Slavko, Stevo, Savo, Mile and one 8-day-old child, who had not been baptized yet, suffered an unexpected death in this forest. Majkić Ilija and Nikola were taken to Gospić, and their further fate is unknown. Majkić Marko, his son Vladimir, his grandson Ilija, his daughter-in-law Mika, daughter Stana, and grandson, 2 months old, managed to save themselves by escaping. His daughter Stana, 13 years old, was also taken to the “Dubrava” forest, but she managed to escape.

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<sup>562</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 337.

<sup>563</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

After wandering in the woods for three days, she came to the village of Žirovac, Dvor na Uni District.

In addition, the following were killed in the “Dubrava” forest: Anušić Jeka, Sava, 14 years old, Milan, 12 years old, Stoja, 8 years old, Dragica, 7 years old. Anušić Nikola, his daughter Marija, his son Jovo, his daughter-in-law Marija and her two children escaped by fleeing. Many Serbs were killed in their homes. The family of Popović Mile, for example, had 7 members, all were killed. Popović Stojan – 7 family members, 6 were killed, only 1 child was saved. Family of Popović Rade, 4 members killed, 1 child escaped, family of Popović Đuro – 5 killed, only his brother Nikola escaped. The family of Zec Ilija – 7 killed, 1 person saved. The family of Popović Pero – 7 killed, 1 person saved, the family of Zec Janja – 6 killed, 1 person saved, Majkić Vid – 4 killed, 4 saved. After this horrible massacre, 70 still unburied corpses were found, mostly women and children. All Serb houses were looted and then set on fire.

The following Ustashas stood out in these atrocities: Ljubijankić Hasan, Mayor from Bužim, Krupić Sulejman from Varoška Rijeka, Šain Ahmet, a merchant from Bužim and Prljaga Mujo from Varoška Rijeka. The real organizer of these massacres was the gendarmerie sergeant PILINGER MARTIN from Ravnica, Bosanska Krupa District.

Other villages in the Bosanska Krupa District were looted, too. Until September 23 of this year, we hid in Žirovac, Dvor na Uni District, where we received passes from the district administration and on September 25 we arrived in Belgrade.

No. 105

STATEMENT OF THE REFUGEE BRANKO PAJIĆ FROM CETINGRAD ABOUT THE KILLING OF SERBS FROM CETINGRAD BY THE USTASHAS AT THE END OF JULY AND IN AUGUST 1941.<sup>564</sup>

15/4<sup>565</sup>

MINUTES

of September 19, 1941

taken at the Commissariat for Refugees in Belgrade.

PAJIĆ BRANKO, a merchant from Cetinjgrad,<sup>566</sup> Municipality of Cetinjgrad,<sup>567</sup> Slunj District, 20 years old, son of late Ranko, unmarried, arrived unsummoned and stated:

On July 29 of this year, at 10.30 in the evening, the following Serbs from Cetinjgrad<sup>568</sup> were arrested by the Ustashas in their homes, and those were: Krmar Luka, shoemaker, Žegarac Miloš, merchant, Mandić Vladimir, teacher, Basara Đuro, my father-in-law, otherwise a merchant, Kangrga Bogdan, merchant, Pjevac Petar, shoemaker, Kuruzović Stevan, baker, Brković Dragan, baker, Pjevac Đuro, innkeeper, Brković Miloš, tailor, Brković Radan, tailor, Brković Pero, road worker, Ivošević Milenko, teacher, Vujić Miloš, priest. All of the above were imprisoned in the basement of the gendarmerie station in Cetinjgrad.

The next day, on July 30 of this year, at 9 o'clock in the morning, the Ustashas came to Cetinjgrad from Zagreb and Slunj in 7 trucks and 4 luxury cars. There were 120 of them. They immediately went to the gendarmerie station where they mistreated the Serbs by hitting them with rifle butts. Then they went to the neighboring Serbian villages: Maljevac, Buhači, Pašin Potok, Selište, Ruševica and Radovica, where they gathered all Serbs above the age of 16. There were 150 of them. As soon as on the same day at

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<sup>564</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 338-339.

<sup>565</sup> Handwritten date and initials.

<sup>566</sup> Cetingrad.

<sup>567</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>568</sup> Same as previous, and refers to the repetitions of the village name which follow below.

5 o'clock in the afternoon, they were all taken to Cetinograd, imprisoned in the gendarmerie station and terribly abused there.

At 6 o'clock in the evening, all the arrested Serbs were taken to Velika Kladuša, to "Mehino Stanje"<sup>569</sup>, where all their belongings were robbed, and then they were killed and buried there. The Ustashas took the items confiscated from them.

At this time, I happened to be in Karlovac, so I escaped unharmed.

Of the Ustashas in Slunj, who took part in this massacre and robbery, I recognized Skukan Ivan, a miller from Slunj, 35 years old. He was the camp warden.

The following Ustashas were present from Cetinograd: Mravunac Ante, carpenter, Brajčić Šecko, peasant, Štefanac Nikola, farmer, Paulić Mile, peasant, Jurković<sup>570</sup> Petar, a Gypsy, Medved Božo, miller from Maljevac near Cetinograd. Many others, whom I did not know, were also present.

On August 5 of this year, the Ustashas gathered the remaining Serbs and children, took them to the gendarmerie station with the remark that they would all be sent to a concentration camp. On the same day, the following persons were taken from Cetinograd: Basara Ranko, my mother and my brother Vojislav, 2 1/2 years old, Žegarac Dragica, wife of Žegarac Miloš, merchant and their son Milenko, 17 years old, Mandić Zorka, wife of Mandić Vladimir, teacher and their two children, son Ljubomir, 10 years old and Boro, 2 years old, Kangrga Olga, wife of Kangrga Miloš, merchant, Pjevac Ljuba, wife of Pjevac Pero, shoemaker and their six children aged 1-12. The names of their children are unknown to me. Next, Pjevac Sofija, wife of Pjevac Đuro, farmer and their daughter Nada, 16 years old, Krmar Milica, wife of Krmar Luka, shoemaker and their daughter Mira, 8 years old, Kuruzović Mara, wife of Kuruzović Stevan, baker and their two children aged 1-2 years, the names of the children are unknown to me, Vujić Danica, wife of Bujić<sup>571</sup> Miloš, priest and their two children aged 1-3, the names of the children are unknown to me.

All the money was taken from them at the gendarmerie station.

These victims were taken to the mountain called "Glavica" at 10 a.m. on the same day, which is located near Krstinja, 2 km away from Cetinograd,

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<sup>569</sup> The site at the tripoint of the present-day municipalities of Velika Kladuša, Slunj and Vojnić. – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>570</sup> Jurković.

<sup>571</sup> Vujić.

where they were all killed and buried. Their homes were completely looted by the Ustashas, and the Orthodox church in the village of Radovica was burned.

The taking away of Serbian families on August 5 of this year was committed by the local Ustashas from Cetinograd. Unfortunately, I cannot give their names, because on August 2, I had fled from Cetinograd to Karlovac, where I stayed until September 4 of this year, and from where I then traveled to Belgrade, where I arrived on September 5 of this year.

The Ustashas moved into the homes of the killed Serbian families and appropriated all their real estate.

RAJIĆ BRANKA<sup>572</sup>, place for the stamp

Interviewed and certified by:  
Đuro J. Rodić, place for the stamp

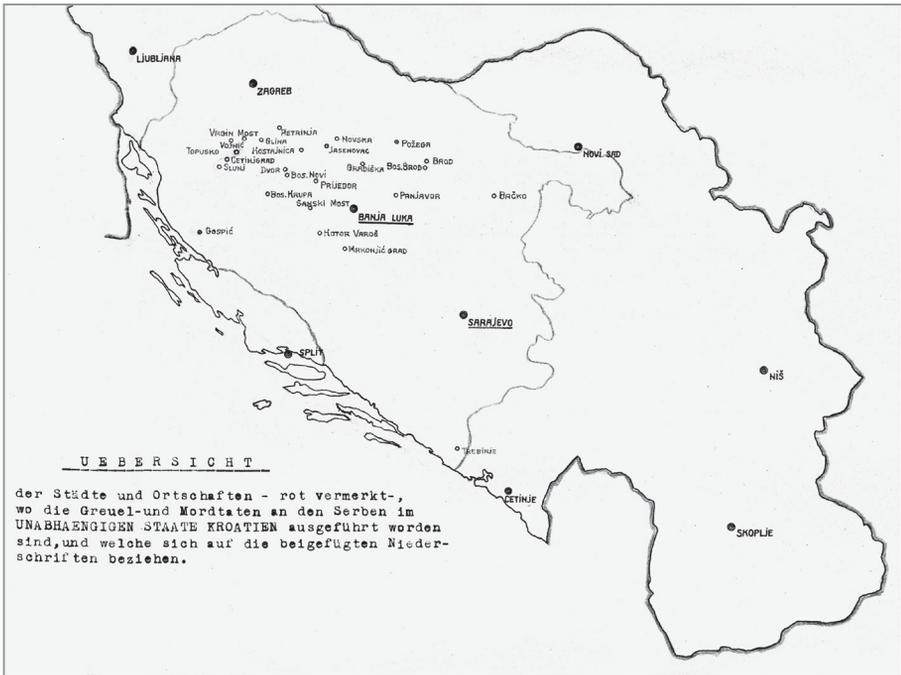
Minute taker:  
Petar M. Eremić, place for the stamp  
clerk

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<sup>572</sup> Pajić Branko.

GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE NDH.<sup>573</sup>

An overview of the towns and villages where atrocities and killings of Serbs were committed in the Independent State of Croatia to which the attached minutes of testimonies refer.



<sup>573</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 342.

No. 107

JOINT STATEMENT OF NINE FORMER DETAINEES ON THE SITUATION IN THE GOSPIĆ AND JASENOVAC CAMPS, GIVEN ON 15 APRIL 1942 AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES, ON BEHALF OF A GROUP OF 13 FORMER INMATES RELEASED FROM THE JASENOVAC CAMP.<sup>574</sup>

MINUTES

of April 15, 1942

COMPOSED AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES  
AND MIGRANTS IN BELGRADE.

We, thirteen former detainees in the Ustasha camp in Jasenovac, who were released on March 31 of this year, are asking that is recorded, in addition to our statements, which we gave in our individual minutes about everything we have experienced, seen and heard during our enslavement in Ustasha-held prisons and camps. We feel the need to present the facts in the form of minutes, that from the very beginning, the Ustashas applied, and they still do that today, a different regime towards the Jews than towards the Serbs. How much more tolerant this regime is towards the Jews than towards the Serbs is shown by these facts:

From the very beginning, in Gospić, we were housed in dungeons, under the brutal Ustasha regime like the worst of criminals, while the Jews were only confined in the town of Gospić, where they moved freely. If they had to work, they did field work, without special guards. They lived on their money, had their own kitchen and freely received parcels with food and other things they needed.

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<sup>574</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 423-425, original in Serbian, in Cyrillic; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 418-422, copy translated into German. On the copy of the translation into German stands the mark III A, which is the mark of the office in the Security Service (SD) where the case was processed, and the date of April 27, 1942, when the translation was made. The statement was published in: A. Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac*, Vol. III, 135-137. On the relations between the detainees, see: I. Goldstein, *Jasenovac*, passim; I. and S. Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 603-605; *Sećanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac*, Beograd: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1972, passim.

In Jastrebarsko, we the Serbs were all crammed into basements, from which we were not allowed to leave. At the same time, the Jews, as well as the detained Croats, were placed in the Erdedi castle itself, walked freely in the park, they could even go to the town, they had their own special kitchen and ate well, while we received only waste from their kitchen, and even that without bread. While we were completely cut off from the world, they received visits by their relatives, who brought them everything they needed.

In Jasenovac, the Jews had the entire internal administration in their hands. The internal administration consisted of about 50 positions, occupied by detainees. 46 of them were Jews, and only 4 were Serbs, one doctor and three “group leaders”. From the beginning until today, the head of the internal administration is a Jew, Bruno Diamantstein. His deputy is a Jew, Wiener. The head of the farm is also a Jew, Feldbauer. The head of the office is a Jew, Begović. The heads of all the workshops in the factory, in which all the workers had a more bearable life than the other detainees, were also Jews. There were also the so-called “freemen” in the camp. There were four freemen, all four Jews. They had the privilege of being able to leave the camp freely and unaccompanied. They lived in the town with their families. All four have a salary. They travel officially even to Zagreb unaccompanied, and stay there for as long as 8 days. They make purchases for the needs of the camp, sometimes for millions-worth amounts. The Ustashas even entrust freemen with the sale of cattle and other items, which the camp has at its disposal from time to time. The general trust that the Ustashas show towards the Jews, when they entrust them with such functions, is only too obvious.

It is understandable that the Jews make the most of the positions they occupy in the camp administration, in order to provide for themselves and all their fellow-Jews as much as possible, often to the detriment of us Serbs. It is striking that the Ustashas were especially kind to the Jews of Croatia.

In order to acquire as many positions as possible, which provide them with a privileged position, the Jews masterfully invented and proposed to the Ustashas the establishment of various posts, which the Ustashas then entrusted to them only. Through these positions, not only were these Jews spared from the hard external works and deaths that were associated with these, but many others were spared as well with their help. How the Jews

acted in those positions can be proved by this example: One day, the camp management assigned our friend, Milivoje Nikolić who is in Belgrade with us now, an electrician by profession, to work in a factory, in an electric workshop. The electrician Milan Milanović, who is now still detained in Stara Gradiška, was assigned to work together with him. At that time, there were 7 detainees working in that workshop, all seven Jews. The head of the workshop was a Jew, Eng. Reich. The workers in the factory workshops, including in that one, were not beaten. Usually, they did not have to go to such dangerous “performances”, they had better food than other detainees and, in general, better treatment by the Ustashas. Therefore, it is quite understandable that the Jews, the heads of these workshops, tried to employ only Jews in these workshops. That mostly worked for them. That’s why it could happen that the head of the electric workshop did not want to admit the two, when Milanović and Nikolić, Serbs, were appointed for that workshop by the camp administration, saying that there was no work for them. However, he still had to admit them. But on the same day, several Jews were admitted to the workshop without any protest, even if they were not experts, such as Nikolić and Milanović. Thus, in all the workshops, there was constant bickering with the Jewish chiefs, when it came to the employment of Serbs, while the Jews were admitted without difficulty.

A typical example is the case of employment of detainees on the farm. About 120 detainees worked there under the direction of the Jewish omnipotent Feldbauer. Of all 120 detainees on the farm, there were 5 Serbs in total.

Even those 5 Serbs were received by Feldbauer with greatest difficulty, but he assigned them the hardest jobs. One of those Serbs was our friend, who is now with us, Simić Stevo, and Nikolić Milivoj also worked for a while. In addition to all that, many detained Jews also supported private, often intimate, connections with certain Ustashas from our guard. These connections, unfortunately, were also of a dirty nature. Many played the sad role of denunciators and provocateurs towards us Serbs. There were also such Jews who helped the Ustashas in their numerous crimes against the Serbs. We will only give some examples on this occasion, because it is not possible to list them all.

One day, at the end of November, while we were all at work, Miloš Ivić, a Serb detainee from Doboje, who was 18, was assigned to clean the barracks where we slept. At that time, there were several patients in the barracks,

among whom were our friends Đurica Nemanja, Božo Trifković and Milenko Trifković, from Doboj, and Joca Jovanović from Tuzla. While Ivić was cleaning the barracks, an Ustasha came across him with a detained Jew, whom everyone called “Bugar”, and whose last name was Hason. That Jew enjoyed and still enjoys great privileges with the Ustashas, he has the right to go outside the camp, and we also saw him in Ustasha uniform. On that day, both he and the Ustasha were drunk. As soon as they entered the barracks, they started beating the sick with sticks, and then they caught the unfortunate young man Ivić and knocked him to the ground with a stick on the head. When he fell, Hason-Bugar jumped at him and slaughtered him with a knife in the Ustasha manner. This was attended and seen in person by our friend Branko Popović, who is now here with us, and who then accidentally walked into the barrack for some business.

Almost every one of us has a serious complaint against this Jew. So, one day, he attacked our friend Relja Vilanović<sup>575</sup> with a knife and wanted to slaughter him, just because Relja wanted to pull out of a grave his friend Miko Kovačić, who was still alive, and who had been laid in a grave with the dead and buried in it. If Relja hadn’t escaped him at the last minute, “Bugar” would have surely slaughtered him.

There is still a Jew in Jasenovac who is called Boris, and whose name we do not know. He is employed as an Ustasha servant. We will cite one of his cases as an example of insinuation and provocation on the part of the Jews towards us Serbs. One day, he came among the Serbs and offered them bread for sale. Coincidentally, our friend Joco Čolaković had 50 Kuna and bought a piece of bread for that money. Boris immediately reported this to the Ustashas and denounced Čolaković as a detainee, who had money on him, which, according to the camp regulations, he was not allowed to have. The consequence was that Joco Čolaković was tortured by the Ustashas with red-hot iron, from which he suffered for a long time. There were many such cases and actions on the part of the Jews, who thus served the Ustashas, giving them opportunities to abuse and kill Serbs. We need not even mention that we the Serbs have never given the Jews a reason for such actions.

There are countless examples of this kind we could report.

In the end, we think that it is our duty to mention that the Ustashas, although they brutally exterminated the Jews, still did not show such hatred

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<sup>575</sup> Bilanović.

towards them, as they did towards the Serbs. That is why it has been and is still so, that in spite of everything, finally, a relatively smaller number of Jews than Serbs suffer.

INTERVIEWED AND CERTIFIED BY:

COMPLETED:

Branko Stražičić  
Minute taker:  
Stana Tepavac

Branko Popović  
P. Petrović  
Relja Bilanović  
Joca Čolaković  
Mirko Pajkić  
Diko Tomić  
M. Nikolić

Drago Hadži Čolaković  
Voj. M. Prnjatović

STATEMENT OF MIRKO PAJKIĆ FROM VISOKO ON HIS DETENTION  
IN THE GOSPIĆ AND JASENOVAC CAMPS GIVEN ON APRIL 14, 1942  
AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES.<sup>576</sup>

MINUTES  
of April 14, 1942  
TAKEN AT THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES  
AND MIGRANTS IN BELGRADE.

PAJKIĆ MIRKO, born on June 16, 1914 in Visoko, son of the deceased Maksim and Mara, nee Čađa, married and has two daughters, one of whom is now one and the other is two years old. By occupation a machinist. He was called for an interrogation<sup>577</sup> at the Commissariat for Refugees, and on that occasion he was warned to tell only the pure truth about everything he remembers from the time of his slavery in the Ustasha camps, he stated:

On July 28, 1941 two bombs exploded in the Sarajevo locomotive depot. I was working in that depot at the time, but I was not at the scene of the explosion then. I came to work the next day, on July 29, around 6 p.m. At ten o'clock in the evening, a police agent came to me and arrested me and Ljubo Mirić, also a machinist in the same locomotive depot, from Visoko. We spent 10 days in prison without a hearing. Then they interrogated us and told us that we would be released. However, the next day we were tied by chains and wire and taken to the station, loaded into freight cars and taken to Gospić in a transport. On that trip, we were accompanied, among others, by the Sarajevo police guard Šikara, a Muslim, native of Visoko, whose first name I do not remember. Besides him, there was also a police agent from Sarajevo, born in Tuzla, barber by occupation. They treated us cruelly, and the Tuzla man beat us. An Ustasha sergeant got on the train in Derventa, and at the time of his arrival, Šikara was telling him something confidential looking at me several times. It was clear to me that he was telling him something about me. I was convinced of that later, because that

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<sup>576</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 435-440, original in Serbian; AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 426-434, copy translated into German. The statement was published in: A. Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac*, Vol. I, 248-254.

<sup>577</sup> Misspelling, Serbian, in the document: *presušanje* written instead of *preslušanje* (interrogation).

Ustasha came to our car immediately after that conversation, approached me, and started questioning me about how I planted those bombs in the Sarajevo locomotive depot. I assured him that I didn't know anything about it, because at that time I wasn't even at work in the depot, but at home in Visoko. He ignored it, but took a red-painted bomb out of his pocket. He asked me if I knew what it was. I told him I didn't know. Upon my answer, he hit me three times in the head with it, so I saw stars. After that, he put the bomb in his pocket, and took out another, a blue one. The same thing happened again, as with the red bomb a little while before, he only hit me three times in the left shoulder with the blue one. Finally, he pulled out a black painted bomb. Since I also said that I don't know what it is, he hit me three times in the middle of my chest, so that he stopped my breath. From those and other numerous blows, which I received later, especially in Jasenovac, my chest is no longer straight and bulged outward as before, but deep-set and adhering somehow.

In Sl.[avonski] Brod, we were transferred to freight cars of normal track gauge, 80 people in one car. In the railcar we were tied in pairs together with chains or wire. All the way to Gospić, the cars were closed, so we even eased nature in the cars, and we didn't get any food or water all the way from Sarajevo to Gospić. All in all, we traveled to Gospić for three days and two nights. Exhausted and hungry, we arrived in Gospić one Wednesday morning. I don't remember the date. I was placed in a penitentiary cell for two days, and for the rest, until I arrived in Jasenovac, in the yard with about 1,000 other detainees. I saw many people in Gospić who were beaten, I saw transports of several hundred people, who were taken away every day, as they said, to Pag, Velebit and Jadovno. I saw when the Ustashes killed a railway worker with a revolver. He had a nervous breakdown and attacked an Ustasha, who killed him with a revolver from the back. One day we found out that the Italians were coming, so all of us who were still in Gospić were transferred by transport, some to Jastrebarsko and some straight to Jasenovac. We were transferred straight to Jasenovac. 12 detainees from our transport died on the way to Jasenovac. I don't remember any names of those who died. Only one died in our car. I know that he was a native of Pale near Sarajevo, a peasant. When leaving Gospić and in Jastrebarsko, we were photographed by Italian soldiers. Our part of the transport spent the whole day from morning to night at the station in Jastrebarsko. We stayed in the cars, and we only got out of the cars during lunch. They cooked our lunch in cauldrons at the station from the money which the Ustashes had collected from us and bought beans with.

One had to give for that lunch whatever amount one had. Some even gave a few thousand. I gave only 22 dinars, for that much I had with me. Whoever did not have money had to give a watch or a ring. Of course the beans were not bought for all that money. And we saw later that the Ustashas did well by the fact that they got very drunk, certainly with our money. During our stay at the station in Jastrebarsko, many people came, even women and children, to watch us. We noticed that many felt sorry for us. I guess they were Serbs, and maybe Croats, too. But among them there were those who cursed us and threatened to kill us. The railway workers there especially turned on us, they looked at us curiously. I also saw a woman shouting something against us.

In the evening we left Jastrebarsko and only the next day we arrived in Jasenovac. In Jasenovac, we were greeted by Ustashas with curses and butts at the very station. We immediately saw our “good morning”. They took us from the station to the Jasenovac camp through the forest, so that the villagers and citizens did not see us, at least as far as I know. Along the way, they drove us to walk as fast as we could. Almost run. They constantly beat us with rifle butts and shouted at us, as if we were cattle. If someone’s shoe fell off along the way, he could not even consider bending down and taking it out of the mud, through which we trod. In the camp, they lined us up next to the barracks and took everything from us, whatever we had with us. We were housed in Camp No. 3, in the area of Bačić’s factory.

From that day, a torturous life began in the Jasenovac camp, full of unspeakable suffering, mental and physical, in an atmosphere of constant killing and slaughter, constant shedding of innocent Serbian blood, suffering and dying day by day.

I remember that we arrived in Jasenovac on the 18<sup>th</sup> of August. There were 940 of us in the transport. At this time, I can remember some who came with me, Ljubo Mirić, he was a machinist from the Sarajevo rail.[way] locomotive depot, a native of Visoko, who was later killed in Jasenovac, by butts, during work on the embankment, Đoko Vukićević, a locksmith from Visoko, who died in a barrack in Jasenovac, after being beaten by Ustasha rifle butts five days before, Dadić Branko, a railway worker from Visoko, who died in Jasenovac, exhausted and beaten with rifle butts, Bukarac Obren, a railway worker from Visoko, exhausted from hunger and work, beaten to death, died in Jasenovac, Šotra Milan, innkeeper from Visoko, a wonderful man, killed in Jasenovac, Beatović Ranko from Visoko, killed, Bilbija Miloš from Breza near Visoko, killed, Popara Boško from Sarajevo,

killed, Čabak Stojan, locksmith from Fačić near Sarajevo, killed, Tuševljak Slavko, fireman from Sarajevo, killed, Vasiljević Jovo, baker from Visoko, killed, Branko Đujić, barber from Zagreb, killed, and because of him 25 more detainees were killed, mostly peasants, whose names I do not remember. This reprisal occurred because Đujić was killed in a conflict with an Ustasha, whom he attacked. When selecting these 25, who were to be killed, I was selected, too. But fortunately, the Ustasha who chose and took me, accidentally asked me what my occupation was. When I told him that I was a machinist (they saved craftsmen because they needed us) he let me go and took a peasant, who was standing right behind me. That's how I survived on that occasion. These 25 people were killed with machine guns by the bloodthirsty Ustasha Ljubo Miloš.

Now I can't remember the names of those thousands of people who were killed in Jasenovac. But very often, sometimes day after day, I watched groups of 100 or a few hundred people being escorted to the killing. I also watched two "liquidations" of patients from the hospital. Once, in the month of March, I was assigned to transfer seriously ill people from a barrack, when water suddenly came and flooded the barracks. We wondered why the Ustasas suddenly wanted to save the detainees, and at the same time the sick. But later we saw that it was because the Ustasas did not want to allow the detainees to drown in the water, so that eventually the water would not take them away and reveal their destiny to the world. They preferred to kill them themselves. It was about 2 o'clock after midnight, when I was called from the barracks, to transfer those patients from the flooded barracks, together with more friends. There were about 120 of these patients and maybe more. We carried them from the flooded barracks over the embankment, some 150 meters away. There they were taken over by others and taken to the brickyard. The next day in the evening, all those patients were killed in the brickyard and burned.

The Ustasas killed the detainees in various ways, before the arrival of the commission, that is, from<sup>578</sup> the beginning of February, publicly, in front of all of us. They killed them with machine guns, rifles and revolvers, but they used this way the least. The people were usually slaughtered with a knife just as cattle are slaughtered. Often enough, only one Ustasha slaughtered entire groups. The infamous Ljubo Miloš stood out in that, then some Matijević, and then Mujo (that's what everyone called him, and I don't know

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<sup>578</sup> Until (*do* instead of *od*) should stand here.

his last name). He even had a heavy sabre and cut off heads with it. In general, he gladly pretended to be a great hero, an old fashioned one, as described in folk tales and songs. In the end, some Pavličević also slaughtered a lot. In addition, the Ustashas killed with mallets, specially made for such killing. These mallets were large and heavy, and have a long handle. In addition to mallets, they killed with some special iron and wooden poles, and especially with axes. It was claimed that they also strangled men with wire, but I did not see that.

After the commission had left, they still burned people in the brickyard, in such a way that they pushed them into the space for baking bricks, walled up the door and lit fire. I saw it with my own eyes, when they walled up a group and started a fire, and burned them. We then slept in the “ring” of the brickyard and watched everything from above.

During the hard work on the embankments, I watched day by day, as people fell emaciated and exhausted, as well as beaten by rifle butts. During those works, which I endured for full 6 months, at least 10-20 people died and were killed during the work every day. And I miraculously survived one day after a heavy beating with a rifle butt, from which everyone else died. Here is what happened to me, and what we watched every day: on October 12, I was working with a group of friends on the road and digging ditches. Suddenly, three Ustashas came near me, talking quietly to each other. They called me, and when I approached them, they ordered me to turn my back on them. Immediately afterwards, I felt three terrible blows to the shoulder with a butt, and after that 6 blows to my back. As soon as after the fourth blow I fell to the ground and thought that my end had come. The blows were horrible, so I thought not a single bone would stay whole. But still, I did not moan, because I knew from experience that anyone who in such circumstances gives even a hint of sound from himself, would surely be finished. After 9 strokes I fainted. Afterwards, my comrades told me that the Ustashas, who, judging by their pronunciation, were from Lika, walked away when my comrades approached me, thinking that I was dead. However, they noticed that I was still alive, so they started pouring water on me, and I came to my senses. Luckily it was close to our barrack, so they took me into it. I lay for 10 days in constant fear that I would be “liquidated” like all the sick. After 10 days, I finally managed to somehow get on my feet and with the greatest effort, I went to work, in order to avoid the massacre. I was all distorted, and terrible pains tormented me, but I still endured those terrible works. Even today, I still feel severe pain in my chest and lower back from those blows.

The largest-scale mass killings took place from the Catholic Christmas Day until the end of January. And later, those killings continued, publicly, until mid-February, only to a lesser extent. Afterwards, as I have already said, they continued to kill in masses, but no longer in public. The killings were carried out in the brickyard itself, where, in addition to the corpses, they also burned people alive. Therefore, we could not find out from the grave-diggers how many people had been killed, and in particular that number must have been unknown to us because groups of detainees who were just arriving at the camp were killed, too. We detainees were not allowed to come even near the brickyard, around which guards were placed. If a guard noticed that a detainee, even if by accident, saw the killing, the man would immediately be called and done away with. I personally saw cases, some peasants, whom I knew by their costumes were from Bijeljina. The killings in the brickyard were carried out in a covered shed, with no walls on the sides. Bricks were stacked around the shed. When passing the brickyard, the mentioned peasants would accidentally peek behind the bricks towards the shed, where the slaughter was taking place at that time. He was immediately called by a guard and pushed into the shed, where he was also slaughtered with the others. We had to pass by the brickyard when we went to work and back. Using experience, we turned our heads to the other side of the brickyard each time and walked past it as fast as we could, because we never knew if killing happened to be going on in that shed at the moment.

Terrible were the moments of “outburst”, when those who were to be killed were chosen, for any reason (for “cleaning” the camp, because of some reprisals, punishment). I was in an “outburst” for the first time during the case of Branko Đujić, which I have already mentioned; the second time I was called to an “outburst” with the others because of five detainees, who were killed in front of us by the rifle of the Ustasha Mujo. I know that one of them stole two potatoes while unloading and carrying those potatoes from the car to the storehouse, where he also worked; two were punished by such death because they urinated in the barracks at night for they could not endure until dawn, and all four buckets (for over 200 people) were full. For the other two, I don’t know what they were hiding. I was in an “outburst” for the third time because of the attempted escape of a detainee, whose name I do not remember, and on this occasion they killed only him in front of us, which was a rare case, because they regularly selected a large number of other detainees out of an “outburst” and killed them.

In addition to the Serbs, there were many Jews in the camp. They were also beaten and killed a lot, but far less than Serbs. The Jews did relatively well in general, compared to us Serbs, they even did great. They had in their hands the entire internal administration in the camp, they were “freemen”, that is, they could leave the camp on their own and do some work for the camp. Many of them even traveled to Zagreb and stayed there for 8 days. I even know that two Jews spent the nights in Jasenovac privately, where their wives and children also stayed. Many of them had their wives living in Jasenovac and visited them often. They were given food and cigarettes from outside. As camp officials, rarely did any of them behave properly. They all had close ties with the Ustashas, they often beat our people, and I personally remember the Jew Hermann Spieller from Osijek, because he beat me mercilessly several times, without a real reason. I have the impression that he and some other Jews wanted to fawn on the Ustashas in this way. German and Polish Jews were especially rude, while our Bosnian Jews were the most tolerant, but that is why they suffered the most, not only by the Ustashas, but also by the German and Polish Jews, with whom the Ustashas were generally on good terms.

During my entire stay in Jasenovac, I never thought I would come out alive. I was completely preoccupied with what I was going to eat and how to escape the killing. I searched and dug often around the dump and looked for potato peels and anything that could somehow be swallowed. Fortunately, I was healthy and strong, so I was able to endure all that, from which thousands of others died. I was especially obsessed with the thought, day and night, of what kind of death I would die: from a knife, a mallet, a club, a bullet, a rifle butt, an ax, exhaustion and fatigue, illness or hunger. It never occurred to me that I could avoid one of those deaths, so I never even remembered much of what I had really experienced. The “gravediggers” died the most from exhaustion. They had the worst job. Day and night, they had to dig graves and carry the dead, and they had to take off their clothes and shoes beforehand. They always had to do all that work very quickly, without a break. The Ustashas knew how hard work these people were doing, so they received double portions. Despite that, I do not know any detainees, out of hundreds and hundreds of them, who were gravediggers, and who survived that job after a month of their sad work. And that is one of the proofs of how many detainees the Ustashas have killed in Jasenovac. The only one of the gravediggers, who is still alive from the beginning until today, is the head of the graveyard group, Eng. Danon from Sarajevo, who

personally did not have to work, but only supervised the work of the grave-diggers. Even after our departure, he remained in Jasenovac as the head of the graveyard group.

I have nothing more to say expert that from February 27 to March 30, that is, the day when I left Jasenovac for Belgrade with 12 of my friends, I was spared from all work and received 5 times as much food, in fact, they gave us as much food as we wanted and in general the Ustashas treated us favorably. We just could not recognize them. Before our departure, Pavelić's commissioner Luburić said to some of us, with a significant emphasis: "You know a lot, you have heard and seen a lot."

When we left Jasenovac, all Serbs cried, which is understandable, when you think about what kind of hell they were left to live in. Today, I am grateful to the Serbian people, the Serbian Government and the Commissariat for Refugees, who enabled me to experience this extraordinary happiness of liberation from the Ustasha hell, and that I can now recover in peace, mentally and physically.

C O M P L E T E D !

Pajkić Mirko  
personal signature

INTERVIEWED AND CONFIRMED  
Branko Stražičić  
personal signature

Minute taker:  
Stana Tepavac,  
personal signature

LETTER FROM OBRAD MIĆIĆ FROM TUZLA TO SS CAPTAIN REXEISEN ON APRIL 6, 1942, IN WHICH HE ANNOUNCES A REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COMMUNISTS IN TUZLA AND SENDING THINGS FOR HIS WIFE'S TWO BROTHERS, AS WELL AS FOR HIMSELF.<sup>579</sup>

Mg.ph. OBRAD I. MIĆIĆ  
PHARMACIST  
TUZLA

Tuzla, 6. IV. 1942.

1 + 0

Our dear Mr. Rexeisen,<sup>580</sup>

I apologize for writing to you in Serbian, but the time is very short so I don't have time to write in German, because I need to make more effort for that.

We were very pleased with your card and the visit of your friend and associate; we were happy, as if it was you who came to visit us. Our Dule saw the uniform – the hat and the overcoat – and thought that you had arrived, so he was a little disappointed.

We have received certain news that my wife's 2 brothers are in Belgrade, too. First, 1 letter from them was brought by a gentleman from Bijeljina, who was traveling from Zemun and saw them on a train in Mitrovica. They said they were traveling to Zemun. That was on 31. III 42.

After that, 1 Volksdeutscher Metz was in Belgrade and someone told him that they were in German custody in Belgrade.

You certainly know everything better.

My wife immediately began to worry about why they were in custody – but quite understandably that they could not be released on the street without any means of subsistence.

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<sup>579</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 380, original in Serbian, handwritten in Latin alphabet; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 378-379, copy translated into German. Marking on the German translation: III A, 18. 4. 1942., which is the marking of the office which processed the case, and the date of translation.

<sup>580</sup> Hans Rexeisen, *SS-Hauptsturmführer* (SS captain), Head of Department III (Security Service, *Sicherheitsdienst*, abbreviated: SD) in the institution of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade (BdS).

My wife agreed with SD<sup>581</sup> Mr. Količ here to take her over to Koveljača, and then your friend would make sure she gets to Belgrade. We will get some certificate from the local command<sup>582</sup>.

She will bring them all the necessities. Underwear, clothes, some food and some money  
etc.

Mr. Količ told me that his car would leave next week. On that occasion, I will send you an extensive report on my situation here and on the underground work of the red Comintern, as well as the open destructive rage of black Communism.

Due to time scarcity, I can't do it right now. With the letter I send for the brothers:

1 box of 100 pcs. cigarettes (for Sava!)

2 soaps

2 tooth pastes

2 toothbrushes

1 pc. bacon

And also for you (you won't be angry!):

2 "Darling" soaps, 2 Veradonts and 1 bottle of eau de cologne. My better half wanted to send you some of our specialities, but there was no time.

Give a lot of greetings to our kins, and tell them not to worry about their folk in Bijeljina. Savo got a daughter 6-7 weeks ago. (3. III. 42.) What is with our cousin Joco Čolaković, because he was on the list, and with Milica.

Is Emilijan Stanković merchant from Bijeljina and his nephew Ilija Vasić miller, who suffered a lot on the list. There is Jovan (Joca) Jovanović from Tuzla.

Receive many cordial greetings from the ever-grateful and faithful to you Mičić family –

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<sup>581</sup> SD, abbreviated from: *Sicherheitsdienst*, Security Service.

<sup>582</sup> German local military command (*Ortskommandantur*).

LETTER FROM OBRAD MIĆIĆ FROM TUZLA TO SS CAPTAIN REXEISEN ON APRIL 16, 1942, ABOUT THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CHETNIKS AND THE LEGION OF MAJOR HADŽIEFENDIĆ WHICH THEN CARRIED OUT A GREAT MASSACRE OF THE SERBS. REQUEST FOR INTERVENTION.<sup>583</sup>

III A 1 + 1 translate<sup>584</sup>

Very resp.[ected] Mis.[ter] Haupturm führer<sup>585</sup> –

Your card as well as Mr. Sturmführer's<sup>586</sup> visit made us very happy. We have always been grateful to you, as we are now. We know that you are a true friend to us, and that you have always thought of us. – As for the brothers, I know that you may have been just as happy, because you worked so hard for it. –

Thank God it was finally over. – Only now we have to ask you to take care of their existence there. – A modest existence, – I emphasize, because in this terrible cataclysm, which my people have experienced because of their corrupt gentlefolk, one should be satisfied when there is bread and a roof over one's head and a secure life. –

They could get in touch with Zbor,<sup>587</sup> with Mil. Mojić,<sup>588</sup> to whom I have already written about it, as well as with the others.

I have suffered 1 nervous crisis these 4-5 days and if this continues, then it is better not to live than to watch helplessly what is being done.

You will see my reports. That in the 20<sup>th</sup> century it is possible to come armed to a peaceful and unarmed village in the rear, to take people from their

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<sup>583</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 351-352, original in Serbian, handwritten in Latin alphabet; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 347-350, copy translated into German.

<sup>584</sup> Designation of the office (III A) dealing with the case, and the order to translate it.

<sup>585</sup> *Hauptsturmführer*, SS captain. The letter was sent to SS Captain Rexeisen.

<sup>586</sup> *Sturmführer*, rank in the formations of Storm Troopers (*Sturmabteilungen*, abbreviated: SA) one of lieutenant.

<sup>587</sup> Pro-fascist political party led by Dimitrije Ljotić, the only political organization allowed to work in occupied Serbia; See: M. Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića 1934-1945*, Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1984; B. Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu 1939-1945*, passim.

<sup>588</sup> Milorad Mojić, Secretary General of *Zbor*.

houses, under the pretext of being led to Tuzla, or to fight against the Chetniks, to line them up, mothers with children, fathers, etc. and kill them from the back with machine guns, when they don't even suspect death – that is what Genghis Khan is said to have practised. – Only, there were no machine guns then. –

But I haven't read [about such practice – Translator's note] anywhere in modern history. Let it be known that it was in the N.D.H., and that it was carried out by anti-Com[munist] troops. "Legion of the peop.[le's] uprising to fight Communism."<sup>589</sup> –

The Jesuit mind is ingenious and makes ingenious moves. (just like Jews) –

By the end of January of this year there were no more legionaries of Major Muham. Hadžiefendić.<sup>590</sup> ~~When negotiations took place in Belgr in January,~~ Muslims were quite reserved here in Tuzla. – They were even very upset by the Catholicization of the Orth.[odox] in Brčko as well as over there.

When negotiations in Belgr.[ade] for eastern Bosnia took place in January and the Belgr.[ade] issue failed<sup>591</sup>, the Jesuits remembered the motto "divide et impera". They found M. Hadžiefendić, 1 corrupt[ible] type, Hochstapler and great ambition, and the like to establish a militia<sup>592</sup> of recr.[uited] from the Musl.[im] scum who were incited and given the freedom to loot, kill, rape and torch without punishment.

Before that, big propaganda had been developed through the press, radio and oral propaganda, about the Chetniks in eastern Bosnia having killed Musl.[ims]. The massacres began immediately as soon as this militia<sup>593</sup> was founded. I have already sent reports about that through Mr. Sturmführer.

The tendency is clear, 1) although these Musl.[im] bandit leg.[ionaries] are destroying Serb villages – they will provoke reprisals from those in the forest

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<sup>589</sup> "Volunteer Home Guard Legion" (*Dobrovoljačka legija Narodnog ustanka*) formed by the Tuzla merchant, pre-war reserve major Muhamed Hadžiefendić, with the task of fighting against the Chetniks. The Legion committed great crimes against the Serb population of eastern and northeastern Bosnia; E. Redžić, *Muslimansko autonomaštvo i 13. SS divizija Autonomija Bosne i Hercegovina i Hitlerov Treći Rajh*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost 1987, 49-50.

<sup>590</sup> Muhamed Hadžiefendić.

<sup>591</sup> See: A. Miletić, „O saradnji komandanta četničkih odreda istočne Bosne Jezdimira Dangića sa Nemcima”, in: *Vojnoistorijski glasnik*, 2, 1972, 135-145.

<sup>592</sup> *Milicija* in Serbian. From the German word *Miliz*.

<sup>593</sup> Same as previous.

– and so they will destroy each other; and after decimation, the Cathol.[ic] Church will humiliate them – 2) After such evil acts, every Muslim even the most honorable one will fear what will happen if Serbia comes, and must hold on to Zagreb, – even if that Zagreb Catholicise him tomorrow. The Jesuits are ingenious. –

But what has been done in the last 4-5 [days] already falls within the legends from the Hun invasion. Can the Germans tolerate that?!!

The matter went as follows: (data received in the gendarmerie station in Tuzla) The Hadžiefendić Legion from “Turski Tupkovići” continued its craft of killing, looting and burning in “Srpski Tupkovići” (2 neighboring villages, 1 Orth.[odox] and 1 M.[uslim]). –

When the village started to burn, someone reported to the Chetniks, who were nearby. – They attacked the Legion, about 50 legionnaires fell in the battle, the rest fled, – and the Chetniks occupied both villages, and they set fire to Turski Tupković in revenge. –

It is not known what happened to the population in the two villages, because both of these are held by the Chetniks. There are refugees from Turski Tupkovići, but not from Srpski Tupkovići;<sup>594</sup>.

After that, those robbers, when they were beaten there, went first to J. Lug<sup>595</sup> – and then to Rajinci-Mitrović and did what the report says.

Dear Mr. Reksajzen,<sup>596</sup> – if this people can be freed from the strangulation and torture by these clerical forces, and put under 1 distinguished and just regime, as was expected here (I have no right to get into that) – but is there a possibility that at least these bandit “Turkish” hordes – stupid, fanatical, which are spiritually in the time of Suleiman the Great – will be disarmed, and the villains punished on merit. What a disgrace it is, when these same bandits, each of whom has a few small children on his conscience, walk down Tuz[la’s] promenade] (tonight, for example), in peasant rags, and their only mil.[itary] mark is a bayonet, – what is more, beside the German soldiers. Or will they go to the forest tomorrow, although there stands the proud

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<sup>594</sup> The names indicate the ethnic structure of the populations in the two villages: *Srpski* (Serb) and *Turski* (Turkish, i.e. Muslim; the Serbs referred to the Muslims generally as ‘the Turks’, although most of these were not authentic Turks but the local populace which had been converted to Islam since the Ottoman invasion in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries). – *Subeditor’s note*.

<sup>595</sup> Jegin (Jeginov) Lug.

<sup>596</sup> Rexeisen.

soldier of the nation of the all.[-German] Reich. Better to say, behind his back they will put every living being they find under the Tartar knife.

Can such monstrosity be allowed. – The Jews<sup>597</sup> and the Communists will be very pleased. –

These gangs are now present only in the Tuz.[la] region, as far as I know, but Mr. Hadžiefendić has received a patent in Zagreb to establish such vol-un.[teer] units in all districts of the Great County<sup>598</sup> of Tuz.[la]. It seems to me, 100 Din.[ar] per diem and what they rob of course.

He would have the position of division commander. – Of 16-20 battalions, as is said. This means that the Ser.[bian] Orthodox mothers in the villages where the uprising did not take place should say goodbye to their children, as well as the fathers, – and that everyone should be waiting for the bullets from the mach.[ine] guns of Hadžiefendić's Tatars, while their properties would be nationalized.

And in the event of a conflict on the Bosphorus, they will be another special religious-communist monster in the unfortunate Bosnian forests. – (So both a religious and a com.[munist] monster, and at the same time a Turkish monster. So not a two-headed, but a three-headed monster.)

Mr. Količ (SD), with whom my wife travels to Belgrade, will have these same reports, so she will submit them at the authorized office. –

And I appeal to you to do what you can to free the mothers of our nation from the murderers of children. –

With ever-great respect, and very warm greetings, always loyal and faithful to you

Obrad

I apologize for the ugly handwriting because it is 3 o'clock  
in the morning. –

16. IV. 42.

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<sup>597</sup> *Židovi*, the Croat word for Jews is used in the original.

<sup>598</sup> The 'great counties' (just 'counties' in this translation) or 'grand governorates' (Sg. in Croat: *velika župa*, in German: *Großgespanschaft*) were the primary territorial subdivisions in the Independent State of Croatia. Districts were the secondary subdivisions. – *Subeditor's note.*

REPORT OF A COMMISSIONER TO SS MAJOR REXEISEN, ON THE CLASHES BETWEEN PARTISANS AND CHETNIKS IN MT. MAJEVICA IN FEBRUARY 1942, THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND HADŽIEFENDIĆ'S LEGION WHICH CARRIED OUT MASSACRES OF SERBS.<sup>599</sup>

1). In February, there was a fight in Mt. Majeвица between the Chetniks and the Communists, and the Chetniks completely destroyed the Communists and cleared them in the area of Majeвица mountain. – The entire Communist headquarters perished there, which consisted mainly of the Muslims and Catholics from the cities of the Tuzla County.<sup>600</sup>

The leader was killed there, Fadil,<sup>601</sup> known as the Španjolac, who was married to the sister of Alijagić,<sup>602</sup> the murderer of the Yu.[goslav] Minister of Interior, Drašković,<sup>603</sup> who abolished the Communist Party. Then 2 Herljević brothers,<sup>604</sup> Catholics, both from Tuzla, then – Dr. of Med.[icine] Mustafa Mujbegović,<sup>605</sup> physician from Tuzla and some others. –

The rest of the fleeing Communists broke into the Chetnik hospital in the village of Tobut in Mt. Majeвица and killed all wounded Chetniks. – Then they broke into a church in a village in Mt. Majevice[ica] – Then they crossed the Tuzla-Zvornik road towards the village of Šekovići. –

In time, the Chetniks informed the Cr.[oatian] Army in writing via the headman (Dorfälteste) from the village of Dubnica, which is located near the road (that is, the Croatian volunteer anti-Communist troops (100 Dinar per diem as pocket money, and robbery, killing, rape as a reward), i.e. the Mus.[lim]

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<sup>599</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 360-361, original in Serbian, handwritten in Latin alphabet. Considering the handwriting, the author of the letter is probably Obrad Mičić from Tuzla.

<sup>600</sup> The County (*Velika župa*) of Usora and Soli with the center in Tuzla. At that time, the County Executive (*veliki župan*) was Ragib Čapljić; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 78 (D. Stuparić). See: R. Hurem, *Kriza narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta u Bosni i Hercegovini krajem 1941. i početkom 1942. godine*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972, passim.

<sup>601</sup> Fadil Jahić Španac (the sobriquet *Španjolac* in Croat or *Španac* in Serbian, i.e. 'Spaniard', comes from the man's participation in the Spanish Civil War).

<sup>602</sup> Alija Alijagić.

<sup>603</sup> Milorad Drašković.

<sup>604</sup> Franjo and Albin Herljević.

<sup>605</sup> See: V. Mujbegović, *Tuzla moje mladosti*, 20-35.

legionnaires, whose commander is the famous Muhamed Hadžiefendić from Tuzla – the Chetniks informed them in time at what time the communists would pass, so that they could ambush them. – However, the legionaries calmly let the communists pass without a single bullet.

After these 200 armed Communists invaded the same Serbian-Orth.[odox] village of Dubnica and forced them to feed them (most of the men from that village had been driven to conc.[entration] camps as early as in the summer of 1941), the next day the legionaries invaded the same village, when the Communists had left, and whoever they found and not escaped in time – they slaughtered and killed all, even small children of 2 years of age. Then the village was completely looted, and then set on fire. –

It was apparently a punishment because they had allegedly welcomed the Communists.

2). According to the accurate data of 1 gend.[armerie] non-commissioned officer:

The hoca (Turkish priest) Jusić Bajro from the village of Mus.[lim] Tupković, commander of that Mus.[lim] legion of the Peop.[le's] Uprising in that area, carried out slaughters, lootings and various violence in the surrounding peaceful Serb.[ian] Orth.[odox] villages in the rear. At the same time, the same hoca sent ammunition, tools, food and salt to the Communists in Šekovići. –

The original letter of the Communist outlaw (a native of Tuzla) Ibro Kunosić was seized, in which he confirms the receipt of weapons and ammunition, but still asks for it. – This letter is in the Division.<sup>606</sup> –

3). The County Exec.[utive] of Tuzla – had a daughter captured by the Communists in Šekovići. This daughter of the County Executive was captured first by the Chetniks in Rogatica, and later by the communists. – (It is rumored in Tuzla among the leftists that she is a Communist, too!) The Communists in the negotiations asked the County Exec. for additional 15 meters<sup>607</sup> of salt and 15 chests of ammunition. – She was released and brought to Tuzla by a st.[ate] car, in exchange for 15 m.[eters] of salt. –

It is said that ammunition was also handed over, and that it was done secretly by the Mus.[lim] legionaries. –

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<sup>606</sup> It probably refers to the German 718<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division.

<sup>607</sup> One meter is equal to 100 kilograms.

M.[ister] Rexeisen, does it make any sense at all to write down all this; if I could write everything I hear and what these poor and miserable Ser.[bian]-Orth.[odox] peasants of ours tell me, I could write a novel. But I have been writing and writing since July, so I guess o.[thers] have been writing, too, yet this evil is still going on. Lately, the Legionnaires and the Ustasha authorities, for example, have been, so to speak, mobilizing the male population in Orth.[odox] Ser.[bian] villages and driving all men ages of 12 and 13 to extremely old age – I guess to the camps. – In Tuzla, all confiscated Serb.[ian] buildings are crowded with the peasants driven thereto.

The government pretends to be deaf and blind to all the lawlessness in the villages, which is carried out by the milica<sup>608</sup> [*sic!*] of Hadžiefendić. – I took people to the gendarm.[erie] station in Tuzla to complain. Lieutenant Col.[onel] Mašek, commander of the gendarm.[erie] in Tuzla is correct and honest. – In private, he openly admits to me that he is completely powerless against those gangs. One peasant told me that they had recently killed 1 gendarme.

~~And all this stains the German honor and virtue. Everything is being done in front of the German army and officers. The Communists point the finger at today's conditions of hunger, misery, anarchy, terror of bandit hordes and claim that this is your Europe, which was created after the arrival of the German army here, reminding us of the well-being and peace of democr.[atic] Yugoslavia.~~

Because misery, famine, anarchy and the creation of the so-called Independent State came, after prosperity and peace in democr.[atic] Yugoslavia, with the arrival of the Ger.[man] army here.

That fact is a terrible weapon in the hands of the Communists, and it is difficult to fight against it. The poor Serb peasant asks me if the Germans will do something for our salvation – of us and of our families, then I can only comfort them, and say nothing definite for now.

If this situation drags on until next winter, that is, until a decision is made in the East, the nat.[ional] Ser.[bian] element will be eradicated by religiously fanatical gangs. –

Who is Hadžiefendić !!

~~Muhammed Hadžiefendić, a merchant in Tuzla, a Hochstapler<sup>609</sup> type, an Austro-Hungarian feurich<sup>610</sup> from the World War in Yugoslavia who~~

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<sup>608</sup> Wrong spelling of *milicija*, 'militia'.

<sup>609</sup> *Hochstapler* is German word for a nice-mannered fraud, role player.

<sup>610</sup> Probably: *feurig*, 'fervent' in German.

rose to a major in reserve.- The corrupt government of Cvetković gave him  
ore fields-concession near Tuzla. He was a b.[ig] Soko<sup>611</sup> and participated in  
all Sok.[ol] ev.[ent]s.

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<sup>611</sup> Member of the pan-Slavic Soko(l) Movement (founded in Prague, in 1862) as an  
all-age gymnastics organization, following the principle of “a strong mind in a sound  
body”. – *Subeditor's note.*

STATEMENT OF ILIJA LEKIĆ FROM POŽARNICA, GIVEN IN TUZLA  
ON APRIL 10, 1942, ABOUT THE MASS KILLINGS AND LOOTING  
OF THREE SERB VILLAGES BY THE MUSLIM LEGION.<sup>612</sup>

Ilija Lekić, worker  
The village of Požarnica  
Municipality of Gor.[nja] Tuzla  
6. IV. 942

<sup>613</sup> Tuzla  
10. 4. 42

– States –

On 1. IV.<sup>614</sup> Muslim legionaries (Legion of the Peop.[le's] Uprising!) came, whose General K-t<sup>615</sup> Muhamed Hadžiefendić is a merchant and a reserve Yugoslav.[ian] and now a Cr.[oat] major – to the villages of Cviljevina, Kolimer and Potraš (7 km from Tuzla) and drove the people out of their houses and killed whoever they reached along the way. – They killed my sister-in-law (wife's sister) and her 13-year-old female child, as well as her 12-year-old female grandchild.

Another woman – wife of Spasoje Stojanović – he has been in prison for a long time through no fault of his own – was killed in her house, as well as the child of his brother Milan, a 10-year-old girl. –

Then they killed Marko Mrkonjić's daughter Vida. –

There are many more killed and wounded that I do not know, not even the number. –

The woman whose name is Sava, Paja Stojanović's wife, was wounded in the arm and is now in hospital in Tuzla.

Then they severely wounded Luka Pajić's wife from Kolimer, and she is now in the hospital in Tuzla. –

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<sup>612</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 345-346, original in Serbian, handwritten in Latin alphabet; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 343-344, copy translated to German. The German translation provides the designation of the office and the officer who processed the case (III A-Hz.), as well as the date of the translation, 15. 4. 1942.

<sup>613</sup> An illegible abbreviation of the German working on the case.

<sup>614</sup> April 1, written in the locally adopted German-style manner. – *Subeditor's note.*

<sup>615</sup> *Kommandant*, Commander.

They also killed Drago Simić, a 40 years old invalid without an arm, because he refused to hand over the horse to the robbers from the Legion; he left two orphaned children behind. –

They killed 60-year-old Lako Janić, as well as a 14-year-old male child of Gajo Janić from Kolimer.

Apart from the massacre carried out by the robbers and murderers of the Muslim legionaries of Muhamed Hadžiefendić from Tuzla, they completely robbed these 3 villages.

– There is nothing left in the houses of the Serb peasants. –

And household items, bedding, clothes, underwear, kitchen dishes, cattle, agricultural tools – they took everything. – Even chicken eggs, which the peasants prepared for Easter, they took these, too. – They even tore down the stoves, smashed the windows and left the houses completely empty without furniture. – Most of the houses were set on fire. –

The leader – the Commander of the Legion (of the so-called People's Uprising against the Communists) in these villages, Salko Sokolović, came to my house and grabbed the breasts and other parts of a woman's body of my daughter-in-law – that is, the wife of my son who is held captive in Germany. – I had to watch it to my shame, helpless, because if I had killed him, the robbers (fighters against Communism!) would have killed – innocent children and women, and God knows how many other innocents.

Then the same Salko Sokolović went to the house of my relative Srećko Lekić with 2 other robbers of the Muslim legionnaires and they tried to rape his two daughters-in-law. –

Since the farm laborer Pero Todorović came at that moment, they gave up their intention. –

1 Muslim legionnaire tried to rape Jerko Tešić's daughter-in-law from the village of Cviljevina, but she managed to free herself and escape. –

In the village of Požarnica 7 km away from Tuzla, the same legionnaires captured Mitar Brkić and after terrible torture – his eyes were plucked out, his body was cut, etc. – they killed him in the end.

Ilija Lekić, farm laborer  
The village of Požarnica near Tuzla.

REPORT OF CAPTAIN MANOJLO PEJIĆ TO THE COMMANDER OF THE BOSNIAN CHETNIK UNITS ON APRIL 14, 1942, ON THE UPRISING IN EASTERN BOSNIA, COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USTASHAS AND THE COMMUNISTS, AND ON THE CHETNIKS' RELATIONS WITH THE CROATIAN ARMY.<sup>616</sup>

PEJIĆ S. MANOJLO  
aircraft captain of the 1st c.[lass]  
12-IV 1942  
Position

TO THE COMMANDER OF THE BOSNIAN CHETNIK UNITS

According to the commander's verbal order to me: to inform on all the reports from the front I left to Mr. Major Dangić about the cooperation of the Ustashas with the Communists, etc. and, since the Chetnik archives were destroyed before the onslaught of the Communists, I report:

I. THE USTASHAS' COMMUNICATION AND COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS is reflected in the following:

- 1.) Major Dangić was simultaneously blackmailed by both the Communists and the Ustashas;
- 2.) Since October 1941, after the battle near Rogatica, the Communists have never and nowhere attacked the Ustashas and the Croatian army, nor did the Croatian army and the Ustasha attack the Communists, while the Communists used every opportunity and attacked even some German soldiers and patrols;
- 3.) For a long time, starting from 25-1-1942. until 14-III-of this year, the positions of the Ustashas and the Croatian army and the positions of the

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<sup>616</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 456-457, original in Serbian, typewritten, Cyrillic; AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 449-455, copy translated into German. On the original the designation of the III K and of the officer working on the case WV, and the order to be translated. On the translation of the report into German: date of translation, April 30, 1942, marks of the offices within the BdS institution (III, i.e. SD, then IV, i.e. Gestapo), it should be sent to, several initials and illegible notes. The report was submitted to the office III A, filed in a folder entitled: (*Kommunisten Ustaša*) Ustasha Communists, dated: 19. 5. 42.

Communists in the area of the riv.[ers] Drina – Lim – Goražde – Mt. Romanija – Sokolovići, then on Mt. Ozren and near Zavidovići, – were often at a distance of 500-1000 meters from each other, but they never fired a single bullet at each other, on the contrary, near Sokolovići they went to a spring for water and met there, and they always used Muslims for meetings, of which there are many, and in Bosnia they are mostly Ustashas and Communists.

4.) The commander of the former Zvornik sector, Captain ČUKOVIĆ,<sup>617</sup> after his withdrawal from this sector when the Communists came to his sector from the rear and when he withdrew, – he organized a reconnaissance and monitoring service. He thus determined and reported that the Communists and the Ustashas held a meeting on the part of the position from the Drina to Đevanje, where the Communists allegedly held the front towards the Ustashas, and on that occasion it was agreed between them: that the Ustashas would help the Communists with weapons and ammunition, that the Communists would be at hand during the attack on the national Chetniks, to jointly establish governance in the eastern part of Bosnia, which the national Chetniks had liberated, and for this space to serve (the Communists) as a base for their march on Serbia, coordinating the action with the Communists from Bulgaria.

And indeed, the Communists had retreated three days before the Ustashas started their advance in the direction of Drinjača and Bratunac.

5.) When in the first half of March this year three Communist “proletarian” brigades crossed from Sandžak and Montenegro to the liberated part of Bosnia, they passed with all their force (main body) past the very positions of the Ustashas and the Croatian army (front near Rogatica). – even then they did not cause any, not even the slightest disturbance to each other.

6.) As soon as the Communist units approached Ham<sup>618</sup> Pjesak, where the Ustashas and the Croatian army were surrounded by the national Chetniks, – the Croatian army and Ustashas, sought contact with the Communists through peasant women and on all other sides, and announced that they would gladly surrender.

7.) The Communists came to the Chetnik rear, and therefore on 15-III-to Vlasenica, but after the meeting in the area of Drina-Đevanje (section Zvornik / 1: 100.000) the Communists left Vlasenica and the whole territory (except Šekovići<sup>619</sup>) from Mt. Romanija to the Drina and traveled, passing

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<sup>617</sup> Risto Čuković.

<sup>618</sup> Han Pjesak.

<sup>619</sup> Šekovići.

next to the units of the Croatian army and the Ustashas, and so the Ustashas entered Vlasenica on 1-IV of this year and later the v.[illages] of Milići, Drinjača and Bratunac.<sup>620</sup>

8.) After the departure of the German operational army, which in January of this year operated in eastern Bosnia, the commander of the partisan unit “ČIČA”<sup>621</sup> before he was killed, and later the commissioner “Ilija”<sup>622</sup> both Jews,<sup>623</sup> as well as their other leaders, stated in their speeches: “Our enemies are no longer Ustashas, but our no. 1. enemies are Chetniks, and number 2. the occupation force”.

9.) Immediately after the Communists entered Vlasenica 15-III-early, their song was heard:

“Pavelić, bravo, bravo,  
Everything you do, you have the right!”<sup>624</sup>

And all around the Muslim villages, Muslims’ songs were heard:

“Do not be afraid, Muslim brothers,  
Partisans are coming to your aid!”<sup>625</sup>

During their short stay in Vlasenica and other places, in addition to killing officers, prominent Chetniks and Serbs who fell into their hands, they managed to hold several parties. At these parties of a propaganda character, Muslim women, all Muslims, were present at the places of honor, and only there were ignorant Serb peasants brought almost by force;

10.) When the Communists advanced from Podžeplje (Borika, Rogatica District) in the direction of Milići and Vlasenica with the main goal of capturing the Chetnik headquarters, – They traveled only through Muslim

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<sup>620</sup> According to General Bader’s report of March 31, 1942, Chetnik forces were simultaneously attacked by the Proletarian Strike Group (*Proleterska udarna grupa*) and the Black Legion (*Crna legija*) of Ustasha Lieutenant Colonel Jure Francetić; *Zbornik NOR*, Book XII, Vol. 2, 266-267. See also: Pero Đukanović, *Ustanak na Drini: zapisi Pere Đukanovića*, edited by Z. Antoniċ, Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Balkanološki institut, 1994, 172-182.

<sup>621</sup> Slaviša Vajner Čiča.

<sup>622</sup> Pavle Goranin Ilija; See: J. Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Źrtve genocida i uĉesnici NOR*, 377.

<sup>623</sup> Slaviša Vajner was not a Jew.

<sup>624</sup> Original (rhyming): *Paveliću bravo, bravo, / Sve što radiš imaš pravo!*

<sup>625</sup> Original (rhyming): *Ne bojte se braćo muslimani, u pomoć nam idu partizani!*

villages and the mountains. None of the Muslims reported about it at any time, just the opposite, their above-mentioned songs could be heard everywhere;

11.) Among others, the main connection of the Communists with the Ustashas is maintained by the Muslim MUJO HODŽIC, the commander of a Communist Muslim unit who moves with the unit wherever it is necessary to catch, strengthen and maintain that connection.

In Vlasenica only, during the short stay of the Communists there, this Hodžic and his men executed and killed in the most cruel way about 56 Serbs (officers, Chetniks and citizens) who were buried in the Muslim cemetery.

12.) After the Ustashas slaughtered all the women and children upon their arrival in Bratunac, and threw many alive into the Drina, the Chetniks and headmen from the vicinity of Bratunac whose families had been slaughtered in those days decided to attack Bratunac, which they did on the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month.

On that occasion, the Chetnik CVETINOVIĆ SPASOJE, who is now in the hospital at Užice, as far as we know, came across an Ustasha, who was in fact a Communist with a five-pointed star on his cap. At the call of this Communist to lay down his arms, Cvetanović killed him with a revolver. As can be seen, there are genuine Communists among the Ustashas in Bratunac as well.

There are more examples like this.

## II. THE CROATIAN ARMY

Many of our officers (for example Captain Đuković,<sup>626</sup> Lieutenant Divjak<sup>627</sup> and others) had frequent meetings and maintained contacts with Croatian officers by couriers, according to whom they were in some military positions, at the request and wish of Croatian officers.

These officers mostly begged the Chetniks not to attack them before, warning them, because they would not offer any resistance. Captain Đuković<sup>628</sup> even went to Zvornik with the help of Croatian officers.

Most Croatian officers who had been Yugoslav officers do not understand the fratricidal struggle between the Croatian army and Serb Chetniks, they therefore blame the Ustashas and claim that not only is any successful struggle against Communism in the Croatian army and among the people impossible,

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<sup>626</sup> Risto Ćuković.

<sup>627</sup> Vladimir Divjak.

<sup>628</sup> Ćuković.

but they are even convinced that Soviet Russia will win this war and they are afraid of that.

They approve of and sympathize with the Chetnik struggle and know what the cause is, and the Croatian commander, who was in Han Pjesak<sup>629</sup> at the beginning of the uprising, reported to his government about the lawlessness of the Ustashas and the causes of the Serb Chetnik struggle in the presence of Pero Kraljević from Kraljevo Polje near Han Pjesak.

There are officers who are Germanophiles (such as Lieutenant Colonel Šimić, who was in Drinjača), but they were incapacitated in their environment by Communist propaganda.

The captured Croatian soldiers constantly declare that they will not fight against anyone and prefer to surrender to the Communists, whom they are constantly looking for, rather than to the Chetniks.

On March 3, of this year at Velja Glava (Zvornik sector), 17 Croat soldiers surrendered to the Chetniks. On my order, Lieutenant Tuševljaković<sup>630</sup> interrogated them and submitted a report. It was ascertained that the military personnel had not changed their underwear for full six months.

The commander of the column which operated from Mt. Romanija, Sokolovići towards Žljebovi and Han Pjesak, Lieutenant Colonel Julije Fritc,<sup>631</sup> in his report sent to his superior in Sarajevo (the report was captured) states: that 300 conscript soldiers, whose exercise period had expired, rebelled in his unit, so they would not fight, but energetically ask to go to their homes and they thus demoralize the other soldiers so much that he is not sure of the success of his column. Having captured the report, the Chetniks answered him mainly that, yes, when the situation is as he himself stated, he should then should forbid the throwing of women and children into the fire, which this column had done at Glasinac (mostly Ustashas).

This column followed after the destruction of a Croatian cavalry regiment in Sokolovići.

None of the captured Croatian soldiers wanted to return to Croatia. The officers, too, for ex.[ample] Lieutenant Litovski [...] Old. (When the German army operated in eastern Bosnia starting [...] the Chetniks left behind around 500 prisoners because of the difficulties with food and stay during the retreat to the woods (because Germans unreasonably began to disarm

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<sup>629</sup> Han Pijesak.

<sup>630</sup> Rade Tuševljaković.

<sup>631</sup> Julije Fritz; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 120 (M. Pojić).

and capture the Chetniks, although the Chetniks were ordered to remain in their places, for there was no reason to fear the German army, which we considered to be operating against the Communists). Many of these prisoners did not want to wait for the Croatian army, but against our will, followed the Chetniks to the forest, where they lived the same way of life with them.

Croat soldiers-prisoners unanimously declare that the Croatian army is convinced that Soviet Russia will win, so that they will absolutely not fight against anyone, and that they will keep their weapons for the upcoming revolution in Croatia, which according to the Communists from proletarian brigades who came from Sandžak, should take place in Croatia on May 1 this year.

Furthermore, Croat prisoners describe the rift between the Ustashas and the Croatian army, then the one between Muslims and Catholic Croats (religious intolerance), and all this rift is based on the fact that everyone blames the Ustashas for the current chaos and bloodshed in the Croatian state.

### III. CONCLUSION

1.) As the former Chief of Staff of the Bosnian Chetnik Units, I reported on all these phenomena to the Mountain Staff<sup>632</sup> (Major Dangić) by telephone, encrypted dispatches and written reports.

2.) The following facts are known throughout the cultured world:

– that no force, including the organized Yugoslav Army, could oppose the German armed forces so far. Consequently, it should be clear to everyone that the uprising in Bosnia, on which the people rose, is not aggressive towards anyone, but that people had to flee into the woods, before the unprecedented Ustasha massacre of the bare-handed, peaceful and industrious Serbian people;

– that the Ustashas are the ones who have now caused the current misfortune and bloodshed and forced the uprising with their bare hands and the poor Serbian people tormented by nasty twenty-years long politics;

– that all the Serbian people on the territory of the state of Croatia would reconcile with the creation of that state and be loyal to it, if there were equality, order, peace and work in it, but the Ustashas decided to slaughter whoever was Serb in Croatia within the shortest possible time so that before such danger and facing more than five hundred and eighteen thousand slaughtered like lambs, everyone was fleeing wherever one found an escape route.

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<sup>632</sup> *Gorski Štab.*

There in the woods, groups, ten men's squads, companies met, and then battalions and detachments, and all the people capable of fighting decided to defend themselves.

It is not the fault of the Chetniks that our struggle was so successful that it really shook the foundations of the CROATIAN STATE.

It is mostly true, and especially the truth from recent days, that the Croatian army and the Ustashas are not able [to] confront the action of the Serbian national Chetniks, without the help of the Communists and external help in general.

It follows therefrom that the uprising was not raised by Major Dangić, but by the Ustashas (i.e. the people themselves), and Major Dangić, as a senior officer, who found himself among his people, was elected commander of that uprising. It is not for example Major Dangić started an uprising in the Bos[nian] Krajina, Lika, Herzegovina, but the Chetnik organizations consider him their commander because he was there with his people at the time of their extermination, while many others – almost all prominent individuals – found residence in various spa resorts and other places, where they enjoy themselves waiting for the end of the war.

Captain,

former Chief of Operational  
Headquarters of the Bosnian Chetnik Detachments

REPORT OF OBRAD MIĆIĆ TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ZBOR ORGANIZATION IN BELGRADE, ON THE SITUATION IN TUZLA AND EASTERN BOSNIA, IN WHICH HE REQUESTS INTERVENTION DUE TO THE CRIMES OF HADŽIEFENDIĆ'S LEGION.<sup>633</sup>

The following letter of 16. IV. 1942 has arrived from Eastern Bosnia, Tuzla, on the situation there.

Since July 1941, it seems to me that I have spent barrels of ink, writing whole novels, but not some fictional novels, yet descriptions of events, horrible events that are here before my eyes and that I had to experience. Sometimes it seems to me that I am a sleepwalker and that this is just a fabrication of my darkened spirit.

But, alas, it is unfortunately just an unimaginable reality and I write, and write again, and even just what I reported today seems to me that it should be enough to make the Germans see the serious reality, to see that by tolerating this situation alone, they only give impetus to Communism. Still, it seems that everything will remain the same.

Yet I continue to write: "Write, Mito,<sup>634</sup> about the fact that before the Almighty I remain a witness that no one will listen to you." And I do it, and I write and I write, according to my conscience.

Since January, when I submitted a report to you in Belgrade on some issues of religion and economy, as well as on the political situation, a lot has changed in our country. Since my return, the Muslims have turned for 180°. Until then, they had behaved fairly correctly. There was violence in the villages, and in the cities the situation was taken advantage of in the most zealous way, albeit within the limits of possibilities, in order for them to get rich at the expense of the Serbs. This is how the Muslims themselves behaved after the conversion of the inhabitants of Brčko to the Roman Catholic faith and were very upset, especially when a pogrom was launched against us in the period around Christmas – which was thwarted by the local German command by a proclamation that no religious persecution would be tolerated.

Then came the promises about Eastern Bosnia, which – as you know better, were thwarted by Politcom outside Serbia's borders.

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<sup>633</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 365-369.

<sup>634</sup> This probably refers to the leader of Zbor, Dimitrije Ljotić.

Sensing the danger, the Ustasha (Frankist<sup>635</sup>, or better said Jesuit) regime – which considered the Muslims were unreliable – made one skillful chess move.

With great enthusiasm, propaganda was launched through the press, radio and orally through civil servants, and especially among the Muslims, about the alleged massacre of Muslims by Chetniks. According to this, over 100,000 Muslims were allegedly killed in Eastern Bosnia (Vlasenica, Srebrenica and in the direction of Sarajevo), all mosques were allegedly burned down and the Chetniks allegedly proclaimed the slogan that there was no space for both peoples.

They especially attacked Dangić: his hatred of Muslims was emphasized. He was also accused not only of tolerating the persecution of Muslims but also of organizing it. On the other hand, the Communists were praised for treating Muslims correctly, but the Chetniks were treated as enemies in the most horrible way.

The local Turkish<sup>636</sup> mob is lazy, indolent and fatalistic, but if it seems fanatical and if Din (the belief of the Prophet) is questioned, then it turns into an invincible horde. – And as soon as the propaganda reached its peak, they found the leader of the Muslim volunteer units, the so-called “Legion of the People’s Uprising for the Fight Against Communism”, in the person of Mohamed Hadžiefendić<sup>637</sup> (a Tivar<sup>638</sup> suits merchant and former Yugoslav reserve officer). All possible criminal individuals gathered there, and their commanders mostly came from the Zenica Prison.

Their very appearance is disgusting: – Dressed in rags, with Asian-style grimaces from which stupidity and religious fanaticism emanate. Many faces are mutilated by endemic lues – syphilis. These people were entrusted with weapons and sent to the villages with the conviction that they could not exist side by side with the Serbs. Up to 6,000 people have now been deployed. They have been formed in all districts in the County (Prefecture) of Tuzla.

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<sup>635</sup> *Frankovački* in the original, i.e. referring to Frankists (*frankovci*), adherents of Josip Frank, Croatian nationalist movement that founded (1895) the Pure Party of Rights (*Čista stranka prava*). The Frankist programme identified the Serbs as the enemies of the Croatian nation and maintained campaigns against the Kingdom of Serbia and Yugoslavists. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>636</sup> The adjective ‘Turkish’ is mostly used as an equivalent of ‘Muslim’. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>637</sup> Muhamed Hadžiefendić.

<sup>638</sup> “Tivar” was the name of Varaždin-based factory that produced ready-to-wear suits. – *Subeditor’s note.*

They have one major (based in Tuzla or Zagreb) in the command of the chief of staff in Tuzla and two Muslim officers. This horde is commanded by people who are of exactly the same quality as the people who make up their units (idiots and robbers – mostly peasants). Officers cannot be seen in the combat sectors at all and there is neither discipline nor responsibility there.

The main task of this legion is to plunder, kill, beat and burn the villages in the rear. Any conflict with those who are armed is avoided, there is only gunfire, and then they go to peaceful villages to kill there. Their action started already in February and March, so they have done terrible things so far. Today, it is clear to me what was intended to be achieved. A respectable, serious Muslim, Časimbeg<sup>639</sup> Gradašević, told me indignantly: “There will be great evil if Belgrade (Serbs) comes, and I can’t wait for that.” When the danger for Eastern Bosnia became apparent, Zagreb managed to fanatize the Muslim scum and make them accomplices in the atrocities in order to create a joint Croat-Muslim combat front, which of course had to lead to them being comrades in destiny.

I have sent a report on the events of 8. II. 1942 in the villages around Tuzla: Kolimer, Potraj<sup>640</sup> and Gornja Požarnica.

The legionnaires were involved in the battle with the Chetniks from Mount Majevica. The failure of the Legionaries had to be paid for by the villages. Kolimer, as the nearest village, had to suffer the most. It was completely burned down, and whoever could save their life fled to the hills or other villages.

On 8. III. and 1. IV. the events were repeated. There is not a single living being in Kolimer now. Several other people live in Crljevina, Potraj<sup>641</sup> and Požarnica, but all their property has been taken away: food, clothes, cattle, tools and all the furniture. On two to three occasions, 70-80 people were deprived of their lives, regardless of age or gender.

When the Chetniks managed to expel the Communists from Mount Majevica in February, a group of Communists withdrew to Vlasenica. In order to cut off and capture this group, the Chetniks informed the Croatian command (that is, the Turkish komitadjis<sup>642</sup>) through the village headman

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<sup>639</sup> Čazim beg.

<sup>640</sup> Potraš, Kolimer.

<sup>641</sup> Potraš.

<sup>642</sup> The name used in the Balkans for various bands of irregular troops. – *Subeditor's note.*

of the Serb village of Dubnica about the exact time and direction when and where the Reds would pass. The Croatian-Turkish Legionnaires did not move a finger and allowed the Reds a free passage, as if it did not concern them at all.

Thus, the Communists, unhindered, with a force of about 200-300 armed men, peacefully penetrated to reach Dubnica. The village had to provide them with accommodation overnight, all the more so as the village was left almost completely without male population, given that almost all the men were driven to a concentration camp in autumn (in shirts and underpants – so that hardly any of them have remained alive).

And when the Reds marched the next morning, the brave Legionaries threw themselves on the village and, as a “punishment”, stabbed everyone they came across in the village. After that, the village was, of course, looted and set on fire.

What is stated here are just some examples from the immediate vicinity of the city of Tuzla. I will not report on atrocities for which I do not have a reliable confirmation.

One thing is certain, however, and that is that it cannot be understood whether we are in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the year nineteen forty-two of the new era, or we are in the time of Timurlenk or Genghis Khan.

What I am reporting about is absolutely true. On Sunday, I saw a group of refugees from Jeginov Lug pass by. Escorted by gendarmes, half-naked, barefoot people are dragging themselves through the street in terrible pain. A sight I will not forget as long as I live. What more shall I have to see?

I haven't been to my pharmacy at all since Sunday, because I was completely preoccupied with accommodating refugees. We hardly calmed down a bit when there occurred new mass murders in the village of Rojnice-Mitrovići. I raised the alarm in the town command<sup>643</sup> – first for Jeginov Lug and then for Mitrovići. The report was sent to Belgrade. I did the same for Sarajevo and Zagreb.

It happened this way: The village of Tupković consists of one Serbian and another Turkish part. The Turkish Legionaries invaded the Serbian part and began to kill, plunder and burn. When the Chetniks heard about this, they attacked (in agreement with the Reds, who were apparently the natives of the village) the Turkish part of the village and retaliated in the same way. The Turkish population, however, managed to escape for the most part.

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<sup>643</sup> German local/town command (*Ortskommandantur*) in Tuzla.

However, in retaliation, two peaceful Serb villages were destroyed in a cowardly and insidious manner.

I was with the deputy chief executive (the deputy chief executive – the head of the district was not appointed) and I asked him a question: “Tell me, my lord, do you believe in God?” (This gentleman’s name is Nedjelski,<sup>644</sup> and he goes to the church every day – despite his distinct Jewish physiognomy). When I told him about the atrocities, he pretended to be unacquainted, as if he knew nothing about it. He gave 100 kg of corn flour for 25 refugees. The initiated action of gathering contributions among the population will alleviate the fate of the poor. They are partly located in the village of Čaklovice,<sup>645</sup> may the Turkish hyenas not appear there. No one from the other villages remained except one man and three children.

I am enclosing a letter by the Serb peasants from Požarnica – in which they are asking for protection, because the danger is great.

And if now the Chetniks or the Reds, in retaliation for two Serbian villages, set fire to a Turkish village, then the last remaining villages around Tuzla would disappear from the face of the Earth.

These gangs of Turks must be disarmed inevitably and immediately, because there is an intention to form these in the entire district. You know what that would mean. That is why I beg you for support. These gangs have neither the will nor the courage to attack either the Reds or the Chetniks. Yet instead, they’ll wipe out another village every day. The very idea of it is horrible: There is a peaceful village. Families, father, mother, children live in their houses, they all do their hard work, just to survive. Suddenly, looting hordes invade and in ten minutes – they all become corpses. In their houses, the executioner’s assistants rob and devour and then burn the village in a fire.

And the questions are: who of the survivors can still believe in God and justice? Whither will despair and disappointment take them? Who will receive and possibly abuse them?

If there is God and humanity in people, if the strong, who preach about the New Europe, believe in truth and law, then they cannot allow this. Don’t you realize that with the formation of the Independent State of Croatia on Yugoslav territory, you suffered a spiritual defeat and that your enemy, Communism, stands there as a spiritual winner. If you had turned to your ideological relatives after the occupation of Yugoslavia, then peace would

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<sup>644</sup> Felix Niedzielsky; *Tko je tko u NDH*, 294 (M. Pojić).

<sup>645</sup> Čaklovići.

have been ensured, the economy intact and social conditions would have improved. That would be your victory. Jewish deceptions and lies about Germany would fall like a house of cards and our people would be spiritually liberated and better.

However, with the formation of the Independent State of Croatia, instead of order and peace, there have occurred anarchy and civil war, and then perhaps famine, misery and general catastrophe. And there was an immediate defeat, because this happened immediately after the occupation by German troops. And the Communists only needed to point the finger at these facts, and that is a heavy weapon in their hands when it is difficult to fight. In the end, in order to put a crown on this comedy, the torchbearers of this New World Order, the National Socialist ideology, are black clericals have turned up here. As their right hand there stand the turbans-wearing Turks who are still marching in the spirit of Suleiman the Magnificent's time.

There are longing whispers, and even more dreams, of a separate German administration over Eastern Bosnia. The Serbs would be overjoyed, and especially the poor peasant, whose life is worse today than when he was a slave in the time of the Huns and Tatars. There was talk of 15. IV... The district chiefs in Tuzla and Dobož were recalled, even the mayors, and there was a belief that this was the beginning of something that was so longingly expected. Unfortunately none of that came true. Instead, the new Ustashas came and took the grammar school for their barracks. And hope was lost again.

It is an interesting and reassuring case that the Catholics from the vicinity of Tuzla (and especially from the north) behave extremely peacefully and correctly. At the beginning, they did not want to take rifles at all (all Muslims and Catholics are armed) – that is the people's uprising, that legion!), but as the Muslims started their reign of terror, out of wise caution, they also acquired weapons. The only exception are the outbursts of individuals against the Serbs. For example, a group of 38 refugees from Jeginov Lug begged me to get them passes to the Catholic villages of Pasce,<sup>646</sup> Mosluke,<sup>647</sup> because they are safer there from the Turks than in Čaklovići. The inhabitants there belong to Maček's party, and considering that there are a lot of workers in the industry there, it is possible that they are also red.

Or is it again a chapter of Catholic Jesuit politics: Divide et impera? Only let the Serbs and the Turks destroy each other; we will stand aside – we

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<sup>646</sup> Pasci.

<sup>647</sup> Unidentified village.

are not so numerous, and when they bleed well enough, then we will bring them the only blessed faith of the Holy Roman Church. I believe in this assumption, because when I complain to the Catholics of the killings, then indignation automatically starts against the atrocities of the Turks. And when I draw their attention to the fact that the Turks lived here in Yugoslavia and did not make any outbursts, because there were authorities who did not give any weapons to such suspicious individuals in their evil hands, they were obliged to answer me.

The game of the Black International<sup>648</sup> is clear.

If a war between Germany and Turkey breaks out, then this fanatical Turkish mob will become an Islamic-Communist, or to put it better, a religious-Communist monster of Bosnian hills and forests. And then the Germans will have to realize their mistake. I certainly do not want any new war, because I am convinced of the necessity of a quick liquidation of the Russian Bolshevism, considering that otherwise we will all disappear into the abyss, but because of these janissaries, a contrary secret desire erupts in me now and then.

They have to be taught a lesson once and for all. No one has restrained these beasts yet. At one time, Turkey caressed them as orthodox, Austro-Hungary pampered them, we will not even mention Yugoslavia at all (Spaho,<sup>649</sup> Spaho, Spaho!). And now they have become the “most beautiful flowers”<sup>650</sup> of Croatia, who are killing, and if the political situation changes, they will take their newest protectors to the guillotine.

I see that I have preoccupied you too much with this letter of mine. It seems to me that I am sitting with you – in Zbor – and talking about our misery.

Comrades, I am pressuring you to do whatever you know, pray, beg in the name of infants and unborn children, for the Germans to disperse these looting gangs. Because, what the Turks are doing and what they will do, belongs in straightjacket or before a shooting squad.

From Tuzla to Zvornik, along the main road, there are no more Serb settlements. But Hadži Efendić<sup>651</sup> is organizing the whole district, he is to become the division commander. His bloodthirsty dogs are marching every-

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<sup>648</sup> Roman Catholic Church.

<sup>649</sup> Mehmed Spaho, President of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization and minister in the governments of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

<sup>650</sup> “*Najlepše cveće*”.

<sup>651</sup> Muhamed Hadžiefendić.

where. Act fast, comrades, this is about human lives, which will either go to the afterworld or join the Reds. Read the appeal paper from Požarnica. I live in constant fear that someone from Požarnica or Čaklovići<sup>652</sup> will break into my house to tell me the worst of news.

It is pressing. It is extremely urgent. I hope for a positive answer.

It would not be enough just to disarm the Legion, for because the villages are full of weapons, the Germans must offer the possibility of Draconian reprisals in each case of looting, arson and murder. Only then can success be counted on. – In Sarajevo, the Germans disarmed the Ustashas and took hostages without any regard to religion.

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<sup>652</sup> Čaklovići.

No. 115

STATEMENT OF DRAGO MILENKOVIĆ, GIVEN ON APRIL 13, 1942 IN TUZLA, HE SURVIVED THE MASSACRE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF JEGIN LUG, WHICH HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT BY HADŽIEFENDIĆ'S LEGION TWO DAYS EARLIER.<sup>653</sup>

Transcript!

For the City Command

Tuzla.

Statement of Milenković Drago – Refugee from Jegin – Lug.

On April 11, 1942, Hadžiefendić's Legion came from Tupković and set fire to the village of Jegin-Lug. The Legionnaires told the people in the village that they should go with them to defend the Spreča valley. "You take the axes, and we'll take the rifles." All the men from the village came. Then the Legionaries put all the people in one line and shot them all with two machine guns. After this, they gathered all the women and shot them in the same way. In the end, they gathered the children and shot them with a machine gun.

They killed at least 250-300 men, women and children. Entire families have been wiped out, for example from these families:

Tadić		60 persons, men, women and children,
Jovanović	around	150 family members
Tomić	around	30 persons
Marković	around	30 persons
Tešić	around	9 persons
Ilić		1 person
Vidović		several persons, etc.

In the families Mirković, Kadrić, Tešić – 4 persons, etc.

It can be said that about 300 men, women and children were killed. Entire large families were destroyed. The rest of the population escaped into the municipal office building, from where the gendarmes took them to Tuzla. On the way to Tuzla, in the Muslim village of Dubrave, they were once

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<sup>653</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 281.

again attacked by Mohammedan peasant-Legionaries and, although there were gendarmes present, 4 men were taken away to be missing. They are: Petko Ilić (37 years old), Božo Savić (60 years old), Jovan Kojić (57 years old) and Marko Tomić (50 years old). They wanted to kill the others on the way through the village, but since the women were crying and the gendarmerie opposed them, they let us go.

The village was looted, the cattle were driven away, and food and furniture are gone. The looted stuff was taken to the Muslim village of Vukovije, and that municipality kept everything to itself.

Milenković Drago.

Present workers of the Kreka coal mine,  
from the same village where these families were killed.

Tadić Ratko and Milenković Petar  
13. IV. 1942.<sup>654</sup>  
Tuzla.

#### Appendix.

During the execution of the rest of the women and children, who were naked and barefoot, the Legionaries attacked them once again in the Muslim village of Dubrave and wanted to kill them all. They cursed their Serbian mothers, and the four men whose names I have already mentioned were separated from the column, taken away and certainly killed. I hid between women and children and I escaped so unnoticed. After that, all the women were searched and the one who had some money with her, her money was robbed. Since there was not much money, they took away pieces of clothing and things the women had taken with them, and threw them in the mud.

And so we passed. We said that the authorities were sending us, but they nevertheless cursed the authorities and those who sent us, but also those we were going to.

One-year-old children were also killed in the village.

There was one gendarmerie patrol of 12 men in the village, but it was too weak to confront that force.

Milenković Drago.

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<sup>654</sup> Handwritten note.

No. 116

STATEMENT OF STOJAN ILIĆ FROM THE VILLAGE OF JEGIN LUG ON APRIL 16, 1942, ABOUT THE KILLING OF ALL INHABITANTS AND THE COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF THE VILLAGE ON APRIL 11, 1942, BY MUSLIM LEGIONARIES.<sup>655</sup>

Transcript.

Ilić Stojan, worker in  
coal mine, Kreka.  
born in Tinje,<sup>656</sup> Mun.[icipality] of Živinice.

The above mentioned stated today as follows:

I am married from the village of Jegin Lug, I have 4 children and a wife. On the third day (April 13, 1942) after the killings and looting in Jegin Lug by armed Mohammedan Legionnaires, I dressed in clothes worn by Roman Catholic peasants and went to Jegin Lug to see if anyone remained alive of my wife's family, who comes from the Tadić family.

When I got there, whole piles of corpses were lying on the edge of the forest. There were women, children and men. The bodies were not buried. There were many dogs tearing pieces off the corpses.

The whole village was looted, the houses were empty and everything was dragged away. Even the window frames were removed from the houses, the valuables were destroyed and the iron parts were taken away. All that was left were empty walls to stand there. Stables and granaries empty, cattle driven away or slaughtered. The village was completely devastated and in ruins. Apart from the three houses that were burned down (of Nedo Marjanović's family), the others were still standing.

My sister-in-law's family owned the following:

28 pigs

7 heads of cattle

5 heads of horses

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<sup>655</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 362.

<sup>656</sup> Tinja.

about 30 heads of various poultry  
10 quintals of corn flour  
10 quintals of potatoes  
60 kg of wheat flour 180 kg of beans  
20 kg of bacon  
10 kg of lard  
in addition to the above, the entire contents of the dwelling house.

The cattle were driven to the Mohammedan village of Vukovije and various other villages in the Zvornik District. (Suhopolje) etc.

16. IV. 942

Tuzla.<sup>657</sup>

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<sup>657</sup> Handwritten note.

STATEMENT OF PETAR MEKIĆ FROM THE VILLAGE OF RAJINCI,  
MUNICIPALITY OF KALESIJA, ON 14 APRIL 1942, WHO SURVIVED  
THE KILLING OF ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE BY  
THE MUSLIM LEGION ON 14 APRIL 1942.<sup>658</sup>

Petar Mekić from the village  
Rajinci Municipality of Kalesija

Report from Tuzla<sup>659</sup>

III to translate 18. 6. 42.<sup>660</sup>

Comes and declares the following:

On Tuesday on 14. IV. 42. at about 12 o'clock, the Legionnaires, Turks, came to my village armed, expelled all the people, women, children, men from their houses, and told us to leave, and that they would escort us to Tuzla.

When we all came out of the houses to the Međaši stream. Then they lined us up in rows and fired machine guns behind our backs. As they fired, rows of people fell on each other, whole heaps of men, women and children.

As soon as the firing started, I dropped to the ground, and so I was wounded only in the foot. Entire heaps of the dead fell over me. When they had killed everyone, they went to our village to plunder, and when the robbers left, I slowly and carefully got out from under the dead and began to look if there was anyone left alive. And I only found 3 small children. My 9-year-old child, male, severely wounded in the back, and 2 more children, a 14 years old, wounded in the foot (of Milorad Mijatović), and an 8 years old uninjured of Mitar Mijatović. I hid in the woods with the children all night in the snow and rain, and the next day on Wednesday, 15. IV. I came to Tuzla.

Only me and these 3 children are left of the whole village. The village has 30 houses, there were 10-15 family members in each house. That is, 300-400 people were killed.

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<sup>658</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 408, original in Serbian, handwritten, in Latin alphabet; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 407, copy translated into German. The statement was recorded by Obrad Mičić from Tuzla.

<sup>659</sup> Handwritten: *Bericht aus Tuzla*.

<sup>660</sup> Handwritten note of the person handling the case within the BdS institution: the processing department, K III, and the order to translate. In the German translation, the sign of the office, K III, and the date of the translation, 25. 4. 1942.

There were Croat.[ian] soldiers in the village, but they did not resist these robbers. My child is with 1 other child in Hosp.[ital] in Tuzla.

My child is badly injured and I doubt he will stay alive. My wife and three children were killed, only the fourth one remained (Dušan) and I doubt that he will stay alive.

16. IV. 42.

Petar Mekić farm worker

No. 118

STATEMENT OF PETAR MEKIĆ FROM RAJINCI, GIVEN ON APRIL 16, 1942 IN TUZLA, WHO SURVIVED THE KILLING OF THE VILLAGERS BY THE MUSLIM LEGION TWO DAYS EARLIER.<sup>661</sup>

III 16. IV. 42<sup>662</sup>

TRANSCRIPT!

For  
City Command

Tuzla.

Statement of Petar Mekić from Rajinci, Kalesija Municipality.

The above citizen came and told me the following:

On Tuesday, April 14, 1942, at around 12 o'clock, Turkish armed Legionnaires came to my municipality, drove all the people out of their houses, women, children and men alike, and told us that we had to follow them because they wanted to take us to Tuzla.

When we came out of the houses, they took us to the Medaši<sup>663</sup> stream, where they lined us up and behind our backs they fired machine guns at the set lines. While they were shooting so, a large number of women, children and men fell. When the shooting started, I dropped to the ground, so I was wounded only in the foot. A pile of corpses fell on me. Since the Legionnaires thought we were all dead, they went to our village to plunder. When these bandits left, I lay on the ground for a while and then I slowly stood up and carefully walked between the corpses looking to see if anyone else was still alive. I found a total of three children, one of whom was mine, aged 9, who was severely wounded in the back and two other children. One of them aged 14 was wounded in the foot. It belongs to Milorad Mijatović. The second child was not injured and belongs to Mitar Mijatović. With these three children, I hid all night in the woods, in the snow and rain. The next day, Wednesday, 15./4. 42 I came to Tuzla.

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<sup>661</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 353.

<sup>662</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>663</sup> Medaši.

I and these three children are the only survivors from the whole village. The village had 30 houses, about 10-15 people lived in each house. It can be assumed that 300-400 people were killed. There were also Croatian soldiers in the village, but they did not prevent the Legionnaires from killing.

I placed my severely wounded child, who will hardly survive this serious injury, as well as another lightly wounded child of Milorad Mijatović, in the military hospital in Tuzla.

My wife and three children were killed.

When I came to the military hospital with the three children yesterday, a wounded Turkish Legionnaire told me: "If you just stay alive, as soon as I recover, I will find you." He also cursed my mother.

Tuzla, April 16, 1942

Petar Mekić,  
peasant from Rajinci

No. 119

ON APRIL 16, 1942, A GROUP OF SERBS FROM POŽARNICA WHO REACHED TUZLA, SENT A REQUEST TO THE GERMAN CITY COMMAND, THAT THE WEHRMACHT SAVE THEIR AND THE SURROUNDING SERBIAN VILLAGES FROM THE MUSLIM LEGION, WHICH HAD CARRIED OUT THE MASSACRES IN THE NEIGHBORING VILLAGES.<sup>664</sup>

16. IV. 42<sup>665</sup>

TRANSCRIPT!

For the German city command

Tuzla.

We, the peasants from the Serbian-Orthodox village of Požarnica near Tuzla, are completely without protection and we have surrendered to the high-handedness and violence of the armed Turkish Legionaries from Gornja Tuzla, Vukovije and the surrounding villages.

We most humbly ask the German Wehrmacht to protect us, as well as other surrounding Serbian villages. Armed Mohammedan Legionaries constantly threaten us that we will all be killed. We cannot be sure for our families' lives even until the morning. We have all stayed at home, as peaceful people, and none of us is with the insurgents in the woods.

Massacres already took place in part in the village of Požarnica and the surrounding villages, such as Kolimir [Kolimer], Cviljevina, Potraž and Konjikovići on February 8, March 8, and April 1, 1942.

The village of Kolimer was completely looted and burned down. What was left alive had to flee to Mount Majeveca, and the rest stayed with us.

In these three cases, approximately 70 to 80 women, children and men were killed, and property in all four villages was looted. Now, mass killings are taking place in the surrounding Serbian places, we are constantly threatened, refugees come to our place and talk about horrors; so we know exactly that the same fate and murder of our families awaits us in any hour.

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<sup>664</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 356.

<sup>665</sup> Handwritten note.

Because we have no one to turn to, we address the German Wehrmacht, which always fights for justice and truth, in our own name as well as in the name of our wives and children, and we humbly ask it to take us under protection from the horrible death these bandits are preparing for us.

We ask for urgent help, because maybe in 2-3 days all will be too late.

We struggled through the woods to be able to deliver our request. We pray to God for the long life of the Führer and for the victory of German weapons, and only from them can we expect salvation and emergency help.

Rodoljub Jovanović (village headman)

Božo Jovanović, Pero Jovanović,

Ratko Jovanović, Jovo Ivković,

Jovo Jovičić and others

Handwritten signatures.

16. IV. 1942.

Tuzla<sup>666</sup>

Rodoljub Jovanović

Božo Jovanović

Jovo Ivković

Risto Jovanović

Ratko Ivković

Pero Jovanović

Risto Ivanović

Spasoja Kosanović

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<sup>666</sup> Handwritten note.

No. 120

REPORT ON THE MASS KILLINGS OF THE SERBS IN THE VILLAGE OF KOLIMER AND OTHER SERB VILLAGES AROUND TUZLA ON MARCH 8, 1942, BY HADŽIEFENDIĆ'S LEGION.<sup>667</sup>

20. IV 42<sup>668</sup>

Transcript

Village report  
Kolimer.

Kolimer is a village near Požarnica, 7 kilometers east of Tuzla. On 8. III. 1942, the Legionaries of Muhamed Hadžiefendić arrived with armed Mohammedans, with a force of 300 to 400 men, from the village of Seljublje,<sup>669</sup> which is located near Požarnica and Kolimer.

They first broke into the house of Ilija Toromanović (38 years old). He is employed at the Kreka coal mine. They killed him as well as his brother Jovo, 35, and his uncle Miko (50), his uncle Miko's wife was seriously wounded. After that, they went to the village of Potras<sup>670</sup> and killed 2 men, Iko Tosić and Petar Sekolić, in one house. On the way back, they passed through the village of Kolimer again and found four children in Miko Vasiljević's house and killed them all. They were 3 girls and 1 boy. All the children were about 10 years old. The house itself was completely looted. In the same village, they also broke into the houses of Gajo Janjić. Then, Boško Janjić, Mihajlo Janjić, Laka Lakić and Dušan Likić and all the houses were looted. Later, they looted Todor Simić's house, and they robbed and drove away all the cattle. They further robbed Mitar Maksimović's house and killed his wife. Then they broke into the house of Jovo Mihajlović, killed him and robbed his house. During their attack, they further looted Rade Tešić's house, and severely wounded his wife. After this act, they slaughtered his two sheep and prepared them for dinner in this house. In the house of Jovo

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<sup>667</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 387-388.

<sup>668</sup> Handwritten date.

<sup>669</sup> Seljublje.

<sup>670</sup> Potraš.

Duvić, they tore the clothes of all women from the house, after they had previously looted the whole house. In the house of Toso<sup>671</sup> Pajić, who was killed during one of their earlier attacks (8. II. 1942), they broke into his house again and robbed it completely.

In the village of Kolimer and the neighboring village of Potrase,<sup>672</sup> they killed a total of 6 men, one woman and four children aged 8 to 10. The village of Kolimer itself was completely looted and the cattle were driven away with them. Because of this looting, the peasants no longer have anything to eat. At the same time, because their cattle were driven away and their grain seeds were looted, they are no longer able to carry out spring sowing. In the neighboring village, Posarnica,<sup>673</sup> this militia killed 5 men and two children that day (8. 3. 42). In addition, they took many men ages between 14 and 70 from the villages of Posarnica<sup>674</sup> and Kolimer, and their whereabouts are not known. There are rumors in Tuzla that it is planned to add more battalions to this militia. What benefits they will mean for the protection of the population can easily be determined on the basis of these descriptions.

For accuracy

L. Peinig<sup>675</sup>

20. IV. 42.

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<sup>671</sup> Tošo.

<sup>672</sup> Potraš.

<sup>673</sup> Požarnica.

<sup>674</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>675</sup> L. Peinig.

No. 121

ON APRIL 25, 1942, KOSTIĆ SUBMITS TO AN SS CAPTAIN REPORTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE ATROCITIES BY THE USTASHAS IN CROATIA.<sup>676</sup>

Belgrade, April 25, 1942

Very respected Mr. SS Captain!<sup>677</sup>

I have the honor to send you attached data on the atrocities of the Ustashas in Croatia, which I was able to collect in this short period of time.

I would like to draw your special attention to two Serbian reports, which are very important, and which we could not translate due to the short time. I will be free to send you other reports on this issue in the coming days.

In addition, I enclose 10 photos that I have managed to acquire.

I am asking you, Mr. SS Captain, to accept on this occasion the expressions of my deepest respect.

Kostić personal signature<sup>678</sup>

Attachments:

8 reports

10 photos<sup>680</sup>

III A ppr. Engelman<sup>679</sup>

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<sup>676</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 409.

<sup>677</sup> Head of Department III of the BdS, SS Captain (*Hauptsturmführer*) Hans Rexeisen.

<sup>678</sup> The author of the document is probably Boško Kostić, personal secretary of Dimitrije Ljotić and associate of the institution of the Commander of the Police in Serbia (BdS); see also: S. C. Ćirković, *Ko je ko u Nedićevoj Srbiji*, 271-278.

<sup>679</sup> Marking of the office III A and signature of its head SS-*Untersturmführer* (ppr./*potporučnik*, SS-Second Class Lieutenant) Engelman. Illegible notes and the date 25. 4. 42 follow.

<sup>680</sup> Handwritten note.

REPORT ON THE MASS KILLINGS AND TORTURES OF THE SERB INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGES ALONG THE DRINA WHILE FLEEING TO SERBIA BY THE USTASHAS AND MUSLIMS IN APRIL 1942.<sup>681</sup>

S.[ource] Kostić, 25 April 42<sup>682</sup>

Croats' campaign of terror

On April 5, 1942, when the Germans withdrew from the village of Drinjača, the Ustashas came to the village together with the Muslims and on the same day they slaughtered Savić Stanko from the village of Lešnja. He was slaughtered by the son of Ibro Hedemović, a native of Kosirovo.

In the forest across the Drina, near the village of Čitluk, the Ustashas raped three women from the house of Ostojić from Drinjača.

Across the Drina, near the village of Budišić, the rape was committed in such a way that it could be seen from the opposite right bank.

On April 5 this year, the Ustashas, who were guarding the bridge near Zvornik, penetrated Drinjača and began looting Serbs. On this occasion, they publicly raped several women and girls.

On April 8 this year, the Ustashas arrived in the village of Pokom.<sup>683</sup> During the march through the Serbian settlements, they set these on fire.

As said by the refugees, the Ustashas killed all Serbs in Vlasenica.

On April 9, 1942, the Ustashas captured a Serb woman in the village of Polom, tortured her, cut off both her arms and legs, and then cut her body.

The Ustashas set fire to all Serbian villages in a row, so that on the night of April 8-9 this year, a huge fire could be seen across the Drina, rising high above the Polom Hill in the village of Kravić.<sup>684</sup>

On April 9, 1942, the Ustashas captured women and children near Grabovica, at the crossing over the Drina, killed them and threw them into the Drina. In that way about 50 people lost their lives. The same thing happened near Drinjača on the Drina, where about 50 people also lost their lives.

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<sup>681</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 410.

<sup>682</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>683</sup> Polom.

<sup>684</sup> Kravica.

On April 9, 1942, an Ustasha unit, together with Muslims, reached the town of Bjelovac in Bosnia, located at the height of the settlement of Grabovica in Serbia. There were about 30 women and children by the Drina, who wanted to move to Serbia, and who were slaughtered by the Ustashas and thrown into the Drina.

On the road from Bjelovac to Tegar,<sup>685</sup> an even larger number of women and children were killed and thrown into the Drina.

On April 8, 1942, the Ustashas and Muslims penetrated Drinjača at around 2 p.m., and at approximately 6 p.m. they arrived near the village of Uzovnica, where they slaughtered about 30 women and children on the bank of the Drina.

On April 9 and 10 this year, the Ustashas slaughtered 5 prominent Serbs from the area on the Drina opposite the village of Trišić,<sup>686</sup> Jadar District.

On April 10, 1942, the Ustashas killed many women and children near the village of Bjelovac and threw them into the Drina.

The Ustashas especially torture girls and little girls, raping them, mutilating them with a knife and then hanging them on a tree.

On April 11, 1942, a woman, frantic, while running away from the Ustashas across the Drina with her five children, threw her 6-month-old child into the Drina, while she managed to escape with the remaining four children.

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<sup>685</sup> Tegar.

<sup>686</sup> Tršić.

REPORT ON THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE SERBS FROM THE VICINITY OF BIJELJINA IN JANUARY 1942 AND ON THE MASS KILLINGS OF THE SERBS IN THE BOSANSKA KRUPA DISTRICT.<sup>687</sup>

S.[ource] Kostić, 25 April 42<sup>688</sup>

R E P O R T

on the events in Croatia in 1942 /the month of January/.

On January 26 and 27, 1942, 300 Serbs from the villages of Obarska, Batković, Svinjarevac, Gornja and Dolnja Pilica, Priješnica and Bavatun<sup>689</sup> were brought to the District Court in Bijeljina. The arrested had to undress and were barefoot and taken to prisons with concrete floors. Considering that water had previously abundantly poured over the concrete, it is quite understandable that people's feet froze.

Almost all the inhabitants of the town of Bosanska Krupa were massacred by the Ustashas in the cruellest ways. Half-dead Serbs were thrown into specially prepared pits near the King Alexander's Endowment after being previously wounded with knives, hoes, saws and other tools. A maximum of about 100 women and children and 12 men, who fled to Serbia, were saved.

Almost the entire male population died in Zborište, Bosanska Krupa District. Women and children were beaten with hoes, knives and sticks. And three days after the massacre, women and children could still be found lying around with their necks cut, but still alive, because their trachea remained unharmed. The church was burned down, it was full of women and children who sought refuge here.

In the village of Čaglica, eyewitnesses saw children being thrown into pits in the ground while still alive, and then smothered with stones, and further along the road they saw children wrapped in diapers with their heads cut off. One could also see children impaled on stakes.

Out of 35,000 Serbs from the Bosanska Krupa District, 15,000 have been killed so far. These are just some examples of the inhuman violence of the Croatian Ustashas.

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<sup>687</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 411.

<sup>688</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>689</sup> Balatun.

No. 124

STATEMENT OF SREĆKO ŽIVANOVIĆ FROM REPOVAC, BRATUNAC MUNICIPALITY, GIVEN ON APRIL 11, 1942, ON THE USTASHA MASS KILLINGS OF SERBS ON THE DRINA RIVER.<sup>690</sup>

S. [ource] Kostić, 25 April 42<sup>691</sup>

STATEMENT

Srećko Živanović, a peasant from Repovac, Bratunac Municipality, Srebrenica District, Bosnia, 39 years old, a Serb, who in the village of Bačevci, on 11 April 1942, stated:

On April 8, rumors spread about the Ustasha incursion, which were reinforced by shooting and fire in which the village of Kravice<sup>692</sup> vanished.

Panic-stricken, our villagers fled to the bank of the Drina. Women and children and cattle were to be transferred first, and we, the men, in the end.

On the 9th of this month, at around 2 p.m., a truck with about 30 armed men dressed in black appeared at the crossing point. At that moment, there were about 80 women, children and the elderly on the bank, completely unarmed, who were shot at by people from the vehicle, regardless of the fact that these were women and children and regardless of the fact that we raised our hands in surrender. In the meantime, two more trucks came with men dressed in black, who joined the shooting. When I saw the killing of women and children, I hid in the thicket on the bank. After the shooting stopped, the Ustashas began searching the area. When I saw that they would find me, I got up and shouted to them with raised hands: "I surrender". Despite all that, an Ustasha shot at me and a woman standing next to me.

There was a boat full of children and women on the bank. The Ustashas overturned it, so that everyone who was in it drowned. The children and women, who were still holding on to the overturned boat, were shot by the Ustashas from the bank, so that they sank, too.

As the Ustashas took me to the bank, they beat me fiercely with rifle butts. I and an old man Vladimir Đukanović, the Mayor of Bjelovac, Vojin

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<sup>690</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 412-413.

<sup>691</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>692</sup> Kravica. See: P. Đukanović, *Ustanak na Drini*, 172-180.

Grujić and his son Vojislav, together with his wife, were driven from the river to the village of Bjelovac. We were further beaten there. With the fiercest curses to the Serbian king, his mother, Gypsies, Nedić, Dangić and Račić, we were beaten. “You want to escape across the Drina to Nedić, do you think that we cannot get to you in Serbia?” one of them asked me.

Another one asked me if I was a Communist and when I answered that I was not, he hit me with the handle of his pistol, cursed fiercely and said: “So you are a Chetnik, do you see the one in the corner, he is also a Serb, but he is a better Serb than you. He is a Communist and he is fighting against you Chetniks together with us.” I really saw an armed civilian in the corner. “Do you want to cross, to go to Nedić?”, said a third man, “we will cross over to Serbia soon, and remember, not even a single child in the cradle will stay alive there.”

I was released upon the intervention of Hasan Fendić, the new Mayor of Bratunac, but when I realized that they were persecuting me and that they were looking for me at home, I fled to Serbia to save my life. My children and my three children, who remained in the village, have most likely been killed.

I can swear on this statement.

Srećko Živanović

STATEMENT OF BRANKO BULAT, ABOUT A MASS KILLING OF THE SERBS ON THE BANK OF THE DRINA BY THE USTASHA BLACK LEGION IN APRIL 1942.<sup>693</sup>

Source: Kostić 25. 4. 42<sup>694</sup>

S T A T E M E N T

by Branko Bulat from Bović, Vrginmost District in Croatia, 26-year-old Serb, primary school teacher, who declares under oath:

During the execution of an official order assignment, I got lost during the fighting near Bratunac on the Drina, and considering that I could not go further in daylight, I waited for the evening, hidden on the bank of the Drina in the bushes. With the first darkness, individual Ustasha groups came bank, so I entered the water and remained so hidden until 11:30. The Ustashes dragged women and children to the bank, slaughtered some with knives, shot others and threw them into the water. There could have been about 30 victims. When the Ustashes withdrew around 12 o'clock at night, I tried to swim to the other shore. A machine-gun fire was opened on me, and I managed to reach the other shore with great difficulty.

I must also add that on the Bosnian side near Bjelovac I saw a group of 18-25 corpses of women and children, who had fallen as victims of the Black Ustasha Legion the day before.

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<sup>693</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 414.

<sup>694</sup> Handwritten note.

ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF THE GERMAN GUARD FROM THE BRIDGE ON THE DRINA NEAR LJUBOVIIJA, ON APRIL 10, 1942, THE USTASHAS CARRIED OUT MASS RAPE AND SLAUGHTER OF SERBIAN WOMEN, WHICH WAS FOLLOWED BY AN EXCHANGE OF FIRE BETWEEN THE USTASHAS AND THE GERMANS.<sup>695</sup>

Excerpt from the daily report on the events of April 10, 1942 = V H K =.

2. The position of the enemy.

According to a received radio message of German troops stationed on the Serbian side on the bridge over the Drina near Ljubovija, the Ustashas, from the growing column of refugees on the bridge over the Drina, separated Serb women and girls, rape them on the Croatian bank of the Drina, and then slaughter them with knives. Their corpses are thrown into the Drina. When the German guards on the bridge wanted to prevent these killings, they shot at them from the Croatian side. After this, the commanding German officer, on his own responsibility, opened fire on the Ustashas. More precise details are not known yet.

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<sup>695</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 158.

ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF APRIL 11, 1942, AT THE ELEVATION OF LJUBOVIIJA, FIRE WAS EXCHANGED WITH CROATIAN LEGIONNAIRES WHO WERE KILLING SERB REFUGEES ON THE BANK OF THE DRINA.<sup>696</sup>

CONFIDENTIAL!

VB<sup>697</sup>

Excerpt

from the daily report on the events of April 11, 1942.

VHK – Mü./Sa.

2. / Situation with the enemy:

During the reported attack on the train on April 4 near Maglaj, one German soldier, three Croats and the train driver were abducted.

4. / Extraordinary events:

Croatian legionnaires from the west bank of the Drina at the point of Ljubovija [fired] at a motorized patrol of the 1st Armored Regiment 202 at the elevation of Grabovica and Vrhpolje, 5.5 and 8 km southeast of Ljubovija, respectively. The reconnaissance party of the Russian Industrial Protection – after returning fire, the legionnaires fled to the neighboring hills. No losses. The losses of the opposite party have not been determined. At the elevation of Grabovica, the shooting of Serb refugees by Croatian legionnaires was noticed. The corpses were thrown into the Drina.

Sgt. 1<sup>st</sup> Cl. Koller,<sup>698</sup> 1 non-commissioned officer and 3 men, who had been reported missing in the daily report of April 7, have been released from captivity.

Supplement to the daily report of 10. 4. 42:

On April 10, the commander of the Drina reconnaissance party noticed the shooting of Serb refugees by Croatian legionnaires on the Croatian bank

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<sup>696</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 271.

<sup>697</sup> Handwritten note. VB, official code of SS Major Weinmann.

<sup>698</sup> Sergeant First Class, *Oberfeldwebel* Koller. 'St. v.' stands for the rank in Serbian – *stariji vodnik*.

at the elevation of Ljubovija. In order to prevent further bloodshed, he intended to allow the refugees to cross over to the Serbian side, and launched the shout: "Don't shoot, German army here!" Despite that, the legionnaires opened fire on the motorized Drina reconnaissance party. The fire was returned. There are no losses, losses were not determined on the opposite side.

On April 9, a Serbian officer reported to the commander of the motorized Drina reconnaissance party that the Legionaries near Zelinje first raped and then slaughtered a part of the Serb women on the run.

No. 128

ON APRIL 20, 1942, THE CHIEF MEDICAL CORPS OFFICER AT THE COMMANDING GENERAL IN SERBIA SENT TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN A COPY OF DR. REUTER'S REPORT ON HIS VISIT TO THE AREA WITH SERB REFUGEES FROM BOSNIA.<sup>699</sup>

Chief Medical Corps Officer with the  
Commanding General and Commander in Serbia  
Br.Tgb. Nr. 250.

O.U.,<sup>700</sup> April 20, 194 [2]

Confidential

To Mr.  
SS Major Dr. We i n m a n n

Security Police and Security Service Task Force.

As a follow-up to the letter from this Service dated 15 April 42 (No. Tgb.Nr. 236/42 geh.), A carbon copy of the report on the official trip of Assistant Physician Dr. R e u t e r from 16-18. 4. 42 is sent as an attachment, with a request to take note thereof.

To be returned, please.

Dr. Hammer

1 attachment

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<sup>699</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 404.

<sup>700</sup> O.U., short for *Ortsunterkunft*, command post or place of accommodation.

No. 129

ON APRIL 21, 1942, THE CHIEF MEDICAL CORPS OFFICER AT THE COMMANDING GENERAL IN SERBIA SUBMITS TO DR. MAJOR WEINMANN DR. REUTER'S NOTES ON THE SITUATION ON THE DRINA.<sup>701</sup>

Chief Medical Corps Officer with the  
Commanding General and Commander in Serbia  
Br. B. Nr. 156/42<sup>702</sup>

O.U., April 21, 1942

Subject: Attached Note on the Situation on the Drina. CONFIDENTIAL

The Operational Group of the Security Police and the Security Service  
into the hands of SS Major Dr. Weinmann

Attached is a note on the situation on the Drina – personal note by the Assistant Physician Dr. Reuter – with a request to take note thereof and return.

Dr. Hammer, personal signature

Attachments!

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<sup>701</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 403.

<sup>702</sup> Handwritten number and date.

No. 130

ON APRIL 23, 1942, SS MAJOR WEINMANN RETURNS THE REPORTS ON DR. REUTER'S OFFICIAL TRIP TO THE AREA WITH SERB REFUGEES FROM BOSNIA AND TO THE SITES OF THE USTASHA MASSACRES OF SERBS TO THE CHIEF MEDICAL CORPS OFFICER WITH THE COMMANDING GENERAL IN SERBIA.<sup>703</sup>

Draft<sup>704</sup>

Commanding General and  
Commander in Serbia  
Administration Staff

Belgrade, April 23, 1942

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Medical Colonel Dr. H A M M E R  
To the Chief Medical Corps Officer with the Commanding General  
and Commander in Serbia

Belgrade.

Attached is the report on the official trip of the Assistant Physician Dr. Reuter from 16-18. 4. 42 to the area with Serb refugees as well as a note with his personal notes on the situation on the Drina.

Weinmann personal signature  
SS major

2 attachments  
2 acknowledgments of receipt  
Nr. 968 and 1001

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<sup>703</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 402.

<sup>704</sup> Handwritten note.

No. 131

REPORT OF THE CHIEF MEDICAL CORPS OFFICER OF THE COMMANDING GENERAL IN SERBIA ON APRIL 20, 1942, ON THE VISIT OF SERB REFUGEES FROM EASTERN BOSNIA, USTASHA CRIMES, NUMBER OF REFUGEES, THEIR ACCOMMODATION AND FEEDING.<sup>705</sup>

Ustasha atrocities<sup>706</sup>

O.U., April 20, 1942.

Transcript

Excerpt from the report  
Chief Medical Corps Officer with the  
Commanding General and Commander in Serbia

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Report of the Chief Medical Corps Officer of the Commanding General  
and the Commander in Serbia about the area with Serb refugees  
(Journey April 16-18, 42)

We visited the towns of Šabac, Loznica, Zvornik, Zuline,<sup>707</sup> Ljubovija, the main centers where thousands of Serb refugees from the Croatian territory have been staying since about 8 days ago. Members of their families were slaughtered by the Croatian Ustashes in the cruellest ways, they themselves had to flee across the Drina at night before the hordes that killed and burned, while the Partisans, Ustashes and armed Muslims continued to shoot at them. The road Zuline<sup>708</sup> – Ljubovija is still under enemy fire on April 17.

The number of refugees can only be approximated, considering that there is no official documentation, and many refugees have already gone far into the interior of Serbian territory. There could be about 12,000 more or less. The exiles were housed in four large groups on the Serbian bank of

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<sup>705</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 383.

<sup>706</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>707</sup> Culine.

<sup>708</sup> Same as previous.

the Drina and were mostly encamped in the open. Their diet is extremely poor and consists of some cooked corn flour and nettle soup. The main mass of the people was in Ljubovija and Zuline<sup>709</sup> (north of Ljubovija) as well as in the neighboring villages, and a smaller part in Koviljača and Bajina Bašta.

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<sup>709</sup> Same as previous.

DR. REUTER'S NOTES FROM APRIL 21, 1942, ABOUT THE MOOD AFTER DANGIĆ'S ARREST, ABOUT THE USTASHA MASS KILLING OF SERBS IN BJELOVAC, AND DISSATISFACTION WITH THE ATTITUDE OF THE GERMANS TOWARDS THE SERBS.<sup>710</sup>

Ustasha atrocities<sup>711</sup>

Transcript

Chief Medical Corps Officer with the  
Commanding General and Military Commander in Serbia

O.U., April 21, 1942

A record on the situation on the Drina.

(Personal records by Assistant Physician Dr. Reuter)

The leader of Ljotić's<sup>712</sup> group in Bajina Bašta, Miloš Lautner,<sup>713</sup> told me on April 17, 1942:

The group has been in action for 7 months now, but no one cares about it. In the last 8 weeks, it received seven pairs of shoes for 350 people, otherwise nothing. In contrast, the Russian Protection Corps received the best footwear and good Yugoslav uniforms, although the Russians do nothing and are almost unusable militarily, for they are all too old.

After Dangić's arrest<sup>714</sup>, Ljotić's people became insecure, because, given that they were Dangić's sympathizers, they fear that a stand against them in some form will be taken.

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<sup>710</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 394-397. See Figs. 17-20 and documents nos. 140 and 158 in this book.

<sup>711</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>712</sup> Dimitrije Ljotić.

<sup>713</sup> Lieutenant Miloš Lautner (Miloš Vojinović, Bogoljub Lautner), Commander of the 10th Regiment of the Serbian Volunteer Corps, the armed formations of the *Zbor* organization in occupied Serbia; See: M. Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića*, 182-184; S. C. Ćirković, *Ko je ko u Nedićevoj Srbiji*, 107.

<sup>714</sup> Dangić was arrested on April 12, 1942.

Dangić's people should be expected to cross over to the Partisans in large numbers from now on, in order to protect their back from the Ustashas and the Germans. Dangić's arrest could have far-reaching consequences for the insurgent movement throughout Bosnia and Sandžak.

It cannot be understood in Serbian circles that the Germans are watching the Ustasha atrocities so calmly and that they still expect the Serbs to be on their side.

The driving force behind the Ustasha killings is the Roman Catholic Church. Priests incite Ustashas to kill. They give them brandy and bless them before their marauding attacks. They tell them that with this mission they will perform a God-pleasing deed when they ruthlessly eradicate the heretical Orthodox men together with women and children. Priests from Croatia want to make a stronghold of the Roman Catholic Church and a bastion against all future anti-Catholic efforts.

In the afternoon of April 17, 1942, I visited the village of Bijelovac<sup>715</sup> on the other side of the Drina, 6 km away from Ljubovija. Six days ago, the Ustashas came here in seven trucks, killed women and children for one and a half to two hours, and then left again. Most of the corpses were immediately dumped in the Drina, and the rest were later buried by the Serbs.

In front of the village, there was a large open space, where traces of murders, scattered pieces of clothing, dried ponds of blood, broken furniture, etc. could be found all around.

In one place lay what was left of a female corpse and a corpse of a small child, which they had dogs devour (Attachment, Fig. 1).

There were a lot of clothes for women and children in one place. The ground was soaked with blood. (Fig. 2)

An inverted cradle hung in a bush, and beds and a children's shirt lay next to it. (Fig. 3)

On the bank of the Drina, I saw a dog devouring a woman's corpse, of which only the skull, pelvis and womb remained. The intestine lay like a long rope pulled between the rocks on the shore. (Fig. 4)

At a distance of about 3 km from the Drina, there was a fresh grave of a corpse found only a few days later. I had it opened. It was a woman who had severe stab wounds and multiple fractures, as well as large hemorrhages, which must have been caused by blows to the forehead and right temple.

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<sup>715</sup> Bjelovac.

There were stab wounds on the neck and wide cuts on the chest and body. The right ear was cut in half and torn (Figures 5 and 6).

It is stated everywhere that the Ustashas were drunk during this attack. Among them were several who did not wear a “U” on their hats, yet they had the Soviet five-pointed star. These Partisans did everything that the Ustashas ordered, so it is obvious that the latter had command.

After the withdrawal of the Ustashas, this territory was occupied by Dangić’s men. They are slowly pushing the Ustashas northward and westward, but they lack weapons and ammunition. They buy ammunition from Serbia, one bullet for 5 Dinars.

The commander of Dangić’s men there is the former active court captain Voja Kordonski from Belgrade. In a conversation with him, when Dangić’s brother<sup>716</sup> was present, among others, the commander stated that he hated the Germans and after the issue of Partisans and Ustashas was resolved, he was waiting to go against the Germans. He, like all Serbs, would gladly maintain a sincere friendship with Germany, because they admire that country and in fact do not have any really conflicting interests with it. However, he does not see any possibility for an agreement, considering that Germany’s attitude, and especially lately, was such that it cannot expect Serbs to be its friends.

In the Balkans, Germany pursues one policy towards different parties. It promises a lot and doesn’t stick to anything. The former trust in German assurances no longer exists.

Germany must take a clear position if it wants to live in friendship with the Serbian people. It must first take an undoubtedly friendly attitude towards all Serbs, even towards those on the other side of the new border. Instead, Germany is friendly towards the Serbs within the new borders, but supports or tolerates all efforts directed against the Serbs outside these borders. It doesn’t want to see what is really going on. The main blame for that lies with Berlin, which has no idea about the real situation in the Balkans and rejects it as a marginal one, without seeing clearly its great role, which it still has today, and which it will have in the future in the war events.

Signed  
Dr. Reuter  
Assistant Physician

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<sup>716</sup> Vojin Dangić.

No. 133

EXCERPT FROM A NOTE OF THE CHIEF MEDICAL CORPS OFFICER OF THE COMMANDING GENERAL IN SERBIA, DATED APRIL 21, 1942, ABOUT THE VISITATION TO THE VILLAGE OF BJELOVAC.<sup>717</sup>

Excerpt from a note attached to the Situation on the Drina of the Chief Medical Corps Officer with the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia dated 21 April 1942.

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In the afternoon of April 17, 1942, I visited the village of Bijelovac<sup>718</sup> on the other side of the Drina, 6 km away from Ljubovija. Six days ago, the Ustashas came here in seven trucks, killed women and children for one and a half to two hours, and then left again. Most of the corpses were immediately dumped in the Drina, and the rest were later buried by the Serbs. In front of the village, there was a large open space, where traces of murders, scattered pieces of clothing, dried ponds of blood, broken furniture, etc. could be found all around.

In one place lay the remains of a female corpse and of a small child, which they threw to the dogs to devour.

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<sup>717</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 163.

<sup>718</sup> Bjelovac.

No. 134

EXCERPT FROM A NOTE OF THE CHIEF MEDICAL CORPS OFFICER OF THE COMMANDING GENERAL IN SERBIA, APRIL 21, 1942, ABOUT THE EXHUMATION OF A WOMAN'S BODY NEAR THE DRINA RIVER.<sup>719</sup>

Excerpt from a note attached of the Chief Medical Corps Officer with the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia on the Situation on the Drina, dated 21 April 1942.

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About 3 km away from the Drina, there was a fresh grave of one body that was found only after a few days. I had it opened. It was one woman, who had severe stab wounds and multiple fractures on her forehead and right temple, as well as large hemorrhages, which certainly originated from beating. There were also stab wounds on the neck and wide cuts on the chest and body. The right ear was half cut off or torn off.

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<sup>719</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 161.

THE GESTAPO FROM BERLIN REPORTS TO SS LIEUTENANT COLONEL SCHÄFER, ON APRIL 20, 1942, THAT EUGEN KVATERNIK WAS DENYING THE USTASHA MASSACRES IN BOSNIA AND THAT HIMMLER'S DECISION ON THE ISSUE WAS AWAITED.<sup>720</sup>

Radio service of the  
Security Police and Security Services

Recorded Time day month year 1432 20 4 42.	Space for stamp of receipt	Dispatched Time day month year
From Bln.	Through Nü.	From Through
Nr. 1063	Telegram – radio message – telegraph telephone message	

Berlin Nr. 8452 Urgent! Deliver immediately!  
To the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in B e l -  
g r a d e, into the hands of SS Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Schäfer.<sup>721</sup>

During his conversation with SS Major H e l m,<sup>722</sup> State Secretary K v a t e r n i k<sup>723</sup> resolutely disputed that the Ustashas had carried out the massacres in Bosnia. This was done by the Serbian Chetniks. After all, normal life has almost returned to Bosnia. This is primarily the merit of Lieutenant

<sup>720</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 393.

<sup>721</sup> SS-Obersturmbannführer (SS-Lieutenant Colonel) Emanuel Schaefer/Schäfer was the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in Belgrade (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienst* in Belgrade, abbreviated: BdS), i.e. the head of the police services in Serbia. He was subordinated to the senior leader of the SS and the police, SS General (*Gruppenführer*) August Meyszner, but also to the Reich Security Main Office in Berlin (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, abbreviated: RSHA) with which he had direct communication.

<sup>722</sup> *Sturmbannführer* (SS-major) Hans Helm, Police Attaché at the German Embassy in Zagreb, Head of the German Intelligence Service in the Independent State of Croatia.

<sup>723</sup> Eugen Kvaternik.

Colonel F r a n c e t i ć,<sup>724</sup> who liberated<sup>725</sup> Bosnia in 9 days without the help of the German Wehrmacht. The institutions of the German services in Belgrade were probably unilaterally informed by N e d i ć.<sup>726</sup> The SS General's decision has not yet arrived. SS Lieutenant General Müller<sup>727</sup> ordered me to wait for a decision here.

Signed:  
Müller<sup>728</sup>

SS Lieutenant Colonel

Note:<sup>729</sup>

in<sup>730</sup> K III

III F 21.4.

VB<sup>731</sup> 24/4

III A Report on Ustasha atrocities to be prepared (urgent)!

Markov<sup>732</sup> 24. 4. 42.

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<sup>724</sup> Jure Francetić.

<sup>725</sup> Underlined with a pencil and a question mark put (case handler).

<sup>726</sup> General Milan Nedić.

<sup>727</sup> SS-*Gruppenführer*, SS Lieutenant General Heinrich Müller, Head of the Gestapo, i.e. IV Department (*Geheime Staatspolizei*, abbreviated: Gestapo) in the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), the central police institution of the Third Reich.

<sup>728</sup> *Obersturmbannführer* Müller.

<sup>729</sup> All the following notes are handwritten by the persons working on cases from various offices within the III department of the institution BdS.

<sup>730</sup> Two illegible words.

<sup>731</sup> Official code (VB) and Weinmann's initials.

<sup>732</sup> Dimitrije Markov (Markow), interpreter and assistant chief of Office III A. There follow three illegible words and initials.

No. 136

ON APRIL 20, 1942, SS LIEUTENANT COLONEL SCHÄFER SUBMITS TO THE GESTAPO CHIEF MÜLLER INFORMATION ABOUT THE MASS KILLINGS OF THE SERBS IN EASTERN BOSNIA BY THE MUSLIM LEGION AS THE CAUSE OF THE UNREST AND ABOUT THE QUESTION OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GERMANS.<sup>733</sup>

20. IV. 1942

K III RX/LP B. Nr. 2874/42

Sent 22. IV. 1942<sup>734</sup>

1. Letter

For

Reich Security Main Office – Department IV -

SS Lieutenant General and Lieutenant General of the Police

Müller<sup>735</sup>

-o.V.i.A.-

Berlin.

Subject: New atrocities of Croats and Muslims in the area of Tuzla, eastern Bosnia.

Reference: Known.

Attachments: 11

A reliable notification has just arrived from the VM<sup>736</sup> from eastern Bosnia, which contains eyewitness statements, which were partly taken from the City Command in Tuzla. They describe the horrific savagery of the so-called Muslim Legion under their intimidator Hadžiefendić from Tupković, which attacked the Serb villages of Jegin Lug, Rajinci<sup>737</sup>, Kalesija Municipality,

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<sup>733</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 384-386.

<sup>734</sup> Stamp of dispatch.

<sup>735</sup> SS-*Gruppenführer*, SS-Lieutenant General Heinrich Müller, Head of the Gestapo, i.e. Department IV within the Reich Security Main Office, also had the title of the Police Lieutenant General (*Generalleutnant der Polizei*).

<sup>736</sup> Code for representative: VM, *Vertrauensmann*.

<sup>737</sup> Rainci.

Požarnica, insidiously killed peaceful civilians, mostly women and children, and robbed the villages. The eyewitnesses escaped machine gun fire outbursts by mere chance.

Muhamed Hadžiefendić, the leader of the Muslim Legion from Tuzla, is known to be a 54-year-old man who works in his father's shop. He used to be an Austro-Hungarian reserve ensign, then reached the rank of a reserve major in the Yugoslav army, he was a member of the Sokol Society<sup>738</sup> and during Yugoslavia he pretended to be a great fiery patriot. He participated in many Sokol events and festivals in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and even was a delegate of the Sokol Society in Paris once.

During Cvetković's government, he was provided concessions for mining explosives in the vicinity of Tuzla.

He is considered a Hochstapler<sup>739</sup>. His shop with manufactured goods is full of Jewish goods, which he received from the Jews by agreement. For a long time, his neighbor, who is Jewish, was employed in his shop. Last year, he founded the so-called Muslim Legion of the People's Uprising against Communism in Zagreb and Tupković. Allegedly, the entire wealth of many rich Jews in Tuzla was promised to him. He goes to Zagreb very often and it seems that he has strong connections there.

Apart from reporting on atrocities in the Tuzla area, other reports have arrived about those against Požarnica and the village of Kolimer, and they follow as a transcript. Among these reports, there are several that contain data on the damage caused by the criminal murder committed by the Ustashas, that is, the Muslim Legionaries.

Such incomprehensible atrocities are constantly repeated in those parts which have just been liberated by the insurgents or have shown no tendency to revolt at all. Thus, the Serb population in Bosnia is increasingly convinced that their eradication is in line with a resolute intention, and therefore the insurgents always have a new influx of the frightened and the desperate as well as ready for anything Serbs, who essentially follow no political or Communist tendencies, but only defend their bare life and the bare life of their

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<sup>738</sup> *Sokoli* ('Falcons') were athletes, members of the pan-Slavic Soko(l) Movement (founded in Prague, in 1862) as an all-age gymnastics organization, following the principle of "a strong mind in a sound body"; their sports halls/gymnasiums (*sokolski domovi*) were built in numerous towns where local organizations (*sokolska društva*) existed, especially in the Slav-settled lands of Austro-Hungary. – *Subeditor's note*.

<sup>739</sup> *Hochstapler* is German word for a nice-mannered fraud, role player. – *Subeditor's note*.

closest family members and, if possible, their property. The refugees, who fled to Serbia from the medieval-style murdering arson, always bring unrest to the local areas and disrupt the calming trend in the Serb-settled territories, as well as trust in the German administration.

It cannot be ignored that not only the entire Serbian population, but also other peoples living there, ultimately hold the Reich responsible for this barbarism, because everyone says that Croatia would never dare to continue committing such atrocities, if the Reich did not tolerate them. Such thoughts can hardly be opposed even by completely pro-German-oriented people, especially since the indication of some possible inability of the Reich would not be recommendable or credible. The pacification of Bosnia is becoming an increasingly key issue for achieving peace in the Balkans.

Signed  
Dr. Schäfer  
SS Lieutenant Colonel

For accuracy<sup>740</sup>

- 2.) G III m. d. B. u. deliver with<sup>741</sup>                      23/4 K III
- 3.) L
- 4.) VB
- 5.) VHK
- 6.) IV
- 7.) VI for information<sup>742</sup>

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<sup>740</sup> Illegible signature.

<sup>741</sup> Illegible, initials and date.

<sup>742</sup> Codes of Police departments and persons to receive the document.

No. 137

SS LIEUTENANT COLONEL SCHÄFER SUBMITS TO SS MAJOR HELM IN ZAGREB, DATA ON THE MASS KILLING OF SERBS IN EASTERN BOSNIA BY THE MUSLIM LEGION, AS A CAUSE OF UNREST AND ON THE ISSUE OF GERMAN RESPONSIBILITY.<sup>743</sup>

20. IV. 1942

B. Nr. 2874/42  
K III RX/LP B.Nr.

Sent 22. IV. 1942<sup>744</sup>

1. Letter  
To  
~~Operational Command of Security Police  
and Security Services~~

the Police Attaché at the German Embassy in Zagreb  
into the hands of Helm<sup>745</sup>

Zagreb.

Subject: New atrocities of Croats and Muslims in the area of Tuzla,  
eastern Bosnia.  
Reference: Known.  
Attachments: 11

A reliable notification has just arrived from the VM<sup>746</sup> from Eastern Bosnia, which contains eyewitness statements and which were partly taken in the City Command in Tuzla. They describe the horrific savagery of the so-called Muslim Legion under their intimidator Hadžiefendić from Tupković, which attacked the Serb villages of Jegin Lug, Rajinci<sup>747</sup>, the Municipality of Kalesija, Požarnica, insidiously killed peaceful civilians, mostly women and

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<sup>743</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 390-392.

<sup>744</sup> Stamp of dispatch.

<sup>745</sup> Below the crossed-out text, handwritten: SS Major Hans Helm.

<sup>746</sup> Code for representative: VM, *Vertrauensmann*.

<sup>747</sup> Rainci.

children, and robbed the villages. The eyewitnesses escaped machine gun fire outbursts by mere chance.

Muhamed Hadžiefendić, the leader of the Muslim Legion from Tuzla, is known to be a 54-year-old man and to work in his father's shop. He used to be an Austro-Hungarian reserve ensign, then reached the rank of a reserve major in the Yugoslav army, he was a member of the Sokol Society and during Yugoslavia he pretended to be a great enthusiastic patriot. He participated in many Sokol events and festivals in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and even was a delegate of the Sokol Society in Paris once. During Cvetković's government, he was provided concessions for mining explosives in the vicinity of Tuzla.

He is considered a Hochstapler. His shop with manufactured goods is full of Jewish goods, which he received from the Jews by agreement. For a long time, his neighbor, who is Jewish, was employed in his shop. Last year, he founded the so-called Muslim Legion of the People's Uprising against Communism in Zagreb and Tupković. Allegedly, the entire wealth of many rich Jews in Tuzla was promised to him. He goes to Zagreb very often and it seems that he has great connections there.

Apart from reporting on atrocities in the Tuzla area, other reports have arrived about those from the area of Požarnica and the village of Kolimer, and they follow as a transcript. Among these reports, there are several that contain data on the damage caused by the criminal murder committed by the Ustashes, that is, the Muslim Legionaries.

Such incomprehensible atrocities are constantly repeated in those areas which have just been liberated by the insurgents or have not shown any tendencies for an uprising at all. Thus, the Serb population in Bosnia is increasingly convinced that their eradication is in line with a resolute intention, and therefore the insurgents always have a new influx of the frightened and the desperate as well as all ready Serbs, who essentially follow no political or Communist tendencies, but only defend their bare life and the bare life of their closest family members and, if possible, their property. The refugees, who fled to Serbia from the medieval-style murdering arson, always bring unrest to the local areas and disrupt the calming trend in the Serb-settled territories, as well as trust in the German administration.

It cannot be ignored that not only the entire Serbian population, but also other peoples living there, ultimately hold the Reich responsible for this barbarism, because everyone says that Croatia would never dare to continue committing such atrocities, if the Reich did not tolerate them. Such thoughts

can hardly be opposed even by completely pro-German-oriented people, especially since the indication of some possible inability of the Reich would not be recommendable or credible. The pacification of Bosnia is becoming an increasingly key issue for achieving peace in the Balkans.

For accuracy<sup>748</sup>

Signed  
Dr. Schäfer  
SS Lieutenant Colonel

- 2.) G III m. d. B. u. deliver to
- 3.) L
- 4.) VB
- 5.) VHK
- 6.) IV
- 7.) VI for information<sup>749</sup>

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<sup>748</sup> Illegible signature.

<sup>749</sup> Codes of Police departments and persons to receive the document.

No. 138

ON APRIL 22, 1942, SS MAJOR HEINRICH REPORTS FROM SARAJEVO REPORTS TO SS LIEUTENANT COLONEL SCHÄFER ABOUT THE LARGE-SCALE ARREST OF PARTISAN AIDES IN SARAJEVO AND THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF TORTURING PRISONERS.<sup>750</sup>

Transcript.

Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
Sarajevo Operational Command.

214/42.

Sarajevo, April 22, 42

For  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
SS Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Schäfer,  
o.V.i.A.  
Belgrade.

Inform: Police Attaché in Zagreb.

Subject: Partisan ties in Sarajevo – Action against Communists.

Reference: The last letter from here B. Nr. 198 and 203 of 17 and 18 April.

On April 18 and 19, 7 officers of the Croatian Armed Forces were arrested, including one colonel and one lieutenant colonel, as well as one Croatian aircraft second class lieutenant. Numerous arrests were also made in places outside Sarajevo, for example 50 people were arrested in Visoko. Among them, however, is one of Govedić's<sup>751</sup> supporters, who publicly spoke out against the Jews as early as in 1937, and in 1939 he was punished by the Yugoslav authorities. The police were informed.

In general, it should be noted that numerous mistakes were probably made again by the Croatian police. Furthermore, the treatment of prisoners,

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<sup>750</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 401.

<sup>751</sup> Slavko Govedić, leader of the Croatian National Socialist Party, which joined the Ustasha organization in the fall of 1941; See: *Tko je tko u NDH*, 135-136 (Z. Dizdar and M. Rupić).

or rather – the abuse of prisoners – is the subject of widespread discussion in the city and is a cause of great upset. Considering that the result of this action was very successful, by the German services, and from this place as well, the police were given moral support in every sense, so that the Partisan and Communist nest was really thoroughly destroyed. There are certain indications, however, that the investigative police authorities were thirsty for blood and the like, as has happened many times before, they by far overdid their measures, thus creating new hotbeds of unrest among the population. We will closely monitor further development.

Chief of Operational Command  
Sarajevo  
signed by Dr. Heinrich<sup>752</sup>  
SS Major

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<sup>752</sup> Alfred Heinrich.

GENERAL NEDIĆ REPORTS TO THE GERMAN GENERAL ON APRIL 25, 1942, THAT HE ORDERED A BAN ON SHOOTING AT THE OTHER BANK OF THE DRINA RIVER AND SUBMITS THE REPORT OF THE BORDER GUARD NEAR LJUBOVIJA, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE USTASHA AND THE MOHAMMEDANS ARE KILLING ALL SERBS AND THROWING THEM INTO THE DRINA RIVER.<sup>753</sup>

Transcript!

President of the Ministerial Council  
Belgrade, April 25, 1942

Mr. General!<sup>754</sup>

In accordance with your order, I used the shortest possible path to send an order to all official institutions along the Drina river, that under no circumstances should a single bullet be fired at the other bank. I firmly believe that this order will be most strictly respected by all those to whom it applies.

I have the honor to submit for your esteemed information the translation of a report submitted to me by the Border Guard Commander:

“During the last 10 days, there were constant firearms attacks by the Ustashas on the right bank of the Drina, on the occasion of the Ustasha occupation of those territories that were previously held by the Communists. Such attacks with firearms took place by the bridge near Ljubovija, near the village of Uzovljica,<sup>755</sup> near the village of Grabovnica<sup>756</sup>, near Gornja Bukvica,<sup>757</sup> Vrh Polje<sup>758</sup> and Drlac.<sup>759</sup> Fortunately, no one

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<sup>753</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 541.

<sup>754</sup> It is probably the Plenipotentiary and Commanding General in Serbia, Artillery General Paul Bader.

<sup>755</sup> Uzovnica.

<sup>756</sup> Grabovica.

<sup>757</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>758</sup> Vrhpolje.

<sup>759</sup> Drlače.

was hit by Ustasha bullets on Serbian territory, and yet it was possible to see with the naked eye what the Ustashas and Mohammedans were doing to the population on the other side of the Drina, those trying to save themselves on the Serbian side. They shot at everyone they came across, they literally slaughtered many unfortunates, and then threw the dead and the living into the Drina. The Ustashas and the Mohammedans then shot at these desperate people in the water who tried to save themselves by swimming. The shootings towards the Serbian bank were, in all likelihood, intended primarily for those few survivors who managed to reach the Serbian bank.”

Allow me, Mr. General, to express to you on this occasion the expressions of my deepest respect and appreciation.

signed by Nedić  
General  
President of the Ministerial Council.

No. 140

ON APRIL 28, 1942, SS LIEUTENANT COLONEL SCHÄFER SUBMITS TO SS GENERAL MEISSNER REPORTS ON THE ATROCITIES OF THE USTASHAS AGAINST THE SERB POPULATION IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA, AND ESPECIALLY IN BOSNIA, AND ON THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF THE TORTURE OF ARRESTED PARTISAN AIDES IN SARAJEVO.<sup>760</sup>

SENIOR LEADER OF SS AND POLICE                      Belgrade, April 28, 1942  
on the territory of the Plenipotentiary Commanding                      telephone 22-103  
General in Serbia  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
in Belgrade

III A En/Fli B.Nr.

III<sup>761</sup> 30/4

For

Senior leader of the SS and the Police in Serbia

SS General and Lieutenant General of Police

Meyszner<sup>762</sup>

Belgrade.

Subject: Ustasha atroc.[ities]

Reference: stated.

Attachments: – –

Attached are transcripts of reports made here recently, which inform on the atrocities and violence of the Usthas against the Serb population in the Independent State of Croatia – and especially in Bosnia.

Furthermore, the attached photographs<sup>763</sup> of the victims of these crimes can document the veracity of the situations presented in the reports.

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<sup>760</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 442. See Fig. 17 to Fig. 20 and documents Nos. 132 and 158 in this book.

<sup>761</sup> Illegible handwritten note.

<sup>762</sup> August von Meyszner.

<sup>763</sup> An illegible remark underlined and on the margins.

The External Command in Sarajevo<sup>764</sup>, in a letter dated 22 April 42, which is also attached to the transcript, reports that in connection with an action against the Communists and Partisans in Sarajevo, there is fear from further bloodthirstiness by the engaged organs of police and that it will introduce new hotbeds of unrest.

Since the attached photos are only available in one copy here, we ask that they be returned.

SS Lieutenant Colonel

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<sup>764</sup> *Aussenkommando* Sarajevo; refers to the Operational Command of the Security Police and the Security Service of Sarajevo (*Einsatzkommando* Sipo-SD-Sarajevo). See document 135 in this book.

No. 141

ON APRIL 28, 1942, GENERAL NEDIĆ FORWARDS A TELEGRAM TO THE HEAD OF THE ADMINISTRATION STAFF TURNER, ASKING FOR PERMISSION FOR THE SERBIAN REFUGEES THREATENED WITH DEATH BY THE USTASHAS TO CROSS THE DRINA.<sup>765</sup>

Ustasha<sup>766</sup> In Act 1/5  
Kiessel 29/4

PRESIDENT  
OF THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL  
Conf. Nr. 749  
Belgrade, April 28, 1942.

Mr. State Counselor!

I have just received a telegram which I am forwarding below:

“Ustashas are killing all Serbs and burning all villages. Women and children wander along the left bank of the Drina and beg to cross to the other side. On the right bank, however, no one is helping them, so they are left to certain death by the Ustasha knife. The need to intervene is therefore most urgent so that German and Russian units along the Drina should receive an order to approve the crossing of the civilian population in the area from Ljubovija to Stari Brod. The Commissariat for Refugees should save these people from death of starvation.”

Submitting the above telegram to your esteemed awareness, I have the honor to ask you to urgently advocate that the services in charge issue an

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<sup>765</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 441.

<sup>766</sup> Handwritten notes, partly illegible. Dr. Georg Kiessel with the title of Senior War Administration Adviser (*Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat*), was the Deputy Chief of Administration Staff of the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia, SS General State Counselor (*Staatsrat*) Harald Turner.

appropriate order so that these unfortunate, innocent and persecuted people on the Bosnian eastern border are saved.

Military Commander in Serbia  
30. IV. 1942<sup>768</sup>

Neditch<sup>767</sup> personal signature

General  
President of  
Serbian Government

For  
Mr.  
State Counselor  
Dr. Turner  
Chief of Administration Staff of the  
Commanding General and Commander in Serbia  
Belgrade

III K<sup>769</sup> 4/5

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<sup>767</sup> Nedić.

<sup>768</sup> Stamp of receipt.

<sup>769</sup> Illegible note.

No. 142

ON APRIL 28, 1942, THE CHIEF OF THE ADMINISTRATION STAFF REPORTS TO THE COMMANDING GENERAL IN SERBIA THAT THE USTASHAS WERE OPENING FIRE ON BORDER GUARD TROOPS AND GERMAN SOLDIERS, THAT THEY WERE MASSACRING THE SERB POPULATION ON THE BANK OF THE DRINA RIVER, AND APPEALS ON HIM TO PUT AN END TO THOSE KILLINGS.<sup>770</sup>

Transcript

Plenipotentiary and Commanding General in Serbia Belgrade, April 28, 42  
/Commander in Serbia, Administration Staff/  
Tg. Nr. 2151/42 i – II

Subject: Cross-border incidents.

For  
Commanding General and Commander in Serbia  
Dept. I c

Belgrade

I am submitting the following transcript of a letter from the Ministry of the Interior dated 22 April 1942 with a request to take note of and possibly undertake a further action:

“On the night of the 9th of this month, large groups of Ustasha units, which were moving along the Drina, suddenly and completely without reason opened fierce fire on the right bank of the Drina, that is, on the village of Uzovnica, which is located on the Serbian territory. The same thing happened at noon on the 9th of this month, during which mortars and automatic weapons were fired at the Serbian coast. The Commander of the Serbian state guard in the Šabac District, Major Mandriović, was with the border police commander, Captain Pavlović, on the road opposite to the Bosnian village of Bjelovac, to investigate the causes of this armed attack, when fierce fire was opened on them, as well as on German escort soldiers”.

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<sup>770</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 537-538.

Shortly afterwards, 4 trucks with Ustashas set off from Bjelovac in the direction of the village of Sikirić, where they opened fire on the Serb population from Sikirić and Tegar,<sup>771</sup> who began to flee in the direction of the village of Faković.<sup>772</sup> While still in Bjelovac, the Ustashas attacked hard the fugitives, mostly women and children, stabbed them with bayonets, and then threw the dead and wounded into the Drina. The road from Bjelovac to the village of Tegar<sup>773</sup> was literally covered with the corpses of women and children.

One part of the women and girls on the run were surrounded by the Ustashas and raped there on the open road, mothers in front of their children, and girls before the eyes of their mothers, only to be slaughtered or thrown alive into the Drina immediately thereafter.

From the bank heretowards, the Ustashas mockingly shouted at the Serbian border guards, who had to watch all these atrocities: “Until St. George’s Day<sup>774</sup>, no Serbian mother in Bosnia and Serbia will be able to call her son, because there will be no more of them left!”

I have the honor to reiterate my repeatedly expressed request, that everything be done to finally put an end to these horrible killings of the peaceful and innocent Serb population on the other side of the Drina.

For the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia  
Chief of Administration Staff  
signed by order, signature

For accuracy<sup>775</sup>  
13. 5. 42.

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<sup>771</sup> Tegare.

<sup>772</sup> Fakovići.

<sup>773</sup> Tegare.

<sup>774</sup> The Serbian Orthodox believers celebrate St. George’s Day (*Đurđevdan*) on May 6, sticking to the Julian calendar. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>775</sup> Illegible.

No. 143

ON APRIL 30, 1942, THE COMMANDING GENERAL IN SERBIA SUBMITS TO THE POLICE COMMANDER IN BELGRADE THE LATEST REPORTS ON, AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF, ATROCITIES IN CROATIA.<sup>776</sup>

Commanding General  
and Commander in Serbia  
Section I c/AO<sup>777</sup>  
1462/42 Sec.[ret]

Belgrade, April 30, 42

CONFIDENTIAL

Security Police and Security Service Belgrade  
4. V. 1942  
Office: B III B. No. 3274/42<sup>778</sup>

Subject: Atrocities in Croatia.

Reference: none

Attachments: 2

For  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
Belgrade.

K III

RSHA<sup>779</sup>

5/5<sup>780</sup>

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<sup>776</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 506.

<sup>777</sup> I c/AO, Intelligence Department of the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia. It was headed by Major Carl Calsow.

<sup>778</sup> Stamp of reception; illegible initials.

<sup>779</sup> Handwritten marking of the office in charge, abbreviation of the Reich Security Main Office.

<sup>780</sup> Illegible initials.

Attached are excerpts from the report, which arrived within 14 days, as well as several individual reports worthy of attention and photographs along with these, with a request to take note.

For the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia  
Chief of General Staff

by order  
Major.<sup>781</sup>

III A<sup>782</sup> 6/5

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<sup>781</sup> Illegible signature.

<sup>782</sup> Marking of the office and initials.

REVIEW OF EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORTS BY THE GERMAN MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE COMMANDS ON THE BRUTAL KILLINGS OF THE SERB POPULATION BY USTASHAS AND MUSLIM LEGIONARIES IN THE BOSNIAN PODRINJE AREA FROM APRIL 1 TO 22, 1942.<sup>783</sup>

Review of excerpts from the reports  
on the atrocities in Croatia (1. – 22. 4. 42).

9.4. 714. J.D.<sup>784</sup>

Near Zelinja (4 /SO<sup>785</sup> Drinjača), Serb women refugees were first raped and then slaughtered by the Croatian legionaries. (Report of the Serbian officer) – German troops considered that it was legionnaires who left the bridgehead without the knowledge of their commander.

10.4. 714. J.D.

On the Croatian bank, at the elevation of Ljubovija, the shooting of Serbian refugees by Croatian legionnaires. The commander of the motorized Drina reconnaissance unit wanted to allow the refugees to cross to the Serbian side, in order to prevent further bloodshed. Despite the calls: “Don’t shoot, German army here”, the legionnaires opened fire on the motorized Drina reconnaissance unit.

10.4. 714. J.D.

At the elevation of Grabovica, the shooting of Serb refugees by the Croatian legionnaires was noticed, and the bodies were thrown into the Drina.

11. 4. Ast.<sup>786</sup>

Near Krasanovići on the left bank of the Drina, the Croats fired from a car at a school and inn in Uzovnica (7/NNW<sup>787</sup> Ljubovija), on the right bank of the Drina.

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<sup>783</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 507-509.

<sup>784</sup> 714. I. D. abbreviated from 714. *Infanteriedivision* (714th Infantry Division).

<sup>785</sup> Abbreviation: *Südost*, Southeast.

<sup>786</sup> Military Intelligence Office, Abwehr (*Abwehrstelle*, abbreviated *Ast.*).

<sup>787</sup> International abbreviation: North-Northwest.

9. 4. Ast.

In Bjelovac (4/SO Ljubovija), 30 Serb refugees were slaughtered and thrown into the Drina by the Croats. The number of women and children killed by the Croats on the road Bjelovac – Tegara<sup>788</sup> (9/SO Ljubovija) should be significantly higher.

12.4. 717. J.D.<sup>789</sup>

On the bend of the Drina, about 3,500 refugees, women with children, were found to have poor accommodation and food circumstances.

14. 4. Ast.

The number of refugees killed by the Croats near Bjelovac (compare the report Ast. 9. 4.) was reported to be 60. 200 refugees were thrown into the Drina from the Ljubovija bridge. In Zelinja (4/Municipality of Drinjača), the Croats overturned a boat with refugees. Number of victims 64.

One Croat demanded that a Serb refugee join the Partisans and fight alongside the Croats.

After cleaning the left bank of the Drina, the Croats allegedly want to move to the right bank of the Drina in order to further slaughter the Serbs.

10. 4. Ast.

As seen from the Zvornik bridge, 39 bodies of women and children were counted in the Drina river.

A peasant from Grabovac<sup>790</sup> reported that his sixth son had been killed by the Ustashas so far.

Croatian Lieutenant Colonel Francetić<sup>791</sup> is not fighting with the Partisans anywhere.

Near Šekovići (14/NO<sup>792</sup> Kladanj), the Partisans and Ustashas are fighting together against the Chetniks.<sup>793</sup>

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<sup>788</sup> Tegare.

<sup>789</sup> 717. J. D. abbreviation of 717. Infanteriedivision (717. Infantry division).

<sup>790</sup> Grabovica.

<sup>791</sup> Jure Francetić.

<sup>792</sup> Abbreviation: *Nordost*, Northeast.

<sup>793</sup> See also: Ten-day report of the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia, to the Commander of the Armed Forces in the Southeast on March 31, 1942, *Zbornik NOR*, XII, Book 2, 266-269.

11. 4. Ast.

Near Vrhpolje (8/SO Ljubovija) about 50 Serb families were killed by Croats.

11. 4. Ast.

After the arrest of Major Dangić,<sup>794</sup> there was an immediate change of mood against the Reich and the Wehrmacht, which is especially justified by pointing out the atrocities of the Ustashas that the German Wehrmacht tolerated.

15. 4. 714. J. D.

In addition to the report of April 10, the 1st Armored Regiment 202 reports that at the elevation of Culine, the Croatian legionnaires shot at about 25 women and children. Before their escape, they even slaughtered a woman with her five children with knives. On the same day, a motorized Drina reconnaissance unit noticed at the elevation of Vrhpolje how Croatian legionnaires slit the necks of 11 Serb refugees, and threw the corpses into the Drina.

In Drinjača, 35 Serbs were allegedly stabbed to death by the legionnaires, and the bodies were thrown into the Drina.

19. 4. 714. J.D.

On April 9, First Class Sergeant Klaus Buhr noticed near Bjelovac that the Croats were firing mortars and artillery at the Serbian coast, in order to prevent the crossing of Serb refugees. The Serb women, who were partially running along the banks of the Drina with very small children in their arms, were attacked by the Croats and the necks of 4 women and more children were cut, whereafter the corpses were thrown into the Drina. A total of 13 women and children were killed in this way at this place. On April 10 (supplement to the report of April 15), Second Class Lieutenant Hanf saw the Croats kill two women and five children.

18. 4. G.[erman] general in Zagreb.

In Zirovac<sup>795</sup> (NW<sup>796</sup> Bosanski Novi), large-scale violence by militia soldiers against the population (Croatian report).

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<sup>794</sup> Jezdimir Dangić.

<sup>795</sup> Žirovac.

<sup>796</sup> *Nordwest*, Northwest.

#### 15. 4. Tuzla City Command.

Jeginov Lug (9/SO Tuzla) was set on fire by the Legion of Major Hadžiefendić.<sup>797</sup> 250-300 inhabitants, men, women and children killed. The village looted, the cattle driven away.

#### 17. 4. Tuzla City Command.

In the village of Požarnica and the surrounding villages, about 70-80 men, women and children (Serb inhabitants) were killed on 8.2., 8.3., 1.4. Mass killings are now taking place in other villages.

#### 21. 4. Chief Medical Corp Officer with the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia.

reports the information by the Commander of Ljotić's<sup>798</sup> group in Bajina Bašta (there are photos of the mentioned mutilated corpses, etc.): Near the village of Bjelovac (near Ljubovija), the Ustashas killed women and children, and threw the corpses into the Drina. In front of the village, a large area where traces of murders can be found all around. In one place lay the remains of a female corpse and of one of a small child, they were thrown to the dogs to devour them (Fig. 1).

Many pieces of women's and children's clothing lay in one place. Earth soaked in blood (Fig. 2).

In one bush, an overturned cradle, beds and a child's shirt (Fig. 3).

On the bank of the Drina, the remains of a female corpse that was eaten by a dog (Fig. 4).

The mutilated corpse of a woman was excavated (Figures 5 and 6).

These horrific murders were committed by the Ustashas, among whom were several of those, who did not wear a "U" on their hats, but a five-pointed Soviet star. These Partisans obeyed the orders of the Ustashas.

In addition, the Chief Medical Corps Officer notes:

It cannot be understood in Serbian circles that the Germans are watching the Ustasha crimes so calmly and thereby expecting the Serbs to be on their side.

The commander of Dangić's men there stated that all Serbs would like to maintain sincere friendship with Germany, but the earlier trust in German assurances does not exist anymore.

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<sup>797</sup> Muhamed Hadžiefendić.

<sup>798</sup> Dimitrije Ljotić.

No. 145

ATTACHMENT TO THE OVERVIEW OF THE REPORTS ON THE USTASHA MASS KILLINGS OF THE SERB POPULATION ON THE BANK OF THE DRINA RIVER, ACCORDING TO THE REPORTS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE 714<sup>TH</sup> INFANTRY DIVISION FROM APRIL 19, 1942.<sup>799</sup>

Attachment to the overview of atrocities in Croatia  
submitted by 714. J. D.<sup>800</sup> on 19. 4. 42.

Transcript.

Report on the killings of the Serb population by the Croatian army  
in the Drina sector.

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On April 9, First Class Sergeant Klaus Buhr, together with a Serbian captain of the border police, was in a patrol drive in the direction of Rogačica. A clash between Croats and Chetniks took place near Bjelovac, because the Croats tried to prevent the crossing of the Serb refugees. At the same time, several projectiles were fired with mortars and artillery onto the Serbian territory. The First Class Sergeant ran to the bank of the Drina without being shot at and saw the following there:

“Serb women, shouting loudly, and one part with very small children in their arms, ran along the bank of the Drina. At that time, the Croats had already rushed at them and cut the necks of 4 women and several children, and then threw the corpses into the Drina. In this way, a total of 13 women and children were killed in this one place.”

On 10. 4. Second Class Lieutenant Hanf returned with several people from the control patrol from Zvornik and stopped near Culine in order to supervise and inspect the refugees because the stream of refugees was especially thick at this place. A few minutes after he stopped, the following happened:

“The Croats, with a force of 30 men, came running to the place where the refugees were. Second Class Lieutenant Hanf told his interpreter to shout at them to move away and not to shoot. The German army is here. At this

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<sup>799</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 510.

<sup>800</sup> 714th Infantry Division, 714. *Infanteriedivision*.

they moved about 200 m away, behind a fence they took up a position and opened fire. At this, Second Class Lieutenant Hanf issued an order to return fire with rifles and light machine guns.”

Thereby, Second Class Lieutenant Hanf saw the following:

“When the Croats withdrew from there at our request, they were met by 2 women with five children from one house, who had once again ran into the house to pick up the most necessary things. The Croats immediately, rushed at them and killed these 2 women and five children.”

From the refugees, who were transferred about 30 minutes before, Second Class Lieutenant Hanf learned the following: “Across the river from Culine, at a distance of about 250 m from the Drina, there lie 35 corpses, only women and children, all terribly mutilated. The Croats slaughtered them and left them lying there on the spot.”

Signed Hanf  
Second Class Lieutenant.

For accuracy:  
Signed  
Major.

AN INTELLIGENCE REPORT OF APRIL 24, 1942, ACCORDING TO WHICH THERE ARE NO MORE SERB SETTLEMENTS LEFT IN THE AREA OCCUPIED BY FRANCETIĆ'S USTASHAS, WITH A REQUEST TO SEND A COMMISSION TO DETERMINE THE USTASHA ATROCITIES.<sup>801</sup>

Transcript!

Notification of own intelligence outpost at Tuzla<sup>802</sup> of 24 April 42:

Intelligence-aimed trip from 23rd to 24th April in the area of Zvornik – Drinjača – Nova Kasaba – Milići – Vlasenica – Han Pijesak – Žljebovi:

The entire territory has been occupied by Francetić's Ustashas. Not a single Serbian village right and left of the road exists anymore. Their inhabitants cannot be found. All the houses have been completely destroyed, the cattle were driven away. All the construction work in the last 100 years has been destroyed without a trace. In the purely Serb village of Milići, there are only 2 men left, 1 invalid and one 80-year-old man. To the question where the inhabitants were, put to an Ustasha first lieutenant, the answer was that they were in the woods. The new question, that it was not possible for the whole village to be in the woods, was answered with a shrug and the words: "You know, I am not an officer, I am a postal clerk from Sarajevo, I was a little bit exposed politically, so I registered with Francetić. I'm already disgusted by all that."

As we drove on to Ploče,<sup>803</sup> Francetić's deputy asked how the pacification of Bosnia was conceived. In response to the fact that there are two possibilities, either by establishing peace or eradication, Francetić's deputy said face to face: "We make peace by eradicating."<sup>804</sup>

The Croatian captain in Han Pijesak said that the Muslims were settling towards Vlasenica, and that the remaining area would be abandoned.

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<sup>801</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 514.

<sup>802</sup> Abwehr Intelligence outpost (*Ast. – Abwehrstelle*) in Tuzla.

<sup>803</sup> Ploče, a mountain pass on the Javor mountain, on the road from Vlasenica to Han Pesak.

<sup>804</sup> In the original: „*Wir befrieden durch Ausrottung*“.

Croatian troops shoot men who surrender together with weapons, even without combat operations. On the evening of the 23rd, 100 women and children, who had fled from the Ustashas, were taken to Žljebovi, among them children aged two months and older. One man spoke with pleasure how he had shot one from this group who hung a rifle and who had a small child in his arms, and how that child flew away in a big arch. The women and children have been without food for days and now, as a scene of horror, they are near the place for food supply in Žljebovi.

There can be no question of any concentration of the enemy, in fact of any enemy whatsoever, in this state of affairs, and also of the fact that real, terrible circumstances can be concretely described in one radio report.

The leader of the intelligence outpost is asking that a commission be sent to this area as soon as possible, so that the said atrocities and the atrocities of the Ustashas that took place over the last two days can be established with complete objectivity.

No. 147

SS SECOND CLASS LIEUTENANT ENGELMANN REPORTS ON APRIL 30, 1942, THAT ABWEHR WOULD SEND A COMMISSION TO BOSNIA TO DETERMINE THE ATROCITIES OF THE USTASHAS.<sup>805</sup>

III A En/LP

Belgrade, 30.IV.1942

1.) Note.

Subject: Commission for Determining Ustasha Atrocities by the Ast.

During a conversation with Zoran V u k o v i ć,<sup>806</sup> the Deputy Commander of Ljotić's volunteers, it was confirmed to me that the "Ast" would send a commission to Croatia – especially Bosnia, which should determine the atrocities of the Ustashes on the spot. Primarily, the emphasis should be on submitting reports in the form of images. This task should be entrusted to K o l i ć.

Engelmann<sup>807</sup> personal signature  
SS-Second Class Lieutenant<sup>808</sup> 30. 4. 42.  
2/5<sup>809</sup>

- 2.) K III m. d. B. u. Kts.
- 3.) VB<sup>810</sup>
- 4.) VHK

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<sup>805</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 458.

<sup>806</sup> Zoran Vuković was the head of the intelligence department of the Serbian Volunteer Command (*Srpska dobrovoljačka komanda*) and an agent of the German intelligence service; M. Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića*, 152-153.

<sup>807</sup> SS Second Class Lieutenant (*Untersturmführer*) Engelmann, Head of Department A III at the institution BdS.

<sup>808</sup> Initials.

<sup>809</sup> Initials.

<sup>810</sup> Notes in graphite pencil.

ON MAY 1, 1942, THE COMMANDER OF THE POLICE IN BELGRADE REPORTS TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ABOUT THE MASS USTASHA SLAUGHTERS OF THE SERBS IN EASTERN BOSNIA, AND THE DISAPPOINTMENT WITH GERMAN POLICY, WHICH IS BENEFICIAL TO THE SPREAD OF ITALIAN INFLUENCE.<sup>811</sup>

SENIOR LEADER OF SS AND POLICE

In the area of the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia

Commander of the Security Police and Security Service

in Belgrade

III Rx/Fli B.Nr. [illegible]

Belgrade, May 1, 1942

Telephone 22-103

CONFIDENTIAL

For

Plenipotentiary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

with the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia

Mr. Minister Benzler,<sup>812</sup>

Belgrade.

Subject: Report on the situation in eastern Bosnia, Croatian atrocities and Serb refugees.

Reference: Current

Attachments: 2

The terrible situation on the eastern Bosnian insurgent territory, which took on the greatest proportions again in April, due to the attacks of Communist Partisans and Croatian Ustasha formations against the national Serb Dangić's Chetniks, led to countless massacres of peaceful Serb villagers,

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<sup>811</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 459-463.

<sup>812</sup> Felix Benzler.

mostly women and children, and the entire Serb population between the Bosna and the Drina rivers is in fear and horror (see eyewitness reports so far).

The Serb population fled, where there was still time for that, to the forests and in the direction of the Serbian border on the Drina, where they arrived in a state of exhaustion. Even on the Drina, the German troops (as already reported) near Ljubovija and elsewhere noticed the bestially heinous acts of the Croatian Ustashas – and under their Commander Francetić. Women and girls from the stream of refugees were raped, and after that a part of them would be killed and thrown into the Drina.

There was even an exchange of fire on the bridge in Ljubovija between Croatian Ustashas and the German soldiers who wanted to protect the Serbian refugees from the atrocities of the Ustashas.

Resentment over these heinous acts has grown immensely not only among the Serb population, but has also struck the German officials, as evidenced by the report of the Chief Medical Corps Officer to the Commanding General in Serbia, whose transcript is attached.

The Chief Medical Corps Officer visited Šabac, Loznica, Zvornik, Culine, Ljubovija and in the accompanying letter with his report to the Commanding General he wrote the following:

“In the main centers for the streams of Serb refugees in Western Serbia there are thousands of Serb refugees from the Croatian territory; members of their families were slaughtered by the Croatian Ustashas in the cruellest ways, they themselves had to flee across the Drina at night before the hordes that killed and burned, while the Partisans, Ustashas and armed Muslims continued to shoot at them. The road Culine – Ljubovija was still under enemy fire on April 17.

The number of refugees can only be approximated, considering that there is no official documentation, and many refugees have already gone far into the interior of Serbian territory. There could be about 12,000, more or less. The exiles were housed in four large groups on the Serbian bank of the Drina and were mostly encamped in the open. Their diet was extremely poor and consisted of some cooked corn flour and nettle soup. The main mass of the people was in Ljubovija and Culine (north of Ljubovija) as well as in the neighboring villages, and a smaller part in Koviljača and Bajina Bašta.”

The number of refugees, which cannot be precisely controlled, is estimated at around 20,000. The fact that due to the constant influx of unfortunate Serb refugees is always adversely affected by public opinion in Serbia,

and the belief in just leadership of the Reich suffers because of this, it is quite understandable. This worse than medieval situation in Bosnia and the slaughtering of the people by the Communist-Catholic Ustashas and Partisans has had a particularly unfavorable effect on the reliable members of the Zbor inclined to the German and Ljotić's volunteers who have proven themselves in combat against the Communists and Draža Mihajlović, whose one unit is under the command of a certain Miloš Lautner (based on a change of surname, Vojinović, of Slovenian-German origin from Maribor on the Drava, residing in Užice, married to a Serbian woman, closer personal data are still unknown).

Lautner-Vojinović, who speaks excellent German, is extremely well informed about the situation on the other side of the Drina, and he not only described the current situation to the leading medical corps officer, but also gave the attached report to the local service.

The places in the report of the medical corps officer as well as Lautner-Vojinović, which inform on the cooperation between the Croatian Ustashas and the Communists, that is, the Ustashas with the red Soviet five-pointed star, are especially pointed out. In the eyes of Ljotić's pro-German volunteers on the Drina, the Ustashas, with their inhumanity and bestial murders and arsons, were hated as much as the brutal Partisans. The fact is that no difference can be established in their actions against the peaceful Serb population, mostly women and children in Eastern Bosnia. On the contrary, the rage of the Ustashas and Muslim legionaries is even more horrible than the rage of the Communist Partisans. Therefore, "the disappointment of Ljotić's pro-German volunteers that the policy of the Reich is still on the side of the inquisitorial state of Croatia" is more understandable. In addition, Ljotić's volunteers, due to their inclination towards the Germans and despite their reliability in the combat against the Communists and the rebels of Draža Mihajlović, are barely supplied with weapons by the Serbian government services, and their reliability and value in battle should be respected all the more.

Despite the incursion of the Montenegrin Red Brigades and Ustashas all the way to the Drina and the destruction of many Serb villages along routes of the Ustasha advance from Tuzla to Zvornik, as well as on the Drina bend, the resistance of the male Serb population who fled to the forests against the Partisans and Ustashas, although weakened, is still there.

The cause of this lies in the inability of Croats to make a decent governance and to keep Muslim and Ustasha inhumanity under control. On the

contrary, there is even a danger that this inhumanity will eventually become a danger to the policy of the Axis Powers that crosses the borders of Croatia, and especially to see a clear direction of Italian policy to expand its influence all the way to the Hungarian border and take hold of the whole of Bosnia and Slavonia.

SS Lieutenant Colonel<sup>813</sup>

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<sup>813</sup> Belgrade Police Commander (BdS), Schäfer.

No. 149

ON MAY 1, 1942, THE COMMANDER OF THE POLICE IN BELGRADE REPORTS TO THE REICH SECURITY MAIN OFFICE ON THE MASS USTASHA SLAUGHTERS OF THE SERBS IN EASTERN BOSNIA AND THE DISAPPOINTMENT WITH GERMAN POLICY, WHICH IS BENEFICIAL TO THE SPREAD OF ITALIAN INFLUENCE.<sup>814</sup>

III Rx/Fli

May 1, 1942

B. Nr. 3226/42

Sent May 2, 1942<sup>815</sup>

Attachments: 2

Vfg

I communication

1./For

Reich Security Main Office – Section IV<sup>816</sup> –  
SS General and Lieutenant General of Police Müller  
-o.V.i.A.-

Berlin.

2./For

Reich Security Main Office – Section III<sup>817</sup> –  
Berlin.

3./For

Reich Security Main Office – Section VI<sup>818</sup> –  
Berlin.

Subject: Report on the situation in eastern Bosnia, Croatian atrocities and Serb refugees.

Reference: Current

Attachments: -2-

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<sup>814</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 481-485.

<sup>815</sup> Stamp of dispatch.

<sup>816</sup> Gestapo.

<sup>817</sup> Security Service (SD).

<sup>818</sup> Foreign department.

The terrible situation on the eastern Bosnian insurgent territory, which took on the greatest proportions again in April, due to the attacks of Communist Partisans and Croatian Ustasha formations against the national Serb Dangić's Chetniks, led to countless massacres of peaceful Serb villagers, mostly women and children, and the entire Serb population between the Bosna and the Drina rivers is in fear and horror (see eyewitness reports so far).

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SS Lieutenant Colonel

819

2. G III
3. L.
4. Registry office
5. In the files at III A

1. 5. 42<sup>820</sup>

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<sup>819</sup> Initials, probably: Sch, from Schäfer, SS-*Obersturmbannführer* (SS-Lieutenant Colonel) and Commander of Police in Belgrade (BdS).

<sup>820</sup> Handwritten date.

THE LETTER “A NEW ORDER IN CROATIA” ABOUT THE POLICY OF ANNIHILATION OF THE SERBS THAT PROVOKED THE SERBIAN UPRISING, ABOUT THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CHETNIKS AND PARTISANS AND THE COOPERATION OF PARTISANS WITH THE USTASHAS FOR THE PURPOSE OF DESTROYING THE CHETNIKS AND ABOUT THEIR LOYALTY TO THE “NEW ORDER”.<sup>821</sup>

Source Dangić – Chetnik and Zbor<sup>822</sup>

III A for RSHA 1 + 3 (illegible)

With commentary by W.V.<sup>823</sup> for III 28. 4. 42.<sup>824</sup>

A NEW ORDER IN CROATIA

On April 10, 1941, with the fall of Yugoslavia, the state of Croatia was formed, one of the new members of the “New Order”. This new order, which was mostly brought by the Croatian emigrants from abroad, was in fact nothing more than a copy of the medieval inquisition. Filled with tribal and religious hatred, these new “leaders” began to incite peaceful Croatian citizens against Serbs, “invoking a thousand-year-old morality.” “Dark Byzantinism” was the cause of a human slaughter like no other in history. Thousands of innocent people were shot, burned and drowned in quick lime, just because they were of the Orthodox faith.

The leaders of the Ustashas pushed hundreds of loyal Croats – Catholics and Muslims – into the fight against the Serbs, explaining that the Serbs, being of the Orthodox faith, needed to disappear from the face of the “centuries-old Croatian soil”. Not a single Serb or German today needs to be told of the atrocities of the Croats and Muslims committed from July 1941 to April this year, because they are well known, and the horror was reflected on the faces of those few thousands who were able to escape to Serbia.

This unbearable situation encouraged the Serbian patriots who managed to escape into the woods, to start an uncompromising fight against the Ustasha regime. From the Kupa to the Drina and south of the Sava, on this

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<sup>821</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 489-493. See also Figs. 21 to 25.

<sup>822</sup> Handwritten note on the margin.

<sup>823</sup> W.V. unknown abbreviation.

<sup>824</sup> Both rows are handwritten notes.

very large territory which belonged to Croatia and which is Serb in terms of population, a national uprising soon broke out, now strong now weak.

This unstoppable revolt was especially pronounced in the territory between the rivers Bosna and Drina. Here, individual groups, later detachments, troops and battalions, and eventually numerous formations of several tens of thousands of people, united in the forests. That is how an army was created, which should and must be reckoned with, and this army is fighting for one thing only: for the salvation of bare life and national existence and only against the Ustashas in order to prevent further bloodshed of the Serbian people.

During many battles, it was shown that the Croatian army would not fight, and in countless examples, it expressed its sympathy for the Chetnik-national fight against the Ustashas.

The Croatian state propaganda, considering that it is facing such a state of affairs, has tried, and still is trying, to present the struggle of the national Chetniks as a plundering-Communist one to the foreign, and especially German, people. Every day, Croatian newspapers, whenever it came to fights with Chetniks, wrote only about conflicts with "Chetnik-Communist gangs". And through the press and radio, they wanted to give this gigantic fight an attribute that was misplaced. Ustasha propaganda showed to the Croats abroad the struggle for life and national existence as a struggle of Serbian bandits who plunder Muslim villages and kill Croats and Muslims.

While thousands of Serbs died in the most horrible torments in Croatia, Muslims were incited to further bloodshed, claiming that the Serbs wanted to annihilate the Muslims. Numerical data were even found in Croatian newspapers, and photographs of mutilated corpses could even be seen of allegedly killed Muslims and Croats. The fact was that these photographs were actually original images of the massacred Serbs.

This propaganda even went so far as to say that the Chetniks were killing the Germans and that the uprising directed against the Ustasha terror was directed against the German Reich. It is well known that it was on the 11th of January when the first report on the arrival of German units in Bosnia was issued, Major Jezdimir Dangić took all measures to prevent a conflict between the Chetniks and the Germans. The German army is aware of the fact that during the punitive expedition on January 14th, there was not a single conflict between the Chetniks and the Germans.

The Croats constantly claimed that the Chetniks were cooperating with the Communists. In reality, it was the Croats who led the Communist gangs. The Croats supported the Communists only to resist the Chetnik action.

The fact that there has always been an agreement between the Croats and the Communists stems from the fact that the Chetniks, until they found out who they were dealing with, the Communists, which was a very rare case, held their position together and constantly got into a difficult situation.

After the famous conference in Vlasenica, which was held on November 16 by the representatives of Chetniks and Communists,<sup>825</sup> that is, from that day onwards, and given that the Chetniks were waging an uncompromising fight against the Communists, the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan units issued a leaflet stating, among other things: "... the desired agreement could not be reached at the conference. And why? Because Major Dangić will not do that." As a reason for that, the leaflet states that Major Dangić is against the National Liberation Committee and demands from the Serbs to fight against the Muslims and Ustashas, and that they, i.e. the Partisans, want the people themselves through the National Liberation Committee to "fix it", and that the Partisans are also for the cooperation of the "respectable" Serbs with Muslims and Croats. "We invite all respectable people under our flag, whether they are Serbs, Muslims or Croats, who are willing to fight against the occupier and against domestic traitors, whether they are called Nedić, Pećanac or Draža Mihajlović."

It is clear that Dangić could not cooperate with such elements as the Partisans, for the simple reason that the Partisans preached on the one hand a conciliatory attitude towards the Muslims and Ustashas, and on the other hand because they roared against the leaders of the Serbian people and their occupier. The national Chetniks from Bosnia have noticed very well that their fight will become meaningless the moment they take up arms against the occupier. They were always careful not to give any reason for any conflict between them and the Germans. The Partisans wanted to take advantage of this moment, and they supported this by saying that the Chetnik leaders were "the fifth column" and "mercenaries" and that they were working in the interest of the Germans. From November 16 onwards, the Chetniks considered the Partisans, as well as the Ustashas, to be their enemies. This bad relationship between the Chetniks and the Communists was further aggravated by the murder of Major B. Todorović<sup>826</sup> by the Communists. Since that moment, there have been more and more killings of Chetnik commanders.

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<sup>825</sup> R. Čolaković, *Zapisi iz oslobodilačkog rata*, Book 2, 240-251.

<sup>826</sup> Boško Todorović; See: J. Tomašević, *Četnici u Drugom svjetskom ratu 1941-1945*, translated from English by N. Petrak, Zagreb: Globus, 1979, 148-149.

The Communists killed the following men on Christmas: Slavko Marić, Vlado Kovačević, Vlado Mijajev, Milan Nićiforović, Branko Knežević, Milan Birčanin, Dušan Milosavljević and Dragoljub Bojić, with the explanation that these commanders were sent by the “treacherous” government in Belgrade. The extradition of Dr. Levi by the Bosnian Chetniks to the Serbian authorities literally infuriated the Communists. From that moment on, the Communists tried to kill as many Chetnik commanders as possible in order to avenge Dr. Levi<sup>827</sup> and other Partisans. The Ustashas were very helpful in that.

When the Ustashas launched a punitive expedition with the help of the so-called Black Legions in March, the Communists were the striking force of this expedition. The Communists, who were probably let in by the Italians on the Lim bridge by agreement, approached the Chetniks from behind. With the takeover of Srebrenik<sup>828</sup>, Milići, Bratunac and Drinjac<sup>829</sup> by the Communists, the first article in the Ustasha program related to the liquidation of the Bosnian uprising was achieved. It must be noted that the Communist penetration happened just at the time when the Chetniks recorded great successes near Sokolac and Han Pjesak.<sup>830</sup>

The second article of the Ustasha program after breaking the rear was breaking the front lines. Here, too, the Communists served the Ustashas as weapons. As soon as they took up positions in the rear, the Communists issued orders for mobilization and orders for the front, so that from now on they would be subordinated to the Communist government. A large number of the officers, unit commanders and older Chetniks, who knew what “Communist government” meant, tried to stop the Communist action. All the others, unless they were lucky enough to escape to the Serbian territory, were killed in the most horrible ways. In those positions that the Communists could put under their control, an agreement was immediately reached with the Ustashas. Thus, at the position near Drinjača, according to the credible statements by the witnesses, among which were the statements of Lieutenant Radovan Bulatović, there were open talks between the Ustashas and the Partisans. It is certain that the commander of the Communist brigade who was in Drinjača joined the Ustashas with a large number of his men and fought the Chetniks

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<sup>827</sup> Dr. Avram Levi Kurt, fighter of the Užice Partisan Detachment, then the Commissar of the Partisan hospital in Užice, shot in the camp at Banjica on April 17, 1942; J. Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945*, 427.

<sup>828</sup> Srebrenica.

<sup>829</sup> Drinjača.

<sup>830</sup> Han Pjesak.

together with them. The same commander, whose nickname was Španac<sup>831</sup>, gave a speech during his defection to the Ustashas.

One woman, who fled from Vijogor,<sup>832</sup> reported that she recognized six Partisans whom she had previously fed among the Ustashas who set fire to her village.

From the original statement of Srećko Živković,<sup>833</sup> a farmer, which reads: “The Ustashas brought me, beaten and bloodied, to a house where the massacre continued. One Ustasha, who beat me with a revolver and who ridiculed me, said to me: You ugly freak, did you want to go to Serbia, to Nedić, damn you, you think we wouldn’t find you there. Just wait until we clear the country a little (he meant, from the Chetniks), then we will come over there and no child will stay in the cradle.

Another Ustasha also hit me and asked me if I was a Partisan. When I answered him that I was just a Serb, he said to me: You see there in the corner, he was also a Serb, but he is a better Serb than you, because he is a man, a Partisan,<sup>834</sup> and he fights together with us. When I looked there, I noticed an armed man in civilian clothes. It was really a Partisan.”<sup>835</sup>

It follows from the above statement that the Ustashas cooperated with the Communists and that they also sometimes used them to torture Serbs.

Breaking the rear created chaos at the front. The chaos also increased because the entire front was placed under the “control” of the Communists. As mentioned earlier, the Chetniks, who did not want to fight under the communist “control”, left their positions and retreated to the impassable hills. The Ustashas took advantage of their departure from the front to conquer many places in the interior of the so-called liberated eastern Bosnia together with the Communists. The arrival of the Ustashas was announced with the burning of many Serbian houses. The route taken by the Ustashas was clearly marked by the corpses of the killed men, women and children. The atrocity of the Ustasha-Communists cannot be described. The hundreds of corpses I came across along the way, the charred ruins of the Serbian houses, where you can see here and there a few people looking for something, are the best proof of the degree of millennial culture for which the Ustashas are fighting.

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<sup>831</sup> Španac means ‘Spaniard’. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>832</sup> Viogor.

<sup>833</sup> See document number 124 in this book. The name should read: Srećko Živanović.

<sup>834</sup> In the statement by Srećko Živanović stands: Communist.

<sup>835</sup> This sentence does not exist in the statement of S. Živanović.

I saw a woman, about 35 years old, who was killed by the Ustashas. Her right ear was completely cut off. In the place where the left eye used to be, a trace of burning was clearly visible. There were seven stab wounds on the body, all of which were fatal. The stab under the neck, between the chest and above the hips, which can be clearly seen in the attached photos, can shed light on the psychological level of the Ustasha killers.

Directly on the bank of the Drina and at the place where the massacre that Srećko Živković<sup>836</sup> told us about took place, I was personally convinced that the found pool of blood came from ten people who had been killed. About 10 m away from the bank, in one hollow, I even found the remains of a corpse, of which only a few poor bones remained, a large pool of blood and a torn piece of frock; a little farther in a bush I saw a cradle and below it was the corpse of a child barely 5 months old. Some 15 m deeper I could photograph a dog that was just pulling the entrails of a corpse. The villagers invited me to come a few miles away, and there I could photograph four skulls in the water. On the bank itself, the remains of human corpses that dogs were dragging away and pieces of clothing could be seen.

A young man told me that more than 5 men and women were killed on this site, as well as a large number of children. When I asked where their bodies were, he said that he saw from the Serbian side how they were thrown into the Drina.

I photographed the atrocities of the Ustashas, and that is just a small picture of what the Ustashas did. I enclose the photos with the letter.

To illustrate these terrible events, I cite several statements whose original is with the competent services in Belgrade and Užice, from which it can be clearly seen with what bestiality the Ustashas acted against the Serbs.

Bulat Branko, a teacher, tells us:

... For seven hours I stood motionless in the water under the bridge so as not to give myself away. All that time, the Ustashas brought men, women and mostly children who could not escape from there to the half-destroyed bridge, slaughtered them and then threw them into the Drina. At dusk, I could see a body, which had not been completely executed, trying in vain to save itself in bloody water ... I think that that night<sup>837</sup>

Young Jovan Nikolić, 17, tells the story:

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<sup>836</sup> Živanović

<sup>837</sup> End of sentence missing.

... Our joint household had 23 members before the Ustashas came. My father was in a position somewhere, and I don't know where he is. When the Ustashas penetrated from Kravica, they killed almost all my family members during the night. There were my grandfather, my aunt, her children as well as my mother and her children. All three houses in which we lived were set on fire by the Ustashas, and I was the only one who managed to escape from there. My mother and sisters were burned in the house because the Ustashas did not allow them to leave the house. And now, from the whole joint household, I am left alone and maybe my father whose whereabouts I don't know. I don't know where to go and I don't know what I'm going to do now ...

Milanović Uglješa, the son of a priest in Šabac, during the hear.[ing] on April 19, reported the following, among other things: I had 4 posters with me that read against Dangić and Račić.<sup>838</sup> They were labelled as cowards who betrayed the people. The poster further read "Germans will come to Bosnia to extinguish the freedom of the people. We have made an alliance with the Ustashas and we will help them to occupy [illegible] the whole of Bosnia, because we prefer the Ustashas to rule in Bosnia than the Germans."<sup>839</sup> In their posters, signed by the Proletarian Brigade, the Ustashas are allies, and the disarmament of the Chetniks is demanded ...

I know that at the time when the Ustashas were in Vlasenica, and the Partisans in Šehovići,<sup>840</sup> there was a communication via courier. Although Šehovići<sup>841</sup> is 12 km away from Vlasenica and from there the road runs to Kladanj, the Ustashas did not go to Šehovići,<sup>842</sup> where the Partisans were, but they went around it. Also, during the entire period, neither side attacked the other, they only attacked the Chetniks, the Ustashas from the front and the Partisans from the back – in Bratunac, while the Partisans from the front and the Ustashas from behind in Vlastenica.<sup>843</sup>

I note that the commander of Vlasenica is a Muslim, a Partisan, who had his troops in Vlasenica. His troops left Vlasenica half an hour before the

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<sup>838</sup> Captain Dragoslav Račić, Commander of the (Mt.) Cer Chetnik Detachment, as of December 1941 Chetnik commander in eastern Bosnia; *Zbornik NOR*, Book XIV, Vol. 1, Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut, 1981, 14, 174

<sup>839</sup> The Serbian text reads: "Nemci će doći u Bosnu kako bi ugasili slobodu naroda. Sklopili smo savez sa ustašama i pomaćemo im u tome da zauzmu (nečitko) celu Bosnu, jer više volimo da u Bosni vladaju ustaše nego Nemci." – Subeditor's note.

<sup>840</sup> Šekovići.

<sup>841</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>842</sup> Same as previous.

<sup>843</sup> Vlasenica.

arrival of the Ustashas, while he stayed and gave a speech to the Ustashas. Also, one Partisan, Muja Satrović, joined the Ustashas together with 3-4 hundred Partisans-Turkish<sup>844</sup>, and is fighting against the Chetniks.

I know that the Partisan transport with grains, in agreement with the Ustashas, went to Mt. Romanija through Han Pijesak, which is held by the Ustashas ...”

In addition to the above statement, which can be completely trusted, because it is not the only one, there is also the statement of the Chetnik Borisav Miličević, a native of Olov,<sup>845</sup> who came to Serbia a few days ago, in which he states, among other things:

The Ustasha guard captured our Chetnik Miladin Mitrović and took him to Šlebov.<sup>846</sup> He was taken out to be shot four times, but thanks to the Commander of Šlebovo,<sup>847</sup> Francetić, he was released in order to inform the Chetniks that they should deliver weapons to the Chetniks. He came to Han Pijesak. Momčilović interrogated him first, and during the interrogation he stated that he had seen a Partisan come to the Ustashas who took him to Francetić. The Partisan handed Francetić a letter, and then returned. When the Ustashas interrogated me and photographed me with a belt with cartridges in a Chetnik uniform, I saw a Partisan courier coming and leaving again.

I also know that the Partisans receive ammunition from the Ustashas in Sarajevo.

The Partisans were the first to go to Bratunac and loot it, followed by the Ustashas. The Partisans, after looting, returned to Crni Vrh near Sarajevo, next to the Ustashas, without firing a single bullet at each other. I can swear on what has been said.

On the occasion of the above events, which are not only known in Bosnia and Serbia, but also in great Germany and Italy, we sincere patriots and supporters of the NEW ORDER in Europe ask ourselves, how much longer will the Germans tolerate the Ustasha regime? It is needless to prove to anyone that it was the Ustashas who have caused the Bosnian uprising because of the unprecedented massacre.

The Serbian people on the territory of the state of Croatia, even though they make up 65% of the population, would remain loyal if they found jobs and security there.

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<sup>844</sup> The word ‘Turks’ habitually stands for ‘Muslims’. – *Subeditor’s note.*

<sup>845</sup> Olovo.

<sup>846</sup> Žljebovi.

<sup>847</sup> Same as previous.

If the Croatian state continues with the old practice of bloodshed and murder, it will never be possible to suppress the uprising of the Serbian people.

We the Serbs are convinced of that and we are proud to know that we are the only nation in the Balkans that the idea of a New Europe<sup>848</sup>

We wonder if this is the new arrangement and the new order:

To kill over half a million innocent people in a bestial way.

To burn thousands and thousands of people alive in brickyards and in the unslaked lime.

To empty whole districts of their inhabitants, burn them and turn them to ashes. To leave thousands without their church.

To leave thousands without a school.

To confiscate the property of thousands turning them into proletarians. To carry out forced conversion.

To kill a nation's priests and physicians, professors and other intelligentsia,

To exterminate an entire nation.

We rightly wonder if the Germans really believe that the Ustahas are the ones who should be the bearers of the New Order. If the Germans do believe that, then what the Ustahas are doing is perhaps that N E W O R D E R, and then how can we the Serbs preserve our strength?

The Germans should not justify themselves by giving the Serbs the opportunity to live, for the grave of Serbdom lies right in those parts that now belong to the Croats.

We refer to the words of the great Führer, Adolf Hitler, under whose wise leadership a new Europe is emerging today: "The right of man treads the right of the state." These words make the further existence of the state of Croatia impossible, because if anywhere, it is in Croatia that the right of man needs to tread the right of the state. In his book "Mein Kampf", Hitler said great words: "The people, who succumb in the fight for their right to life and at the same time put their destiny at stake, and thus their existence, will by all means be put at risk in this world."

The Serbian people, sticking to these words, entered the fight for their existence and will persevere in it. The Serbian people will not lay down their arms as long as the Ustasha terror lasts, and such a situation will in no way lead to calming down and normalization of relations, which the Serbs so sincerely want.

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<sup>848</sup> Unfinished sentence, yet in the Serbian text just one word missing. – *Subeditor's note.*

We the Serbs know that only from the moment our national demands are met, we will be able to conscientiously and constructively cooperate on the great Führer's idea and on the realization of the New Order. The chivalrous attitude of the German Reich towards the Serbs on Serbian soil after the capitulation, won the whole of Serbia over to the idea of a new Europe, and the Serbs are convinced that the Germans will give the Serbs the possibility and opportunity to show the whole world in their homeland, which will be created as a great Serbia through their constructive participation in the building of a new Europe gain the right for their existence.

Attachment: 15 photos, statements by  
Milićević Borisav from Olovo, Čupović Mihailo from Doboj,  
Milanović Uglješa from Šabac.

No. 151

NOTE OF SS MAJOR HEINRICH, DATED 23 APRIL 1942, THAT HE HAS RECEIVED A LEAFLET WHICH HAD BEEN CIRCULATING AMONG THE POPULATION SINCE OCTOBER 1941.<sup>849</sup>

K III

V

April 23, 1942.

Q.V.<sup>850</sup>

The enclosed leaflet was brought by Mrs. Večerinać.

According to her words, these leaflets were distributed among the population at first from Oct.[ober] 1941 and now.

Heinrich personal signature<sup>851</sup>

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<sup>849</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 494. See document no. 132 in this book.

<sup>850</sup> Q.V. unknown abbreviation.

<sup>851</sup> Alfred Heinrich, Chief of Operational Command of the Police (EK-Sipo-SD) in Sarajevo.

LETTER FROM MAJOR DANGIĆ TO THE COMMANDER OF THE CROATIAN ARMY IN ZVORNIK ON OCTOBER 30, 1941, IN WHICH HE POINTS OUT THAT THEY HAD ORGANIZED THE STRUGGLE BECAUSE OF THE UNPRECEDENTED CRIMES OF THE USTASHA STATE AGAINST THE SERBIAN PEOPLE AND CALLS ON HIM TO STAND UP AGAINST THE CRIMINALS.<sup>852</sup>

Mountain Headquarters  
Bosnian Chetnik Detachment  
October 30, 1941

ZONE OF OPERATIONS.

TO THE COMMANDER OF THE CROATIAN ARMY

ZVORNIK.

Upon arrival at the Zvornik sector, I was informed about the detailed talks that my officers, the commanding officers of the Serbian Chetniks, had with you and your officers. I am convinced that some individuals and the public are misinforming you about our insurgent movement, that, what is more, various untruths about us are told, so I consider it my duty to inform you about certain things.

Our national tragedy came only due to mutual distrust and the desire to destroy everything that the Serbian people won after centuries of sanguinary struggles, not only for themselves and the Croats and Slovenes, but especially for the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other areas.

In the last world war, for our common ideals of justice, freedom and equality, the small Serbian people gave about 1.200,000 lives both on the fronts and in the rear, and then the Croats, and especially the Bosnian *šuckori*,<sup>853</sup>

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<sup>852</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 501-503, original in Serbian, in Cyrillic alphabet; AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 495-500, copy translated to German. The translation to German bears the office code III C and the date of translation, May 1, 1942.

<sup>853</sup> *Schutzkorps* [*šuckori* in Serbian spelling], protective corps. Austro-Hungarian paramilitary formations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the First World War. See: D. Mastilović, „Austrougarska politika prema Srbima u Bosni i Hercegovini 1914. godine”, *Leksikon*

proved themselves to be truly bad brothers. Cemeteries in the ravines, mountains and Bosnian forests and around the internment camps are visible witnesses of what we suffered in the background from our bad brothers. However, in 1918 we turned our heads and accepted our slaughterers as brothers, naively believing that it would be understood and jointly transferred to the internal organization of our common state and for a lighter and better future for all of us.

As in many centuries before, we have been deceived for 23 years of our life together, especially after our tragic downfall, to which only and solely our bad brothers have contributed.

The Ustasha state outlawed about 3,000,000 Serbs and rushed<sup>854</sup> to deprive us of our leaders as soon as possible, and then destroy us. It is a crime unheard of in the history of mankind. Those who worshipped and prayed to God five times a day and those who knelt in churches and read countless litanies have proved to have nothing in common with God or Christ and Muhammad. Many hypocritical lambs<sup>855</sup> became the bloodiest wolves overnight, and the so-called yesterday's brothers have proved to be the greatest destroyers of all that was Serbian. You responded to our love with hatred, to our brotherly respect you responded with crimes, unequalled even in the dark times of the ancient history and Middle Ages.

According to the official data, which were submitted to us by the Germans from Belgrade, by the end of August, 280,000 Serbs were killed, burned and destroyed on your territory. Not including later martyrous victims or officers, soldiers and citizens who were killed from the time of April 6 until our capitulation. You were exterminating us at every step and the new generations will talk about the atrocities, and chroniclers will write down the bloodiest and scariest data about it. From the confiscated archives, we have learned what else awaited us. From the captured telegraphic and telephone orders, we saw what would have happened to us, if we had cowardly laid down our weapons. There are more and more new documents because of which the entire Croatian people should be ashamed, not to mention the Muslims, whom we do not consider to be a people, but a fanatical mass, who would slaughter Catholics just as they did with us, because we are equally

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*Prvog svetskog rata u Srbiji*, Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, Društvo istoričara Srbije „Stojan Novaković”, 2015, 234-235.

<sup>854</sup> A letter missing in the word (*po urila*), probably: *požurila* (rushed).

<sup>855</sup> Lambs. In Serbian: *jaganci* instead of *jaganjci*.

considered *kauri*<sup>856</sup>-infidels. If we just wanted, they would serve us as a weapon in the extermination of Croats, as soon as tomorrow, but we will never do that.

The Serbian people are always fighting only for their own and other peoples' freedom and for truth and justice. That is why no one will destroy us. In one single day, one Ustasha would slaughter as many Serbs as many did not die in the uprising during our entire fighting. Forests and mountains are our terrain, and so are the paths and hidden routes, our only salvation lies in an organized and systematic struggle, because we can no longer trust the others<sup>857</sup> who today lead the unfortunate Croatian people under the slogan: all Serbs should be exterminated. Roads will want the Serbs<sup>858</sup>, and I believe they will, but the Serbs killed, not Serb insurgents and fighters, who only defend the bare lives of themselves and of their loved ones.

In the last war, I spent three and a half years in prison as a South Slavic nationalist. In my books, in which I wrote about it, I glorified our brotherly love and harmony, often keeping silent about everything that could cause new frictions between us. But the hope that everything would be better was in vain, you, whom we loved as brothers, whom we caressed and promoted, decorated and pushed forward in every way, became our bad brothers from the first days of the last war. The truth is bitter, too bitter for us, and the consequences of that disappointment will be inevitable.<sup>859</sup>

About the horrible crimes against our people, books have already been written and sent to all sides. You should know that the Germans and Italians themselves are appalled by that, and many Communists in their countries are crying out for revenge. We are divided everywhere into freedom fighters for the most basic human rights, for man's life under the sun, and the blood-thirsty and traitors. We know that very well, but you should have known that, too, you who are fighting against us and under whose command there are men you are leading to lose their lives, unaware of what they are fighting for.

While the spirit of Karadorđe is burning in each of our fighters, there are few among you who feel the spirit of Matija Gubec's struggle, let alone follow him. You attacked the disarmed and frightened Serbian people, our

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<sup>856</sup> *Kaurin* (Sg., *kauri*, Pl.) in the Serbian language comes from Turkish *gâur*, a derogatory word for a non-Muslim, or 'infidel'. – *Subeditor's note*.

<sup>857</sup> Those. Error in Serbian: *inima* written instead of *onima*.

<sup>858</sup> Paraphrased line from a Serbian epic poem about the revolt against the Ottomans. – *Subeditor's note*.

<sup>859</sup> Inevitable. Error in Serbian: *neminovna* written instead of *neminovne*.

innocent children, mothers and sisters, you set fire to our homes and destroyed our shrines. You who have been trumpeting about a thousand-year-old culture lately. Even if it did exist, one day of torture and extermination of the Serbian people is enough for future centuries and new generations to see you, in the history of mankind, as the greatest vandals and bloodthirsty people. Our pains are immeasurable, the sobs of small children, the cries of afflicted widows and orphans, cry out to heaven, and the desire for just revenge is strengthened thereby.

I will only describe to you what I saw with my own eyes and what my Chetniks and their leaders saw or photographed:

You were killing our helpless people in the cruellest ways. We found the unburied bodies of the Martyrs.<sup>860</sup> Their legs and arms were broken, their eyes were plucked with knives, and nails were driven into their skulls. Many were skinned alive to the waist, shod in horseshoes, and sawed alive or had their hearts ripped out while they were alive. Boiling water was poured on them to peel their skin more easily, their beards and mustaches were pulled off, and their fingers were cut off to make these martyrs drink the blood from their wounds themselves. To many, the meat was cut into cubes, not to mention the countless raped women and girls, whose bodies they slit open with knives all across, cut their breasts and placed their hands with their fingers cut off under their bodies. In one village, we found two heads of Serbian women left in a pot and baked in an oven. They are exposed for the world to see and will be preserved, as well as countless photographs of all kinds of crimes, to serve as evidence of everything that the Serbian people have been through so far. Not to mention our countless homes that were set on fire with their occupants inside.

After all this, can we talk about believing those who still lead the Croatian people? So should we be naive now, as we have been throughout our life together in the unfortunate Yugoslavia, and believe that the culprits of the Serbian people are being punished? We cannot, gentlemen non-brothers [believe] those that lead and command you. We also had bitter experiences with the Croatian Army. One commander paid 50 Dinar to the Gypsies for every torched Serb house and every Serb he slaughtered behind his door in front of him. Hundreds of captured soldiers live with me as well as with their brothers. God is my witness that they also feel free and like people who were blind and then gained sight. If you want, I will also send you their names

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<sup>860</sup> Martyrs. Error in Serbian: *Mičenika* written instead of *Mučenika*.

and letters that you can send to their families. Let it be known once and for all, that we do not slaughter prisoners as has been done with our noble people and civilian population, and as<sup>861</sup> you and the Ustashas do with our dead and wounded comrades.

We realize that we no longer have a life together. The only way for you is to stand up and start to fight a holy battle against the criminals in your own milieu who issue orders to you to do so with the purpose to exterminate the Serbian people. You, until yesterday courteous well-bred, cultured officers of the Croatian people allied overnight with the nice<sup>862</sup> company of Gypsies-Ustashas, with that new Aryan race.

In your newspaper, you called me the leader of a Communist and bandit gang. My past proves to you that I have never been a Communist, and the best proof that I am not the leader of a bandit gang is the fact that I am fighting with my brave Chetniks against bandits, criminals and bloodthirsty people. Time will tell its judgment about each of us, and I am convinced that I will never be ashamed of what I am fighting for, while many of you will not dare to come to light if you still survive your human and national shame.

It depends on you, the military officers and soldiers, whether you will start washing away the shame off the Croatian people in the last minute, if that can still be done. With this, you will never wash it, and neither will a thousand generations to come, nor the Jesuit and apostate class of Croats. A most colorful association took part in the massacres of the Serbian people, some in ornate priestly garments, Ustasha uniforms, fezzes and tattered Gypsy suits took part in the massacre of the Serbian people. The cross and the din<sup>863</sup> have united, the worshippers of Christ and Muhammad and the infidels, to crush and destroy us. God, justice and Truth are on our side. We are fighting for the brightest ideals of humanity, so we will win.

Major, JEZIMIR<sup>864</sup> S. DANGIĆ,

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<sup>861</sup> The way. Error in Serbian: *kao* written instead of *kako*.

<sup>862</sup> Here, as rather often, the adjective *lep* ('nice') is used ironically. – *Subeditor's note*.

<sup>863</sup> The Turkish word 'dīn' means 'faith', 'religion', usually referring to Islam. – *Subeditor's note*.

<sup>864</sup> Jezdimir.

SECOND CLASS LIEUTENANT STÖLBEN'S REPORT, MAY 3, 1942,  
ON CROATIAN TROOPS KILLING AND LOOTING SERB CIVILIANS  
ON THE BANK OF THE DRINA RIVER NEAR MILOŠEVIĆI.<sup>865</sup>

Transcript!

Report of Second Class Lieutenant Stoelben<sup>866</sup> from  
the 8th / Infantry Regiment 737<sup>867</sup> Resnik, May 3, 42

In the evening, on May 1, 1942, at around 6:30 p.m., Croatian units emerged from the wooded areas near Barimo and Mioševići<sup>868</sup> from the slopes down toward the left bank of the Drina. All of that was accompanied by fierce gunfire. The units moved toward the river in irregular groups, driving civilians in front of them. Immediately behind the first groups rode a German second class lieutenant and introduced himself to me from one river bank to the other as a liaison officer. Approximately 100 m behind him there was an Italian officer, followed by a crowd, an estimated 200-300 people. I immediately headed for the right wing of my platoon directly in front of Zagrada.<sup>869</sup> There, a German officer called me from the other bank: "We have left all on the left bank. It is all full of Communists!"

As an observer, I have the following to report on the events themselves:

Behind the head, a large group followed, which pushed one man to the ground and kicked him several times. However, the man quickly came to his senses, whereafter he was pushed backwards into the Drina. However, the man managed to get out of the water and, kneeling on his knees, prayed for his life. After that, they picked him up and shot him 50 m away.

I saw several female corpses lying on the bank that had not been there shortly before. Then most of the Croats got to the property of the civilians and took away everything that could be clearly seen, parts of the clothes, etc. What they did not take for themselves, even the things thrown away, they set on fire.

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<sup>865</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 542.

<sup>866</sup> Stölben.

<sup>867</sup> On the operations of the 737th Infantry Regiment of the 704th Infantry Division See: *Zbornik NOR*, Book XII, Vol. 2, 329, 350.

<sup>868</sup> Miloševići.

<sup>869</sup> Unidentified site.

I think that the civilians, who had been camping on the other bank for several days, were refugees, because a few days ago Mr. Second Class Lieutenant Kroll with the 10th / Infantry Regiment 737 and Lieutenant Laub with 20 men from the 5th / Infantry Regiment 737 had combed the left bank of the Drina upstream, and had not undertaken anything against the civilians.

Witnesses to these events are: Sergeant Flessl and NCO Hiller, both of the 8th/Infantry Regiment 737, who were with me.

Then I went to my heavy machine gun, which lay in a position about 1 km northwest of Resnik, and there Corporal Schild and Private Reiterhofer, both of the 8th / 737th Infantry Regiment, reported the following:

“Behind the front on which the liaison officers were, a mass followed which pushed into the water two times 5 women. The first 5 women escaped, the next 5 stood in the water up to their stomachs and were shot with a machine gun. Another woman drowned herself, after she had previously drowned her child. Then they forced 2 more women into the water, shot them and then, kicking, pushed them into the water. Then they shot 3 men and threw them into the water, among whom, as could be discerned by his clothes, was a Mohammedan.”

The above events were also noticed with Gr.W.<sup>870</sup> positions near Resnik / Corporal Schneider, Corporal Grieser, Private Stadler and Private Wunera, all from the 8th / Infantry Regiment 737.

For accuracy:  
signed  
Lieutenant

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<sup>870</sup> Abbreviated for: *Grenzwache*, Border Guard.

No. 154

REPORT OF NCO WENZL FROM MUŠIĆI, MAY 4, 1942, ON CROATIAN TROOPS KILLING AND LOOTING SERB CIVILIANS ON THE BANK OF THE DRINA RIVER.<sup>871</sup>

Transcript!

Report of NCO Heinrich Wenzl from the 6th / Infantry Regiment 737  
/ Mušići, 4 May 42 /.

I have the following to report on the events of May 1, 1942:

After I noticed the approach of Croatian units from my position about 150 m in front of Reznik,<sup>872</sup> which was accompanied by fierce fire from rifles, I saw with my binoculars that their front was moving at a fast pace in a regular column. At the head was a German officer, some 150 m behind him was an Italian officer, and some 500-700 m behind this mass a unit of some 200-300 men who drove in front of it about 1000-1500 heads of mixed cattle and, on the road, about 50-80 people of different sexes.

All those who came along the way had their documents checked, so one part was let through and the other part was taken away. At the elevation of the company of Mr. Lieutenant Stoelben, I noticed that they pushed into the water two times 5 women. During the third time, 5-6 women were again pushed, and they fled into the Drina with their skirts up. When they were standing in the water up to their hips, a Croat shot at them with a machine gun, and the river swallowed and took them away. An old woman fled into the Drina with her child, drowned the child and then herself. One man, after he had already been lying on the ground, was kicked, and then thrown into the river, and when he tried to reach the bank, a Croat took him and shot him some 50 m farther.

Non-commissioned officer Miksch Otto from the 6th/Infantry Regiment 737 informed me that at the elevation of his position about 1 km downstream from Mušići he saw the following:

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<sup>871</sup> AB, Ф. 562, 3.1.1.2, 543.

<sup>872</sup> Resnik.

At 5.15 p.m., the Croats, coming from Višegrad, occupied the left bank of the Drina. The head passed Barimo, held and took over the security of the troops that were resting. After about 15 minutes, he saw a platoon breaking through the forest on the slopes of the hill, while a group drove all the cattle in the plain downstream along the river. At the same time, he heard fierce gunfire and screams from the canyon. After that, he saw some women running up the hill and behind them he noticed gunshots and machine gun fire. But the women escaped.

Meanwhile, his squad, Corporal Schmeyer, Corporal Kersting, Corporal Steller, First Class Sergeant Schaefer<sup>873</sup> and Corporal Fuchs, noticed that Croatian soldiers had stabbed a Serb, who was hiding on the bank, and threw him into the water. The water immediately turned red. The Serb wanted to crawl up the bank once more, but Croatian soldiers shot him and he sank. With unbridled gunfire, the Croats continued on.

2. 5. 42 at 5 o'clock in the morning, the guard, First Class Sergeant Schäfer, noticed a severely wounded Serb on the left bank of the Drina, who was dragging himself downstream and who remained lying in the bush. After a while, he gestured that he was there and kept calling for help – and so he did all day long. He was hidden in the bushes overnight, and on May 3, 1942, at around 7 a.m., he dragged himself 150 m downstream on all fours, where he talked to a Serb woman. The woman walked away in the direction of Miloševići, and the man crawled farther in the direction of Barimo. Then the man disappeared from sight, because the terrain no longer allowed any view. After about 20 minutes, the guard heard a shot from the village of Barimo and assumed that the Serb was shot there.

For the accuracy of the transcript:  
personal signature  
Lieutenant

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<sup>873</sup> Schäfer.

No. 155

ON MAY 4, 1942, POLICE ATTACHÉ HELM REPORTS TO BELGRADE POLICE COMMANDER SCHÄFER THAT SECRETARY OF STATE KVATERNIK HAD INFORMED HIM REGARDING THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE MUSLIM LEGION, THAT A PART OF THE LEGION HAD BEEN DISARMED AND THAT IT WOULD SOON BE DISBANDED.<sup>874</sup>

German Embassy  
Police Attaché

Zagreb, May 4, 1942  
Gvozd 15  
Tel. 22-352

Br. Nr. 952/42  
Co/PY

K III 16/5<sup>876</sup>

Security Police and Security Service<sup>875</sup>  
Belgrade, May 8, 1942  
Office: III  
B. Nr. 346/172  
2874/42

18/5<sup>877</sup>

VB for K.

III A Into the files: Atrocities<sup>878</sup>

For  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
SS Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Schäfer<sup>879</sup>  
Belgrade.

Subject: New atrocities of Croats and Muslims in the area of Tuzla,  
eastern Bosnia.

Reference to: Letter there B. Nr. 2874/42 of 20 April 1942

<sup>874</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 504.

<sup>875</sup> Stamp of reception.

<sup>876</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>877</sup> Initials, probably those of SS Major Weinmann.

<sup>878</sup> Handwritten notes.

<sup>879</sup> Emanuel Schäfer.

As to the above issue, Secretary of State K v a t e r n i k<sup>880</sup> was again instructed here to show that the Muslim Legion is not<sup>881</sup> adequate to carry out the tasks assigned to it by the Croatian government. Based on the repeated pointing out of the violations of the law and the atrocities of this legion, an energetic action has now been taken by the Secretary of State K v a t e r n i k. Thus, on April 28, 1942, the commander of a H a d ž i e f e n d i ć unit was convicted by court-martial for undisciplined behavior in Vlasenica and shot by the Ustashas. His unit of about 160 legionnaires was disarmed. A unit of the Muslim militia in Rogatica was also disarmed, and the disarmament of a battalion stationed along the Drina, numbering about 700 people, is underway.

It is intended that the entire Muslim Legion (approximately 3,000 people) be disarmed within 3-4 weeks and that those good elements, who are willing to behave in a disciplined manner later, join the Ustashas.

Helm<sup>882</sup> personal signature  
SS-Major, Pol.[ice] att.[aché]

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<sup>880</sup> Eugen Kvaternik.

<sup>881</sup> Underlined in red pencil.

<sup>882</sup> Hans Helm.

REVIEW OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMANDER OF THE 10<sup>TH</sup> VOLUNTEER DETACHMENT, AT THE BEGINNING OF MAY 1942, ON THE USTASHA KILLING AND MOLESTING SERB CIVILIANS, THE PERMISSION GIVEN BY THE USTASHAS TO TRANSFER PART OF THE REFUGEES TO SERBIA AND ON THE TALKS WITH USTASHA COMMANDERS IN BAJINA BAŠTA.<sup>883</sup>

Transcript!

from the report of the commander of the Serbian volunteer unit in Bajina Bašta about the behavior of the Ustashas on the Drina.

I. About the officers, who lead the Ustashas, this has become known: Among them is the former Yugoslav Guards Lieutenant Miloš (now Petar) Bobić, son-in-law of the Jewish doctor Dr. Lewi.<sup>884</sup> It has become known that Bobić is currently with the Partisans in Užice and that he is in the ranks of the Communists. This statement is given by the cavalry lieutenant in the reserve, Milan Dr. Dukić.

On May 4, 1942, he (Bobić) gave a speech to the Ustashas at the saw mill across the road from Derventa,<sup>885</sup> in which he forbade the burning of houses, and ordered: "All should be killed." Obrad Golić, the commander of the guard and Junior Sergeant Petar Radojević from Džinići<sup>886</sup> (Derventa), heard this, among others. Apart from Bobić, there are also former Yugoslav lieutenants Pero Malić and Anton Kraljević.

II. On 4. 5. the Ustashas shot at women and children in Tijovo<sup>887</sup> (Derventa) and on that occasion killed one child and 4 women, and the inhabitants of the place beat one wounded Chetnik to death. On that day, they also fired onto the right bank of the Drina. On 5 May 1942, at around 10 a.m., 5 bullets were fired at the border guard near Džinić,<sup>888</sup> although the border guard was 150 m

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<sup>883</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 544-545.

<sup>884</sup> It probably refers to Dr. Avram Levi Kurt from the Partisan hospital in Užice.

<sup>885</sup> Derventa near Vlasenica.

<sup>886</sup> Džinići.

<sup>887</sup> Unidentified village.

<sup>888</sup> Džinići.

away from the right bank. Borisav Milutinović and Dušan Sasić were standing guard.

III. On May 4, an Ustasha shouted at Corporal Dragomir Živanović to pull a boat out of the water and let it cross the Drina. In this Ustasha, border guard Vlada Milovanović recognized a certain grammar school student named “Aco” from Negotin, who dropped out from grammar school before the war due to his Communist activities.

IV. On the night of May 5-6, in Skelani, the Ustashas separated elderly women from younger and unmarried women, whereafter they raped them. So far, it is known that the following women were raped: “Milica Jevtić, Milica Vasić and Milana Marković from Božići, Radosava Milavamović<sup>889</sup> from Postolje and Milica Javistić, the girl Vidosava Jostić went insane at the moment when the Ustashas forced her to walk naked between them. These women are in the Bajina Bašta camp. So far, the following have been killed: Marija Nikolić from Pribojeviš, <sup>890</sup> she was holding a child in her lap who was also wounded; these were slaughtered: Novka Camić from Toplica, two children left behind, Miljuša Prodin, five children left behind, Đurđija Ranković, Milija Draginja Milovanović from Pribojevići says that these women were killed:

Dadisava Brenić with her six children, Mileva Brenić with five children, Anka Milovanović from Postolje with five children, then Milena Duravić from Derventa, who died in the camp in Bajina Bašta from the consequences of a stray bullet”.

Danica Novaković from Koprivna, Vlasenica District, and Julka Milovanović from Postolje, both in the Bajina Bašta camp, state that the Ustashas cursed Hitler and cursed their mothers, saying that they would drive the Germans and Nedić out of Serbia in a few days.

The commander of the 10th Volunteer Unit<sup>891</sup> in Bajina Bašta tried to obtain a permit for the transport of women, children and food, which was allowed by the commander of the Ustasha unit. On the night of the 5th and 6th, an officer of the 10th Volunteer Unit transferred 400 women and children as well as food supplies, and all those people who were found there by the Ustashas. About 200 of them are still with the Ustashas in the prison at Skelani.

The commander of the 10th Volunteer Unit tried to save these people as well. The Ustasha commander came to Bajina Bašta on the evening of

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<sup>889</sup> Milovanović.

<sup>890</sup> Pribojevići.

<sup>891</sup> Lieutenant Miloš Lautner Vojinović.

the 6<sup>th</sup> of this month to get acquainted with the commander of the 10th Volunteer Unit. During the conversation, the Ustasha leader said, among other things:

He was in Sarajevo on April 6, 1941, and he cursed Hitler most openly. The man's name is Grdić. He praises relations in the former Yugoslavia. Before the war, he was a junior sergeant in the 10th Infantry Regiment. He said, we were brothers, the Germans made us quarrel, and when they leave, we will go hand in hand again. Furthermore, he was of the opinion that the Supreme Leader called the Mohammedans "flowers" only for a month because they had to be given weapons. Grdić said that the Croatian army is not worth a bean. He and other Ustasha-Croats openly incite the people against the Mohammedans and blame these for all the slaughter, looting, rape, etc., for the Ustashas have no power over them. He said that, although the Ustasha corporal Maconja, a Mohammedan, was sitting next to him, but could not hear this, because Grdić was whispering all this about Hitler, the Croatian army and the Mohammedans in his ear.

The 2nd Ustasha is a gendarmerie sergeant, formerly the commander of the gendarmerie station in Stari Bar and during the war in Danilovgrad (Montenegro), a native of Prijepolje. He said: "He would gladly flee for Serbia and probably should not say that Yugoslavia was rotten inside, because everyone lived well. He went to the Ustashas only because the gendarmerie stations were attacked by the Chetniks. He was safer with the Ustashas, for they were larger in numbers. He said he would still see where he would be when the war ends."

The third is a Mohammedan from Foča and his name is Maconja, a shoemaker in Foča. He is very obtuse (he is a Mohammedan). He says that Croatia and the Croats are to blame for the situation in Bosnia, they manipulated both the Serbs and the Mohammedans into killing each other.

Their superior is an ensign, a former emigrant, a man of better culture. He promised that the refugees in his sector could return and that they would not be exposed to any danger.

#### Conclusion:

They blame each other, express dissatisfaction with today's relations, indirectly criticize the leadership of today's Croatia, they all praise the conditions in Yugoslavia, they are politically inconsistent, blame Germany for the current situation, wait for things to be finally settled when the war is over, do not believe in the victory of Germany and are belittling the Croatian army.

They are afraid of a German punitive expedition, they add that the Croatian Colonel Domašević, with his troop, wife and children, switched over to the Partisans near Vojnić (Hrvatski Karlovac).

In the conversation, they add that there is no chance that they could stay in this area. The Ustasha Maconja especially agreed with this.

For accuracy of the transcript:

signed

Captain

REVIEW OF EXCERPTS FROM GERMAN MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE REPORTS ON THE USTASHA KILLINGS OF SERB CIVILIANS AND THE TORCHING OF VILLAGES IN BOSNIAN PODRINJE, FROM APRIL 23 TO MAY 6, 1942.<sup>892</sup>

III A into files

13. 5. 42<sup>893</sup>

Transcript

OVERVIEW OF EXCERPTS<sup>894</sup> FROM THE REPORT  
ON ATTACKS IN CROATIA April 23 – May 6, 1942

15.4. 717 IB.<sup>895</sup>

The lines of withdrawal of the Ustashas are: the Drinjača to the village and mountain Glogovo<sup>896</sup> and Srebrenica. On their retreat, the Croats burned 17 villages in the Municipalities of Kravica and Viçgov.<sup>897</sup>

23. 4. Ast.<sup>898</sup>

From the territory southeast of Han Pijesak and Sokolovići, 6 km north-northwest of Rogatica, about 1,100 Serb women and children fled before the Ustasha terror towards Višegrad.

25. 4. 42 Bader Combat Group

The population of the cleared territories is seriously worried about the looting by the Ustasha men.

25. 4. Ast.

Report of own intelligence outpost Tuzla from April 24 on intelligence-purpose travel.

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<sup>892</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 536.

<sup>893</sup> Handwritten notes.

<sup>894</sup> Inserted in handwriting: military reports.

<sup>895</sup> 717th Infantry Battalion (*Infanterie Bataillon*).

<sup>896</sup> Glogova.

<sup>897</sup> Viogor.

<sup>898</sup> Ast. – abbreviated from: *Abwehrstelle*, Abwehr outpost.

The territory of Zvornik – Drinjača – Nova – Kasaba – Milići – Vlasenica – Han Pijesak occupied by Francetić's Ustashes. All Serb villages to the right and left of the road destroyed. Inhabitants cannot be found. The cattle driven away. Everything that has been built over the last 100 years is completely destroyed.

Deputy of Lieutenant Colonel Francetić used these words: "We pacify by eradication." The Croatian troops shoot those men who surrender with weapons, even when there are no combat operations. The women and children who fled the Ustasha terror left without the possibility of subsistence.

30. 4. Ast. Report of own intelligence outpost Užice of 28.4.

The Bosnian Chetniks attacked Bratunac on 25.4. without success. As an act of revenge, the Ustashes burned at least 150 surrounding Serb houses, which could be seen from Ljubovija.

For accuracy  
L.P.  
13. 5. 42.

No. 158

ON MAY 11, 1942, THE COMMANDER OF THE POLICE IN BELGRADE SENDS TO THE REICH SECURITY MAIN OFFICE NEW REPORTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF ATROCITIES IN CROATIA.<sup>899</sup>

Sent on 11. V. 1942<sup>900</sup>  
Attachments 1-Egner

May 8, 1942

III Rx/Fli B.Nr. 3495/42

Procedure

I. Letter

CONFIDENTIAL

1./For

Reich Security Main Office – Section IV -  
SS General and Lieutenant General  
of the Police Müller – o.V.i.A. -  
Berlin.

2./For

Reich Security Main Office – Section III -  
Berlin.

3./For

Reich Security Main Office – Section VI -  
Berlin.

Subject: Croatian atrocities.

Reference: Local letter dated May 1, 1942

Attachments: -1-; 6 photos for Section IV.

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<sup>899</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 505. See Figs. 17 to 20, and documents Nos. 132 and 140 in this book.

<sup>900</sup> Stamp of dispatch.

As a supplement to the local report from 1 May 42<sup>901</sup>, a transcript of the report of the Commanding Officer and Commander in Serbia, Section I c 1462/42 on atrocities in Croatia, is attached.

The report includes an overview of excerpts from military reports from 1-22. 4. 42 as well as transcripts of original reports of military services in Croatia and several photographs (there is only one copy of each for Section IV).

2. G III

i.V.<sup>902</sup>

3. Reg.

4. VB<sup>903</sup> 11/5

SS Lieutenant Colonel

5. III A into the file.

9 May 42

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<sup>901</sup> See document no. 149 in this book.

<sup>902</sup> i.V, in *Vertretung*, representing.

<sup>903</sup> Initials, probably of SS Major Weinmann.



Hadžiefendić, a merchant from Tuzla in Bosnia. Thus, on April 28, 1942, the commander of one of Hadžiefendić's units in Vlasenica was convicted by court-martial for his behavior and shot by the Ustashas. His unit – about 160 men – was disarmed. Likewise, a unit of the Muslim militia in Rogatica was also disarmed. Those good elements who are willing to behave in a disciplined manner later, will be included in the Ustasha militia.

The disarmament of the battalion engaged along the Drina, with a force of about 700 men, is in progress and it is intended to disarm the entire Muslim Legion (with a force of about 3,000 men) within 3-4 weeks.

Hadžiefendić himself is currently in Zagreb.

Represented by:  
signed<sup>910</sup>  
SS Lieutenant

Reference: of 21. 3. 42 with III A<sup>911</sup>  
2007/42

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<sup>910</sup> Illegible signature.

<sup>911</sup> Official stamp.

REPORT OF THE LIAISON OFFICER IN THE FRANČETIĆ GROUP  
DISPUTING THE REPORTS OF MASS KILLINGS AND LOOTINGS;  
A REPORT THAT NOVA KASABA WAS TORCHED AND THAT THE  
SERB POPULATION WAS EXPELLED, OR BRUTALLY KILLED BY  
MUSLIM USTASHAS.<sup>912</sup>

Transcript!

Report of Lieutenant Wiesner, Liaison Officer with  
the Francetić group on the reports by Mr. Lieutenant Stölbén  
and NCO Wenzel.

There was no Italian officer with the Ustasha unit. No cattle were driven  
away.

It was not noticed that women were driven away, abused, drowned or  
shot.

Due to the different treatment of Chetniks, on the Croatian side where  
they are enemies, and on the Serbian side where they are treated as refugees,  
there are many misunderstandings.

The Ustasha detachment, which provides security near Stari Brod, seized  
400 rifles, which the alleged refugees hid in the forest.

The Ustasha unit was a completely undisciplined horde, which has no  
organization or training. I was an eyewitness only when a weak-minded boy  
was shot. Lieutenant Colonel Francetić vigorously opposed it.

714. I.D.<sup>913</sup> reports along with the daily report from 16. 5. 42

In the area of Nova Kasaba, 10 km west of Drinjača, Milići, Bostah  
Ovina,<sup>914</sup> 10 km west of Srebrenica, the Serb inhabitants were expelled by  
Muslim Ustashes, the Serbs capable of carrying weapons were killed and  
their properties were burned. A part of the men, women and children were  
pushed into large estates and burned alive. On May 15, in Zelinja, 5 km  
southeast of Drinjača, it was ascertained that 9 properties were on fire.

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<sup>912</sup> AB, Ф, 562, 3.1.1.2, 546.

<sup>913</sup> 714<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division.

<sup>914</sup> Bastahovina.

No. 161

ON MAY 16, 1942, THE COMMANDER OF THE POLICE IN BELGRADE SENDS TO SS MAJOR HELM IN ZAGREB NEW REPORTS ON USTASHA ATROCITIES AGAINST THE SERBS IN BOSNIA.<sup>915</sup>

May 16, 42

- VB II<sup>916</sup> Mü/Sa. 224/2-  
B. Nr .....

CONFIDENTIAL

1./For

Police Attaché  
at the German Embassy  
into the hands of SS Major Helm  
-o.V.i.A.-  
Zagreb.

Subject: Ustasha atrocities.

Reference to: For information.

Attachments: 4 transcripts.

As attachments for the information there, the following reports are being sent, which in the meantime have arrived from the German and Serbian services about the atrocities committed by the Ustashes against the Serbs in Bosnia.

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<sup>915</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 539.

<sup>916</sup> Official designation of the liaison officer between the Police Commander (BdS) and the Military Commander in Serbia. VB, abbreviated from: *Verbindungsführer / Befehlshaber*. SS Major Weinmann had the official designation VB, i.e. VB I, and the second liaison officer (VB II) was an SS lieutenant, later SS captain, Fritz Günther Müller.

It is pointed out that these are reports that have been given to this service in confidence.

In the name of  
signed by Teichmann<sup>917</sup>  
SS Lieutenant Colonel

2./K III for information and one copy for taking over

3./Into the files of the UK II.

III A into the file<sup>918</sup> 18. 5. 42<sup>919</sup>

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<sup>917</sup> SS Lieutenant Colonel (SS-*Obersturmbannführer*) Ludwig Teichmann, was the head of the Third Department (Security Service, SD) in the Police Operational Group (*Einsatzgruppe* Sipo-SD). After the abolition of the Operational Group and the establishment of the institution of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service (BdS) in the second half of January 1942, Teichmann was the Deputy Commander of the Police of SS Lieutenant Colonel Emanuel Schäfer.

<sup>918</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>919</sup> Handwritten note. Illegible initials.

No. 162

THE SARAJEVO OPERATIONAL COMMAND REPORTS TO THE BELGRADE POLICE COMMANDER ON JUNE 2, 1942, THAT AN USTASHA NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER HAD KILLED AN ENTIRE FAMILY IN KOŠEVO NEAR SARAJEVO, BUT HAD BEEN RELEASED.<sup>920</sup>

Commander of the Security Police and SD<sup>921</sup>  
in Belgrade  
Received 2. VI. 1942.  
B. Nr.: 1386/42  
L III<sup>922</sup>

Commander of the Security Police,  
and Security Services  
Operational Command Sarajevo  
309/42<sup>923</sup>

Sarajevo May 30, 1942  
Tel. 39-68  
36-46

According to the information: of the Police Attaché in Zagreb

For  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
SS Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Schäfer VB. II III A RSHA<sup>924</sup>  
in Belgrade

Subject: New unpunished Ustasha killings near Sarajevo.

Reference to: Local Letters B. Nr. 64 of 22. 2. 42. and 266 of 15. 5. 42.

On March 27, 1942, the Ustasha non-commissioned officer Milić C o l i ć, together with three other Ustashas, killed the entire family H e r č e k a from Koševo near Sarajevo, on their property.

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<sup>920</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 585.

<sup>921</sup> Stamp of receipt. Illegible initials.

<sup>922</sup> L, abbreviated from Head (*Leiter*) of the III Department (*Sicherheitsdienst*, Security Services, abbreviated SD); SS Captain Rexeisen.

<sup>923</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>924</sup> Handwritten notes. Illegible signatures and initials.

This regards the following persons:

Sidonia Herčeka, 75 years old

Janko	"	45	"	"	son of Sidonia
Antonia	"	40	"	"	Janko's wife
Zdravko	"	14	"	"	Janko's son
Gisela	"	18	"	"	her father is currently in German captivity

Colić, who himself comes from Koševo and who was previously known there as a criminal, wanted to appropriate the Herčeka property. With terror, he first managed to convince the public that the murders were committed by the Chetniks. After 6 weeks, the investigation revealed the real facts. Colić was arrested by the Ustasha supervisory service, and the state prosecutor's office filed a lawsuit. The bodies of the killed were exhumed on the same day. Colić confessed to the crime, but was nevertheless released on the same day he was arrested and indicted. The Ustasha judge, who wanted to investigate this matter, was imprisoned for two days, and the district chief, who filed the report and who also advocated for investigation and punishment, has now been officially punished and transferred from Sarajevo to Livno. All responsible Croatian offices have information about these killings. However, nothing has been done against the perpetrator so far.

Head of the Sarajevo Operational Command  
Dr. Heinrich<sup>925</sup> personal signature  
SS Major

Reference to: 1386/42 of 27 February at III<sup>926</sup>

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<sup>925</sup> Alfred Heinrich.

<sup>926</sup> Official stamp.

No. 163

ON JUNE 4, 1942, THE COMMANDER OF THE POLICE IN BELGRADE INFORMS THE REICH SECURITY MAIN OFFICE IN BERLIN THAT AN USTASHA NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER HAD KILLED AN ENTIRE FAMILY IN KOŠEVO NEAR SARAJEVO, BUT THAT HE HAD BEEN RELEASED.<sup>927</sup>

4. VI. 1942

Sent on June 8, 1942<sup>928</sup>

III Sö/LP B. Nr. I 386/42

For

- 1.) Reich Security Main Office – Section IV -  
SS Lieutenant General and Lieutenant General of the  
Police Müller,<sup>929</sup> –.o.V.i.A.  
Berlin

For

- 2.) Reich Security Main Office – Section VI -  
SS Lieutenant Colonel Schelenberg,<sup>930</sup>  
Berlin.

Subject: New unpunished Ustasha killings near Sarajevo.

Reference: None

On March 27, 1942, Ustasha non-commissioned officer Milić Colić, together with three other Ustashes, killed the entire Herčeka family from Koševo near Sarajevo, on their property.

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<sup>927</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 583-584.

<sup>928</sup> Stamp of dispatch.

<sup>929</sup> SS-*Gruppenführer und Generalleutnant der Polizei* Heinrich Müller.

<sup>930</sup> SS-*Obersturmbannführer* Walter Schelenberg.

This regards the following people:

Sidonia Herčeka, 75 years old

Janko " 45 " " son of Sidonia

Antonia " 40 " " Janko's wife

Zdravko " 14 " " Janko's son

Gisela " 18 " " her father is currently  
in German captivity.

Colić, who himself comes from Koševo and who was previously known there as a criminal, wanted to appropriate the Herčeka property. With terror, he first managed to convince the public that the murders were committed by Chetniks. After 6 weeks, the investigation revealed the real facts. Colić was arrested by the Ustasha supervisory service, and the state prosecutor's office filed a lawsuit. The bodies of the killed were exhumed on the same day.

Colić confessed to the crime, but was nevertheless released on the same day he was arrested and indicted. The Ustasha judge, who wanted to investigate this matter, was imprisoned for two days, and the district chief, who filed the report and who also advocated for investigation and punishment, has now been officially punished and transferred from Sarajevo to Livno. All responsible Croatian offices have information about these killings. However, nothing has been done against the perpetrator so far.

signature<sup>931</sup>

SS Lieutenant Colonel

932

Reference to:

1) 5/6

2) L

3) VI into files VI/4

4) IV into K

5) III A into files 4/VI 42

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<sup>931</sup> Initial, probably Sch, from Schäfer, Commander of the Police in Belgrade (BdS).

<sup>932</sup> Handwritten note with illegible initials.

No. 164

THE BRANCH OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER OF THE POLICE IN LOZNICA SENDS TO SS CAPTAIN REXEISEN 6 PHOTOS OF CORPSES WASHED ONTO THE SERBIAN BANK OF THE DRINA RIVER BETWEEN LJUBOVIJA AND ZVORNIK.<sup>933</sup>

COMMANDER OF SECURITY POLICE  
AND SECURITY SERVICE IN BELGRADE  
Foreign Command Loznica<sup>934</sup>

Loznica, June 22, 42

Commander of the Security Police and SD<sup>935</sup> in Belgrade  
Received: -7. VII. 1942  
B. Nr. 6710/42  
Office: III A

For  
Commander of the Security Police and Security Service  
– into the hands of SS Captain Rexeisen<sup>936</sup>  
Belgrade.

Subject: Pictures of corpses from the Drina.

Reference: None.

Attachments: 6 photos.

Attached are 6 pictures for inspection, to be retained there.

The corpses were washed onto the Serbian bank of the Drina in the Ljubovija-Zvornik sector.

By authorization:  
SS Second Class Lieutenant personal signature<sup>937</sup>

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<sup>933</sup> AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 586. See Figs. 26 to 29 and Figs. 30 to 32.

<sup>934</sup> The BdS Foreign Command in Loznica (*Aussenkommando Loznica*) operated as intelligence not only in Serbia's Podrinje, but also in eastern Bosnia.

<sup>935</sup> Stamp of receipt: illegible initials.

<sup>936</sup> SS-*Hauptsturmführer* Hans Rexeisen.

<sup>937</sup> Illegible signature.

ON NOVEMBER 20, 1942, THE COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES SENDS TO SS MAJOR WEINMANN THE STATEMENT BY GLIŠO MIŠKOVIĆ FROM BEŠENOVO, ABOUT THE KILLING OF 30 SERBS BY USTASHA-MUSLIMS IN STEJANOVCI.<sup>938</sup>

EXTRAORDINARY PLENIPOTENTIARY COMMISSIONER  
FOR RELOCATION AND PROTECTION  
OF REFUGEES

Nr. 51,264

Belgrade, 20 -XI- 1942

204<sup>939</sup>

Cabinet: VLA/I

Subject: Statement of MIŠKOVIĆ GLIŠO – brutal treatment and killings by Ustasha-Muslims in Ruma.

Very Honorable Commissioner,

On November 19 this year, MIŠKOVIĆ GLIŠO, a farmer from Bešenovo, municipality of the same name, married, father of two children, and now a refugee in Belgrade (Refugee ID No. 114788), Kneginje Ljubice No. 7 appeared in this Commissariat, and stated, inter alia, the following:

“Three weeks ago, several hundred Ustasha Muslims from Bosnia arrived in RUMA, invaded Serb villages, terrorized the population and robbed them. On November 16, 1942, they stormed the village of STEJANOVIĆ,<sup>940</sup> where they inflicted a terrible bloodbath on the Serbs, and on that occasion, 30 Serbs were killed. I do not know the details of this event, because I set off on the same day. It had been hinted that the Ustashas would come to the village of Bešenovo, which is why I fled and came to Serbia.”

Since we assume, highly esteemed Mr. Doctor, that the above-mentioned cannot yet be known to you, we are informing you thereof.

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<sup>938</sup> AB, Φ, 562, 3.1.1.2, 591.

<sup>939</sup> Handwritten note.

<sup>940</sup> Stejanovci.

With expressions of my deepest respect, I sign

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONER:  
TOMA MAKSIMOVIĆ  
By authorization: Vlaisavljević<sup>941</sup> personal signature

To K III<sup>942</sup> for information into the file III A: “Ustasha atrocities”

to Mr. <sup>943</sup>  
Dr. Weinmann<sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup>20/XI  
SS Major and Commissioner for Relocation  
Belgrade.

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<sup>941</sup> Branko Vlaisavljević, Secretary of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrants.

<sup>942</sup> Illegible signature.

<sup>943</sup> Round stamp of the Commissariat for Refugees.

<sup>944</sup> Ernst Weinmann.

<sup>945</sup> Weinmann's initials.



**PHOTOGRAPHS OF USTASHA CRIMES (1941-1942) IN  
THE DOSSIER OF THE COMMANDER OF THE SECURITY  
POLICE AND THE SECURITY SERVICE IN BELGRADE**



## Photographs – Witnesses to Crimes and Sufferings

The dossier of the German Commander of the Police in the occupied Serbia, entitled “Ustasha Atrocities”, one of the archival units in Slavko Odić’s Personal Fonds (1915–2006), 1909–1983, which is kept in the Archives of Vojvodina, is an extremely valuable historical source, because it authentically testifies to the Ustasha crimes committed in the Independent State of Croatia. The archival material of the dossier consists of written documents and photographs. Some archival documents state which photographs belong to them, as attachments and a kind of evidence of the events mentioned and described in the text. For certain documents, this was determined during the archival processing and preparation of the material for printing. We publish such integrated archival material in the collection of documents of the same name – *Ustasha Atrocities*, which will greatly contribute to making it not only more accessible for research, but also more informative and visible for studies, analyses and conclusions.

The dossier includes 70 photographs, and in the structure of this collection of documents of the Ustasha atrocities, they make a separate part. Considering that there are five duplicates and one triplicate among them, we decided to publish 63 photographs. In the material, three photographs are pasted together on one paper base, as well as one duplicate, and the others are shown individually. Most of these photographs were hitherto unknown to the public, and by publishing them, we are completing the published photo-documentary historical sources on the crimes of the Ustasha state.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The most complete publication on this topic is the book by J. Mirković *Zločini nad Srbima u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*. An illustrated monograph, Beograd: Svet knjige; Muzej žrtava genocida, 2014; See also the book by the same author, *Stradanje Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*. An illustrated monograph, Beograd: Svet knjige, 2016. The book provides exhaustive data and photographs about the killed priests

We have decided on this step primarily because of the documentary significance of photography as a historical source of the first order. As a special kind of historical source, presenting the scene of events, it enables a more expressive experience and an understanding of what happened, compared to narrative sources.

Moreover, photography can provoke different reactions in the observer faster and more strongly: political, social, ethical ones, and in some cases it can even orient, direct and change collective social behaviors.<sup>2</sup>

Taken out and grouped photographs from the dossier of the Commander of the Police in Serbia provide a relatively complete overview of the Serbs' sufferings in the Independent State of Croatia. The same principle was adopted in the preparation of other documents for this collection. The photographs are grouped according to the time when they were taken and the events to which they refer. If it was a series of photographs of the same event, they were grouped according to the probable order of occurrence of individual photographs. Where necessary, in order to understand the content of a photograph, its position was changed in accordance with the angle at which the photograph was most likely taken, and not with the way it was glued to the background.

The photographs are grouped into three chronological/thematic units:

- 1. Gudovac and Sisak**
- 2. Eastern Bosnia, April 1942**
- 3. Releases from the Ustasha camps**

In the collection, we have indicated with individual documents which photographs are related to them, if we could reliably determine that, or assume with a high probability. Great help in identifying some photographs and linking them to documents was provided by closer descriptions of the content of the photographs, listed in the material itself. All photographs are black and white and each (except two) is pasted on a paper background with the memorandum of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade, i.e. in Serbia (*Der Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in Belgrad*). Below the printed memorandum, the title of the subject to which the photograph refers

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of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the destroyed churches and monasteries in the period from 1941 to 1945, as well as about their new systematic destruction from 1991 onwards.

<sup>2</sup> M. Mihajlović, "Fotografija: dokument izvor i svedok istorije", *Arhiv*, časopis Arhiva Jugoslavije, 1-2, 2015, 39.

is typewritten, while below most of the photographs stands a caption (legend) with a more detailed definition of its content.

Wherever we established that the information is wrong, we have provided the correct information in square brackets. We marked the photographs with ordinal numbers for the purposes of this edition (Figs. 1-61). In the section **List of Photographs**, we have presented their reference numbers in the collection, in the same way as for other documents in this collection. For a large number of photographs known so far about Ustasha crimes, it was not possible to establish some basic facts, among other things, who took them. In that respect, the photographs we publish in the collection are a significant contribution to the Serbian historiography. Almost all photographs can be reliably linked to specific institutions or military commands that organized their shooting. In one case, the identity of the person who took the photographs is reliably known.

For certain photographs or series of photographs, it is not entirely clear which way they got into the dossier of the Police Commander. This primarily refers to a series of photographs taken after the massacre in Gudovac near Bjelovar at the end of April 1941. The photographs of the crime in Gudovac from the dossier “Ustasha Atrocities” have already been published in 2019.<sup>3</sup> Considering that these photographs are an inseparable part of the dossier, we publish them again in this collection of documents (Figs. 1-14), within the first chronological/thematic unit entitled Gudovac and Sisak.

On April 28, 1941, in Gudovac near Bjelovar, members of the local Croatian Peasant Defence killed 201 prominent Serbs from this and the surrounding villages. The massacre took place in the presence, probably at the orders, too, of Eugen Dido Kvaternik, the future chief of police services of the Ustasha state. The photographs were taken by the German military command from Bjelovar, which was investigating the crime. However, the investigation was deliberately not completed, and the criminals were not punished.<sup>4</sup> The photographs from Gudovac reached the dossier of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade through the Administration Staff of the Military Commander in Serbia. This can be seen from the record that the Chief of Military Administration Staff, State Counselor Harald Turner, sent to the German Embassy in Zagreb on June 25, 1941. The act contains a detailed list of Ustasha crimes against the Serbs in the Independent State of

<sup>3</sup> *Gudovac 1941. Put zločina*, edited by N. Kuzmanović, Novi Sad: Archives of Vojvodina; Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, Arhiv Srba u Hrvatskoj, 2019.

<sup>4</sup> M. Radanović, “Masakr u Gudovcu”, in: *Gudovac 1941. Put zločina*, 13-18.

Croatia. “14 photographs sent by the Serbian Ministry of the Interior, in which way the Usthas killed Serbs in the village of Gut[d]ovac near Bjelovar” are attached as evidence.

Turner asked Ambassador [to the NDH] Kasche to “file the most urgent objections with the Croatian government again.”<sup>5</sup>

It is not clear how the photographs from the German command, which conducted the investigation into the crime in Gudovac, reached the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and various assumptions are possible. In any case, during June 1941, the photographs reached the Administration Staff of the Military Commander in Serbia from the Serbian Ministry of the Interior, and from there to the dossier of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade on Ustasha atrocities.<sup>6</sup> From the first weeks of the German occupation of Serbia, information on crimes against Serbs began to be collected by three institutions: the Ministry of the Interior, the Holy Synod of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrants.<sup>7</sup> In its notice of June 5, 1941, the Ministry of the Interior asked all authorities to collect precise data from the refugees through interviews and to submit them to the Ministry, which would further inform the German authorities.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that the photographs about the massacre in Gudovac reached the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, which submitted them together with information about other Ustasha crimes, to the Chief of the Administration Staff Turner. Data on Ustasha crimes against the Serbs, as well as photographs of these crimes, reached the representatives of the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, as well as the governments of allied countries relatively quickly, through diplomatic channels of communication. The American Consul in Belgrade, Karl Rankin, remained in Belgrade until July 12, 1941. After leaving Belgrade, he informed the Yugoslav charge d'affaires in Lisbon, Slavko Kojić, about the crimes of the Usthas and showed him photographs thereon. On July 29, 1941, Kojić informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Momčilo Ninčić, about this.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> This certainly refers to Gudovac; *Zločini NDH*, 142.

<sup>6</sup> A. Bursać, “Uvod”, in: *Gudovac 1941. Put zločina*, 7-8.

<sup>7</sup> M. Koljanin, „Ratni zločini u Jugoslaviji u Drugom svetskom ratu. Problem utvrđivanja”, *Istorija 20. veka*, 2, 1998, 91.

<sup>8</sup> B. Božović, *Beograd pod komesarskom upravom 1941. godine*, Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1998, 164.

<sup>9</sup> Rankin handed over the entire documentation on the genocide against Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia and in Vojvodina to the U.S. State Department; Lj. Boban,

The significance of the photographs of the victims of the massacre in Gudovac is reflected primarily in the fact that they are an obvious first-class historical source, about the first mass crime of the armed formations of the Ustasha state and its scale. This crime announced a policy of annihilating (eliminating) Serbs. The photographs confirm allegations from narrative sources that the victims were not only killed by firearms, but that they were also tortured and massacred with cold weapons. Based on these photographs and the circumstances of their origin, the role of the German factor in the Ustasha state can also be seen. German military commands in the Independent State of Croatia registered the committed crimes and sometimes intervened in various ways. Exceptionally, investigations were conducted and the perpetrators of the crimes were arrested, but they would soon be released, which would end the proceedings without a penalty. Although the NDH was formally an independent state within the system of states of the “New European Order”, it was only to the extent that corresponded to German interests. The cessation of the investigation and the release of the perpetrators and those responsible for the crime in Gudovac were a clear sign to the Ustasha state that its policy of annihilating Serbs enjoyed full German support. In one photograph (Fig. 6), behind a large number of exhumed victims, representatives of the German military command that organized the investigation of the crime can be seen. The case of the brutal massacre of the Serbs in Gudovac is also unique in that it is not known that the German authorities investigated and documented any other Ustasha crime in such detail.

The massacre in Gudovac is visible in a total of 20 photographs from the dossier and all of them were published in the publication *Gudovac 1941. Put zločina*. Under the memorandum heading of the Belgrade Police Commander, most of the photographs are entitled “Ustasha Atrocities” or “Atrocities of the Ustasha” (*Ustaschagreuel, Greuelnaten der Ustascha*), two photographs are entitled “Croatian atrocities” (*Kroatische Greuelnaten*), and one is untitled. A total of 14 photographs were taken; four photographs are in duplicate, one in triplicate, and each photograph has its own caption. We publish all 14 photographs here, sticking to the order in which they were most likely taken.

The researcher’s attention had already been attracted by a photograph from the dossier of the Police Commander presented in the publication *Gudovac 1941, Put zločina* (Novi Sad 2019). It is a photograph of a Serb bru-

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*Hrvatska u diplomatskim izveštajima Izbjegličke vlade 1941-1943*, Vol. I, Zagreb: Globus, 1988, 217-218.

tally killed in Gudovac (Fig. 12), which was first published in: *Saopštenja* (*Statements*), No. 66-93, State Commission for Determining the Crimes of the Occupation Army and Their Aides (Belgrade 1945, 772). It is stated here that the photo represents “The mutilated corpse of the Bishop of Banja Luka Platon”. The photo was then reproduced several times with slightly changed captions (legends). One publication stated that it is the mutilated corpse of the Serbian industrialist Miloš Teslić, massacred by the Ustashas in 1941. Based on the caption with the photo of the killed Serb from the dossier of the Police Commander, it is clear that it does not depict the murdered Bishop of Banja Luka Platon, but one of the victims of the massacre in Gudovac.<sup>10</sup>

The first chronological-thematic unit of photographs ends with two shots of the massacred body of Miloš Teslić (Fig. 15 and Fig. 16). He was the owner of the factory *Petar Teslić tvornica špirita i likera* (“Petar Teslić Spirits and Liquors Distillery”) in Sisak, which was after the Second World War renamed as “Segestica”. Like some other economic and industrial facilities forcibly taken from the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia (such as Ozren Bačić’s company in Jasenovac, the property of the Maksimović family in Gospić), Miloš Teslić’s factory was turned into an internment camp. It was established at the end of July 1942, and thousands of Serb children<sup>11</sup> were interned in it, along with other detainees.

Among the numerous preserved photographs of Ustasha atrocities, two photographs with scenes of the massacred body of Miloš Teslić are certainly among the most shocking ones. It is not known who took these photographs and how they got to the dossier of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade. It is possible that they had the same path as the photographs of the crime in Gudovac. Thanks to the fact that they are preserved in the said dossier, some basic facts about this tragic event have been clarified, primarily the identity of the victim. Both photographs have the same title, “Ustasha

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<sup>10</sup> B. Đurić Mišina, “Čemu iskrivljavanje istine u legendama fotografija”, *Godišnjak za istraživanje genocida*, 12-1, Muzej žrtava genocida, Beograd-Kragujevac 2020, 211-215. According to the author of the article, the editor of the Press Release No. 66-93 “knowingly falsified the data” when he stated that it was the corpse of Bishop Platon. However, it is not known whether the State Commission in 1945 had the archives of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade, i.e. the dossier “Ustasha Atrocities” and photographs from Gudovac available. It is also possible that the photo reached the State Commission in another way and with a possibly changed caption. If the State Commission had had photographs from the dossier of the Police Commander on the crime in Gudovac, it was not explained why the editor of the *Statements* would knowingly falsify the data on the identity of the victim.

<sup>11</sup> M. Peršen, *Ustaški logori*, Zagreb: Globus, 1990, 288-291.

atrocities”, and the same captions, “Murdered Serb Miloš Teslić, industrialist from Sisak”. The photographs have been reproduced in some contemporary publications, but without any mutual connection and with a partially accurate attribution.<sup>12</sup>

The first-class source about the circumstances that led to the arrest and murder of Miloš Teslić, the suffering of his family and the data about the perpetrators of the crimes is a statement given jointly by his wife and mother in October 1941 in Belgrade.<sup>13</sup> According to this statement, after the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia, Miloš took refuge with some acquaintances in Kordun, where the Ustashas soon found and robbed him. After receiving security guarantees, he returned to Sisak where he was allowed to partially continue his business. However, on the night of 28/29 of April 1941, a group of Ustashas arrested him, explaining to his family that they were taking him to the police to give a statement. However, the family found out that he was terribly tortured that night before he was killed. After two months, Miloš’s family, mother, wife and underage sons Miloš and Petar, were interned, probably in the camp at Caprag near Sisak, from where they “barely managed to get to Belgrade” after a month. Like other interned and expelled Serbs, their entire property was confiscated (looted). Miloš’s wife Jelena was German and probably that is why the whole family was not killed.

In their statement, Miloš Teslić’s mother and wife claimed that they did not know the names of the perpetrators of the crimes. They listed the names of five people they claimed knew for sure what would happen to Miloš, including two clerks from Miloš’s factory. Based on that, it can be concluded that Miloš’s mother and wife were not shown the photographs of the massacred Miloš or that they did not know the names of those who had been photographed beside their victim. The United Nations War Crimes Commission identified the Sisak lawyer Dr. Filip Crvenković as the organizer of

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<sup>12</sup> J. Mirković, *Zločini nad Srbima u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 128, 133. For a photograph on p. 133, it is incorrectly stated that “Milan Teslić was killed by the Ustashas in Bosnia”. Page 129 gives a photograph of a massacred man with the legend saying that it was Petar Teslić from Sisak who was killed and that his sons Miloš and Milorad were killed with him. However, Petar Teslić, the father of the murdered Miloš, died of a natural death earlier, while Miloš’s sons Petar and Miloš survived. Petar became a famous theater, radio and television director and died in 2014 in Belgrade.

<sup>13</sup> Archives of Serbia (hereinafter AS), Commissariat for Refugees Fonds (G-2 Fonds), folder 11, “Shameful murder of Sisak industrialist Miloš Teslić. A short statement by his wife and mother”, Belgrade, October 1941. The statement was signed by Miloš’s wife Jelena Teslić, in Cyrillic.

Teslić's murder, as well as of the murder of about 100 Serbian workers in his factory who were then thrown into the Sava River. Crvenković was a pre-war member of the Ustasha organization, and during the NDH he became one of the high state officials.<sup>14</sup>

We do not know whether the research so far has established the identity of the people in the photo gathered around the massacred Miloš Teslić, but it is very likely that some employees of his factory were among them. For them, in accordance with the Ustasha ideology and propaganda messages, the murder of the owner of the factory in which they worked would be a revolutionary and socially desirable act. According to the official narrative, the Ustasha state was the result of a national revolution, followed by a "social revolution" whose task was to create a new order on the "Principles of the Ustasha movement".<sup>15</sup> In accordance with that, it was emphasized that the newly created state represented the interests of the entire Croatian people's community. The state also took care of the interests of a small, working Croatian man, who himself had the full right to get rid of exploitation by all means. However, this "revolutionary zeal" could only be directed against Serbs and Jews, who had been represented by Croatian nationalist propaganda for decades as a foreign body and exploiters of the Croatian people. In other words, the anti-capitalist component of the Ustasha ideology had a national sign and was directed not only against Serb and Jewish capitalists, i.e. owners, but also against all members of those peoples. At the same time, the brutal murder of Miloš Teslić was part of the devastating attack of the newly created Croatian state on the Serb bourgeoisie, whose members were mostly killed or evicted, while their property was "legally" confiscated.<sup>16</sup>

According to the testimony of Miloš Teslić's mother and wife, he was taken away during the night. Given that the photographs were taken during the day, the torture must have lasted for several hours. In the group photo, the body of Miloš Teslić is in the foreground, tied to a laid ladder, with traces

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<sup>14</sup> The Wanted Report for Yugoslav War Criminals of the United Nations War Crimes Commission; Archives of Yugoslavia (hereinafter: AJ), the fonds of the State Commission for the Investigation of Crimes by the Occupiers and their Aides (F. 110/Φ. 110), folder 829; See also: *Tko je tko u NDH*, 74 (M. Pojić & Z. Dizdar).

<sup>15</sup> F. Jelić-Butić, *Ustaše i Nezavisna Država Hrvatska 1941-1945*, Zagreb: SN Liber, Školska knjiga, 1978, 151-152.

<sup>16</sup> N. Kršljanin, "Pravni režim nepokretnosti u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj", in: *Pravni poredak Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*, B. Begović, Z. S. Mirković (eds.), Belgrade: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Law, 2017, 291-332.

of terrible torture. The whole body had burns, the abdomen was cut, parts of the womb were taken out, the chest was cut off and its left part was thrown on the victim's head. The second photo shows the head and shoulders of the victim in closeup. Burned skin of the whole face, burnt eyes and nose are seen, and other traces of torture are seen on the head and neck.

The group photo shows a total of 11 persons, four of whom are in Yugoslav Army uniforms with the same insignia on their caps, probably Croatian tricolor. One person is in a police uniform with a hat. In the foreground there are four men, three of whom are most likely the perpetrators of the crimes. The fourth person is in a civilian suit with a tie and a hat, and that is why he stands out from the others in the photo. Their faces in the photo reveal people who are satisfied that they are the perpetrators, or attending the massacre, or subsequently joined the group just for the sake of taking photographs. The culmination of the torture and the immediate cause of death were probably the opening of the chest and the removal of the victim's heart. Apparently, that was done by the person who is in the first row in the photo, first on the left side. That person is holding a butcher's saw in his left hand, with which the victim's chest was cut, and the victim's heart.

Both photographs of the massacred Miloš Teslić testify to the fact that this is a kind of staging. The whole scene gives the impression that the perpetrators were proud of their work and that they wanted it to be immortalized, while others intended to permanently record their presence. One of the goals of taking the photographs was certainly to record in as much detail as possible what kind of torture the victim was exposed to, which was certainly important to those who ordered the photos of the victim. Based on all the elements of both photographs, it can be concluded that the entire process of torture and murder of Miloš Teslić had the characteristics of an ancient, primitive magical-religious rite and medieval torture, with the pulling out of his heart and photographing being its culmination. The manner of execution is reminiscent of some forms of magical ritual practice, when sacrifices were made for the benefit of the community,<sup>17</sup> by killing and extracting hearts. In the case of the murder of Miloš Teslić and in other cases of execution and mutilation of the victims, the goal was to cause as much suffering as possible,

<sup>17</sup> F. W. Clothey, „Ritual, priroda i teorije”, in: Kit Krim (Editor-in-Chief), *Enciklopedija živih religija*, Beograd: Nolit 1990, 593-597; D. M. Knipe, „Žrtva, žrtvovanje, prinošenje žrtve”, n. d., 819-821; Dž. Dž. Frejzer, *Zlatna grana. Proučavanje magije i religije*, Book 2, translated by Ž. V. Simić, Beograd: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1977, 293-296; J. Janićijević, *U znaku Moloha. Antropološki ogled o žrtvovanju*, Beograd: Vajat, 1986, 278-282.

which probably had a certain symbolism<sup>18</sup> for the perpetrators. It should be emphasized that the perpetrators acted in accordance with desirable social behavior, aware that their evildoing would not be punished, because neither they themselves nor the state institutions considered it a criminal act. On the contrary, it was a model of behavior and action to follow. The goal of the photo shooting was to introduce a wider circle of people to the act of torture and killing, and to its “heroes”. That goal was achieved, because the photographs were duplicated and one copy somehow reached the Police Commander in Belgrade, and the dossier “Ustasha Atrocities”, perhaps through the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, which collected documents on Ustasha crimes.

The second chronological/thematic unit of photographs in the collection, entitled **Eastern Bosnia, April 1942**, contains 18 photographs. Based on the content and description in the documents, three groups of photographs can be linked to specific documents in the collection, and the remaining three are thematically related to the others. The photographs were taken in April 1942, in eastern Bosnia, during a large German-Italian-Croatian offensive against insurgent forces. German forces killed captured insurgents, Partisans or Chetniks, or interned them in prison camps. Unlike them, the military units of the Independent State of Croatia, the Ustasha Black Legion and Hadžiefendić's Legion, in turn, were killing Serb civilians and destroying their villages. One of the consequences of these massacres was massive exile to Serbia, and thousands of women and children were killed on the bank of the Drina river while trying to cross the border. German units witnessed these massacres, and occasionally exchanged fire with Croatian forces that were committing crimes. The documents in the collection testify to such events, and so do the attached photographs, which had the function of evidence for what was stated in the documents. The horrors of the massacres

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<sup>18</sup> There are sources about other examples of Ustasha taking out the victim's heart, including those at the Jasenovac camp. See document no. 27 in this collection. This is evidenced by the photograph in the book by J. Mirković *Zločini nad Srbima u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 323. According to a witness from the Glina area, an Ustasha took out a Serb's heart and eyes, and then asked for the victim's heart to be roasted in a tavern so that he could eat it; AJ, Φ. 110, folder. 304, dossier no. 2933, statement of Ljerka Zibar from Jukinac before the District Commission for War Crimes of the Banija National Liberation Board (*narodnooslobodilački odbor – NOO*) on October 14, 1944. This example shows that the extraction of the victim's eyes, as well as the plucking of the heart, had a certain symbolism for the Ustashes.

of the Serb population of eastern Bosnia recorded in the photographs in the dossier were a testimony intended for German military and police institutions as another proof that such actions of the Ustasha state harmed German interests.

The first group consists of four photographs (Figs. 17-20), which are an integral part of the report of the German physician Reuter from April 21, 1942, in the collection document no. 132. During a tour of the insurgent area, he photographed scenes of Ustasha atrocities against the Serb civilians along the banks of the Drina river and attached them to his report. Judging by the appearance of the corpses and their wounds, the photographs were taken shortly after the killings. The same photographs are mentioned in two other documents in the collection documents no. 140 and no. 158 from which it can be seen that they were also sent to the highest German police institution in Berlin – Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt* – RSHA). In two photographs (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20), the same victim was taken from two angles, but they were captioned in two different ways.

In the second group, there are five photographs of massacred Serbian women and children (Figs. 21-25), among which one is a duplicate photograph on the same paper. One of these photographs (Fig. 22) was published in Jovan Mirković's book with the caption: "Crimes of the Usthas against children".<sup>19</sup> These photographs are, most likely, a supplement to the document entitled "New Order in Croatia", in the collection document no. 150, in which it is mentioned that 15 photographs were attached to it. The document states that its sources are Dangić [Jezdimir] and the *Zbor* organization, but it remains unknown who took the photographs. The third group contains six photographs (Figs. 26/1, 26/2, 26/3 to Fig. 29), which are attached to the document of the Loznica Police Commander's Office dated 22 June 1942, in the collection document no. 164. The document and the photographs were sent to the Police Commander in Belgrade, with the explanation that the bodies were washed onto the Serbian bank of the Drina river in the sector from Ljubovija to Zvornik. Those are certainly the bodies of Serbian civilians who were killed by the Usthas in April and May 1942. This can be concluded from the fact that the bodies are in a state of disintegration and some have large openings in the skulls caused by the impact of a hard object, which

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<sup>19</sup> J. Mirković, *Zločini nad Srbima u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 200. According to the reference code, this photograph is in the Personal Fonds of Dragoje Lukić at the Museum of Genocide Victims.

was the cause of death. Three photographs (Figs. 26/1, 26/2 and 26/3) are attached to one sheet, in which two bodies in the water were taken from different angles.

For three photographs, we could not reliably determine whether they were an attachment to a certain document, but they do belong to the second chronological/thematic unit. The first photograph shows two Serb refugees with small children in their arms, with an older boy standing next to them (Fig. 30). The photograph was probably taken in exile in Serbia. The next two photographs (Fig. 31 and Fig. 32) show captured Partisans, "Communists". On the first there is one prisoner, perhaps the leader of the group, while on the second there are six captured Partisans. They are handcuffed and all but one have stars on their caps. An Orthodox church can be seen in the background and – dimly – some village houses. Judging by the trees without leaves and the clothes of the prisoners, the photograph was taken during March or the beginning of April 1942.

The publishing of photographs of crimes against the Serbs in eastern Bosnia in the spring of 1942, significantly supplements the existing museological and archival photo documentation on these events, which is kept in cultural institutions of the Republic of Serbia (Military Museum, Historical Archive of Belgrade, Archives of Yugoslavia, Archives of Serbia, etc.). The photographs collected so far, classified and systematized with scenes of massacred Serb civilians on the Drina river, in April 1942, are mostly kept in the Collection of Documentary Photographs at the Museum of Genocide Victims. This museum's collection is based on photographs of the fonds of the State Commission for Occupiers and Their Aides in the Archives of Yugoslavia (copies of archival material) and photographs from some museums' personal fonds. A number of photographs of crimes against Serbs in eastern Bosnia have been published in some recent publications.<sup>20</sup> Based on the descriptions of the scenes that were taken, some of the photographs about which there is no detailed information could be related to certain documents in this collection.

The third chronological/thematic unit of photographs in the collection is entitled **Releases from the Ustasha camps**. It consists of 29 photographs

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<sup>20</sup> J. Mirković, *Zločini nad Srbima u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 130-131, 136, 170, 200-201; "Zločini 'Crne legije' 1942-43. godine u istočnoj Bosni", *Zbornik radova*, V. Đurić Mišina (Ed.), Skelani: Javna ustanova Arheološki muzej „Rimski municipium”; Beograd: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2016, 127-130; P. B. Ostojić, *Ustaški zločin u Starom Brodu kod Višegrada 1942. u svjetlu njemačkih dokumenata*, Beograd: Svet knjige, 2019, 109-112.

related to two groups of inmates released from the Ustasha camps of Jasenovac and Loborgrad. As can be seen from the document in the collection no. 82, on April 11, 1942, the Commissioner for Refugees Toma Maksimović sent these photographs to SS Major Weinmann, as a sign of gratitude, since those groups of Serb inmates from the Loborgrad and Jasenovac concentration camps were released under his influence. From the historiographical literature and published sources, it can be seen that 13 detainees were released from the Jasenovac camp and that a large group of Serbian women and children were released from the Loborgrad camp. The photographs in this collection are an authentic testimony that introduces the public for the first time to the characters of the released inmates from these camps, their reception in the occupied Serbia, as well as some of the methods of torture they had been exposed to in the camps.

The first group of six photographs (Figs. 33-38) refers to a group of men released from the Jasenovac camp who arrived in Serbia on March 31, 1942. Based on the statements they gave in the Commissariat for Refugees, some of which have been published in this collection (document no. 107 and no. 108), their names are known. In three photographs from this group, it is incorrectly stated that it is the Loborgrad camp, instead of Jasenovac. The title “Lobor Grad” was crossed out on the title of the sheet with one photograph of a prisoner tortured in Jasenovac (Fig. 36) and “Jasenovac” was written correctly, followed by two photographs with the exact name of the camp.

The first group of photographs certainly refers to the Serbs released from the Jasenovac camp, which can be concluded primarily on the basis of the identification of one person from the photograph. Drago Hadži-Čolaković is in the second row in the photo (Fig. 33), fifth from the left. We identified him on the basis of a photograph attached to the man’s dossier in the Special Police Department of the Belgrade City Administration. He was arrested in October 1943 and investigated, then interned in the Banjica camp for some time.<sup>21</sup> It is also possible to identify him based on a photograph published in 1948 in his memories of his detention in the Gospić and Jasenovac camps.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Historical Archives of Belgrade (hereinafter IAB), UGB SP IV-287, k. 557/X. *Logor Banjica. Logoraši, Knjige zatočenika Koncentracionog logora Beograd – Banjica (1941-1944)*, Volume Two, E. Micković, M. Radojčić (Eds.), Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2009, 244; Drago Hadži-Čolaković is listed in the register of detainees at Banjica under number 17,885, and he was detained in the camp from October 21, 1943 to February 2, 1944. His photograph from the police dossier is listed on page 119 of the said publication.

<sup>22</sup> D. H. Čolaković, *Jasenovac 21. VIII 1941/31. III 1942*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1948, 125.

Based on the physical similarity, another person from the group of released inmates could be identified. In the group photo, in the first row, the second person on the left could be Drago Hadži-Čolaković's brother, Savo.

Judging by the group photo, the released inmates from the Jasenovac camp were in good physical condition and decently dressed. According to their statements, before the end of February 1942, they were determined to be released from the camp. They were given special protection, spared from work, they ate as much as they could and the clothes in which they were brought to the camp were returned to them.<sup>23</sup> The goal of the Ustashas was certainly for the released inmates to have a certain propaganda effect, primarily on the Germans. However, several photographs convincingly deny the impression that the prisoners were treated well, which was probably the motive for taking photos of them. Despite a relatively long period of being protected from the harsh camp regime in Jasenovac, large wounds from torture were still clearly visible on the bodies of the two released inmates upon their arrival in Serbia. Four photographs (Figs. 34, 35, 36 and 37) show large bruises from beatings and burns on both legs and on the lower back of one released detainee. In the group photo, he is in the front row, the first on the right. One of the above-mentioned photographs (Fig. 34) was published,<sup>24</sup> but without further information about the detainee and the circumstances. The identification of that person can be facilitated by the joint statement of 13 released inmates from the Jasenovac camp, presented herein in document no. 107. It states that the Ustashas, after a provocateur's report, tortured Joco Čolaković with a red-hot iron, thus causing him long suffering. As the captions of the mentioned photographs state that the wounds on the detainee's body were burns, it is probably Joco Čolaković, one of the group released from the

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<sup>23</sup> D. H. Čolaković, *Jasenovac*, 95-96; "Zapisnik [Minutes] od 9. aprila 1942", compiled at the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrants in Belgrade with the statement of Vojislav Prnjatović, in: *Večan pomen: Jasenovac, mesto natopljeno krvlju nevinih, Spomenica povodom pedesete godišnjice velikomučeničkog Jasenovca i sedme godišnjice osvećenja ponovo izgrađene crkve Rođenja Sv. Jovana Krstitelja Spomen-hrama u Jasenovcu* [Eternal memorial: Jasenovac, a site soaked in the blood of the innocent, Memorial on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the great-martyred Jasenovac and the seventh anniversary of the consecration of the rebuilt Church of St. John the Baptist, Jasenovac Memorial Church], Beograd: Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve, 1990, 130-131.

<sup>24</sup> *Večan pomen: Jasenovac*, photograph between pages 96 and 97, with the caption: Traces of torture on the body of a detainee – taken in 1945 (From the photo archive of the Military Museum in Belgrade).

Jasenovac camp. The last photograph from this group (Fig. 38) shows traces of torture (stab wounds) on the body of another released detainee, but it was not possible to determine who it was from the group.

The second group, consisting of 23 photographs (Figs. 39-61), shows Serb women and children released from the Loborgrad camp in Hrvatsko Zagorje. This camp was established in October 1941 for Serbian and Jewish women and children. In the middle of the following month, some of the inmates were transferred to a camp in Gornja Rijeka near Križevci. Both camps had a single administration headed by *Volksdeutscher* Karl Heger. Detained and newly arrived Jews with children were deported in August 1942 from the Loborgrad camp to the Auschwitz death camp.<sup>25</sup>

The camps in Loborgrad and Gornja Rijeka were part of the system of Ustasha camps. On March 30, 1942, a group of about 140 to 150 Serb women with children from the Loborgrad camp was sent to the occupied Serbia via Zagreb. The transport was organized by the *Wehrmacht*, whose officer controlled it.<sup>26</sup> The photographs from the dossier of the Police Commander in Belgrade refer to this group of inmates. The approximate time of release can be concluded based on the photographs themselves, because the people were taken in winter clothes, and the ground is partially covered with snow.

We can learn some information about the situation in these camps before the liberation of the mentioned group from the report on the Croatian concentration camps, dated April 9, 1942, by their manager Karl Heger. This document is published in this collection as document no. 78. The part of the report on these two women's camps, as Heger called them, mentions the high mortality of inmates from typhus, as well as the fact that they ate rotten meat. However, he did not mention his own responsibility for this situation. In any case, photographs of Serb women and children released from the Loborgrad camp show that they arrived in Serbia in a bad physical condition, but satisfied that they were free.

In a series of photographs, one can see scenes of the arrival of released inmates by ambulance and bus, delivery of their belongings, reception and

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<sup>25</sup> M. Peršen, *Ustaški logori*, 281-282

<sup>26</sup> According to M. Peršen's book (*Ustaški logori*, 282), there were 140 women and children in the transport. On the eve of their transport to Serbia, Diana Budisavljević and her associates from the Croatian Red Cross prepared 150 packages of food for the detainees released from Loborgrad, which should mean that so many people were in the transport; *Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević 1941-1945*, 35-39.

feeding in the premises of the Commissariat, i.e. the shelter (home) for refugees. One photograph (Fig. 45) taken in the dining room of the shelter shows Commissioner Toma Maksimović talking to a group of released inmates over a meal. It may be observed that the meal given to women and children was modest; it consisted of a small piece of black bread and a cup of tea or milk. This can be interpreted as a shortage of food or, more likely, an intention not to harm the starving and recently released inmates with more abundant food.

There follow some photographs of children released from the camp, including two very young children. The oldest among the photographed children was probably not more than 12 years old. The children were obviously malnourished for a long time and on the verge of starvation, they are extremely thin, and the stomachs of small children are swollen. A photograph of a very small child from the group (Fig. 53) was published in the book of Dragoje Lukić about the sufferings of children in the NDH camps,<sup>27</sup> but it is not linked to the detainees released from Loborgrad. The individual photographs are followed by a collective photograph (Fig. 59) with a total of nine children. It was published in the book by Jovan Mirković, but without a more precise attribution.<sup>28</sup> Two photographs (Fig. 55 and Fig. 59) were pasted on paper backgrounds without a memorandum from the Belgrade Police Commander, had no titles, and the captions were handwritten.

Photographs from the third chronological/thematic unit were taken in the premises of the Commissariat, i.e. the shelter for refugees or in its immediate vicinity. The exception is one photograph (Fig. 60) showing a group of about fifty children with several older girls or younger women from a group of released inmates from the Loborgrad camp. They were photographed on the trip, probably during an excursion to the Monument to the Unknown Hero on Mt. Avala. According to the clothes, weather conditions, physical appearance and mood of the children and women, it can be concluded that some time had passed since their release from the Loborgrad camp and that they had received appropriate care. The last photograph (Fig. 61), in the third chronological/thematic unit, is a collective photograph of inmates released from the Loborgrad camp (about one hundred women and children) and Jasenovac (13 men).

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<sup>27</sup> D. Lukić, *Bili su samo deca: Jasenovac – grobnica 19.432 devojčice i dečaka*, Vol. 2, Laktaši: GrafoMark; Beograd: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2000, 215.

<sup>28</sup> J. Mirković, *Zločini nad Srbima u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 254-255. According to the reference code on the photo, it belongs to Dragoje Lukić Personal Fonds in the Museum of Genocide Victims.

In most of the captions for the photographs, it is stated that these are Serb women and children released from the Jasenovac camp, although they were released from the Loborgrad camp. A similar mistake was made in the attribution of half of the photographs of the released inmates from the Jasenovac camp, where it was stated that they were Serbs released from the Loborgrad camp. How can we explain that? On April 11, 1942, the Commissioner for Refugees Maksimović submitted photographs to SS Major Weinmann as a sign of gratitude that, thanks to his influence, the detainees from the Jasenovac and Loborgrad camps had been released, but without other information. Therefore, the office of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade only knew that the obtained photographs were related to the released inmates from these two camps and nothing more than that. That was the reason why the titles and captions with most of the photographs were given at random, while some photographs do not have a title. In some places, the title was corrected and the correct name of the camp was subsequently entered. The members of the German police could not and did not have to know to which camp each photograph obtained from the Commissariat for Refugees referred, and they probably did not attach too much importance to that.

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Based on the undertaking of photographing the released detainees from the Jasenovac and Loborgrad camps in the premises of the Commissariat for Refugees, it can be assumed that this institution also organized photographing in other situations and that it had its own photo library.

In that case, the question arises as to what happened to that photo library. It can be assumed that it was one of the sources for the collection of photographs in the fonds of the State Commission for Determining War Crimes. During the war, several institutions collected data and documents on the crimes in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, including photographs. When it comes to the occupied Serbia, those were primarily the Commissariat for Refugees and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Both of these institutions sent some of these photographs to the German occupation authorities and they were stored in the dossier of the Belgrade Police Commander together with the photographs taken by members of the German army in eastern Bosnia in April 1942. For some of these photographs, it is known who took them, while for others, it has not been completely reliably determined how

they were taken. However, thanks to the fact that the photographs reached the dossiers of the Commander of the Police in Belgrade, and in most documents as an integrated part of their content, they have a reliable attribution and a high degree of credibility. Therefore, the publication of these photographs significantly and in a credible way complements the facts about the events described in the documents, thus contributing to the creation of a more complete picture of the sufferings of the Serbs during the first year of the Ustasha state.

*Dr. Milan Koljanin*

## List of photographs

*Original titles and the captions in the Dossier*<sup>29</sup> (translated)

No. of the photograph	Archive reference number of the photograph
<b>1. Gudovac and Sisak</b>	
Photograph 1.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 564 <sup>29</sup>
Photograph 2.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 557, 572
Photograph 3.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 567
Photograph 4.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 563, 576
Photograph 5.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 573
Photograph 6.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 568
Photograph 7.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 565
Photograph 8.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 555, 574
Photograph 9.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 556
Photograph 10.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 558
Photograph 11.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 559, 562, 575
Photograph 12.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 560
Photograph 13.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 561
Photograph 14.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 556, 577
Photograph 15.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 553
Photograph 16.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 554

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<sup>29</sup> The Archives of Vojvodina uses Cyrillic alphabet in its catalogue, and the translators have retained the lettering in the identification of the collection, reference number etc. Thus 'AB' stands for AV – 'Archives of Vojvodina', and 'Φ' for 'Fonds'. That means: Archives of Vojvodina (hereinafter: AB), Φ. 562 designates the 'Personal Fonds of Slavko Odić (1915–2006), 1909–1983. Dossier of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in Belgrade on Ustasha crimes (1941–1942) – Label Sub-series 3.1.1.2. There follows the number of the respective sheet with a photo in the Dossier.

**2. Eastern Bosnia, April 1942**

Photograph 17.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 549
Photograph 18.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 550
Photograph 19.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 551
Photograph 20.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 552
Photograph 21.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 578
Photograph 22.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 579
Photograph 23.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 580
Photograph 24.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 581
Photograph 25.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 582
Photograph 26.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 587/1, 587/2, 587/3
Photograph 27.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 588
Photograph 28.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 589
Photograph 29.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 590
Photograph 30.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 571
Photograph 31.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 569
Photograph 32.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 570

**3. Releases from the Ustasha camps**

Photograph 33.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 241
Photograph 34.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 245
Photograph 35.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 246
Photograph 36.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 255
Photograph 37.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 256
Photograph 38.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 254
Photograph 39.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 261
Photograph 40.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 263
Photograph 41.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 262
Photograph 42.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 267
Photograph 43.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 269
Photograph 44.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 268
Photograph 45.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 257
Photograph 46.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 258
Photograph 47.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 259

Photograph 48.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 260
Photograph 49.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 264
Photograph 50.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 266
Photograph 51.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 253
Photograph 52.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 265
Photograph 53.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 242
Photograph 54.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 249
Photograph 55.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 243
Photograph 56.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 244
Photograph 57.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 250
Photograph 58.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 251
Photograph 59.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 252
Photograph 60.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 248
Photograph 61.	AB, Φ. 562, 3.1.1.2, 247

## 1. Gudovac and Sisak

### **Photograph 1** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 564)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Ustasha atrocities against the Serb population in the Bjelovar District.

### **Photograph 2** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 557, 572)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Mass killing of the Serb farmers in the Bjelovar District.

Caption: Victims of Croatian religious frenzy.

### **Photograph 3** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 567)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: The massacre of the Serbs in the village of Gudovac in the Bjelovar District.

### **Photograph 4** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 563, 576)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Mass killing of the Serb population in the area of the Bjelovar District.

Caption: Victims of Croatian religious frenzy – slaughtered Serbs.

**Photograph 5** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 573)

Title: Ustasha atrocities

Caption: A group of murdered Serb peasants

**Photograph 6** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 568)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Slaughter of the Serbs in the village of G u d o v a v [Gudovac] in the Bjelovar District.

**Photograph 7.** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 565)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Mass killing committed against the Serb population in the area of the Bjelovar District.

**Photograph 8** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 555, 574)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: A murdered Serb peasant with severe stab wounds in his lower abdomen.

Title: Croatian atrocities

Caption: Knife stabs in the stomach of a peasant.

**Photograph 9.** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 556)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: A murdered Serb from the Bjelovar District.

**Photograph 10.** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 558)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: A mutilated and killed Serb peasant from the Bjelovar District.

**Photograph 11** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 559, 562, 575)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: A murdered Serb whose body shows several deep cuts. From the area of the Bjelovar District.

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: A murdered Serb whose body shows several deep cuts. From the area of the Bjelovar District.

Title: Croatian atrocities

Caption: The back of a murdered Serb peasant.

**Photograph 12.** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 560)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: A murdered Serb from the Bjelovar District.

**Photograph 13.** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 561)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: A murdered and mutilated Serb from the Bjelovar District.

**Photograph 14** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 566, 577)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Individual photograph of atrocity committed against the Serb population in the Bjelovar District.

Caption: One victim of Croatian culture

**Photograph 15** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 553)

Title: Ustasha atrocity 5

Caption: The murdered Serb Miloš T e s l i ć, industrialist from Sisak.

**Photograph 16** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 554)

Title: Ustasha atrocity 16

Caption: The murdered Serb Miloš T e s l i ć, industrialist from Sisak.

## 2. Eastern Bosnia, April 1942

**Photograph 17** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 549)

Title: 1.) Photographed by a German physician.

Caption: An overturned pram and one murdered child.

**Photograph 18** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 550)

Title: 2.)

Caption: Fresh grave and a burned Serb home.

**Photograph 19** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 551)

Title: 3.)

Caption: A murdered Serb woman with multiple stab wounds.

**Photograph 20** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2) (552)

Title: 6.)

Caption: A Serb woman murdered by the Ustahas.

**Photograph 21** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 578)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Detailed data missing.

**Photograph 22** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 579)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Murdered Serb children. Detailed data missing.

**Photograph 23** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 580)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Detailed data missing.

**Photograph 24** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 581)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Murdered Serbs with their children. Detailed data missing.

**Photograph 25** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 582)

Title: Ustasha atrocity

Caption: Murdered Serb women and children. Detailed data missing.

**Photograph 26** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 587/1, 587/2, 587/3)

Title: Photographs of corpses from the Drina river

Caption: The bodies washed to the Serbian bank of the Drina river, on the section Ljubovija–Zvornik.

**Photograph 27** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 588)

Title: Corpse in the Drina river.

Caption: A body washed to the Serbian bank of the Drina river, on the section Ljubovija–Zvornik.

**Photograph 28** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 589)

Title: Corpse in the Drina river

Caption: A body washed to the Serbian bank of the Drina river, on the section Ljubovija–Zvornik.

**Photograph 29** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 590)

Title: Corpse in the Drina river

Caption: The remain of a body washed to the Serbian bank of the Drina river, on the section Ljubovija–Zvornik.

**Photograph 30** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 571)

Title: 1.)

Caption: Refugees from eastern Bosnia who survived without their breadwinners

**Photograph 31** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 569)

Title: 11 and 12

Caption: Captured Communists

**Photograph 32** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 570)

Title: 12.)

Caption: Captured Communists

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**Photograph 33** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 241)

Caption: Serbs released from the Lobar Grad camp [Jasenovac]

**Photograph 34** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 245)

Title: Lobar Grad Camp [Jasenovac]

Caption: A Serb with signs of beatings on his body.

**Photograph 35** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 246)

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Caption: A Serb with signs of torture on his body.

**Photograph 36** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 255)

Title: Jasenovac Camp

Caption: A Serb with signs of beatings on his body.

**Photograph 37** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 256)

Title: Jasenovac Camp

Caption: A Serb with signs of beatings and burns.

A Serb with signs of beatings.

**Photograph 38** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 254)

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Caption: Severe stab injuries

**Photograph 39** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 261)

Caption: Serb women and children released from the Jasenovac camp [Loborgrad]

**Photograph 40** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 263)

Caption: Serb women with their children, released from the Jasenovac camp [Loborgrad]

**Photograph 41** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 262)

Caption: Serb women and children released from the Jasenovac camp [Loborgrad]

**Photograph 42** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 267)

Caption: A group of the Serb women and children released from the Jasenovac camp [Loborgrad].

**Photograph 43** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 269)

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**Photograph 44** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 268)

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**Photograph 45** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 257)

Caption: Serb women and children released from the Jasenovac camp [Loborgrad]

**Photograph 46** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 258)

Caption: Serb women and children released from the Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad].

**Photograph 47** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 259)

Caption: Serb women and children released from the Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad].

**Photograph 48** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 260)

Caption: Serb women and children released from the Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad].

**Photograph 49** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 264)

Caption: A Serb woman with her child from the Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad].

**Photograph 50** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 266)

Caption: A Serb woman with her child released from the Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad].

**Photograph 51** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 253)

Title: Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad]

**Photograph 52** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 265)

Caption: Serb children released from the Jasenovac camp [Loborgrad]

**Photograph 53** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 242)

Title: Jasenovac Lobor Grad Camp

**Photograph 54** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 249)

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Caption: Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad]

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Title: Jasenovac Lobor Grad Camp

**Photograph 57** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 250)

Title: Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad]

**Photograph 58** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 251)

Title: Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad]

**Photograph 59** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 252)

Caption: Lobor Grad Camp

**Photograph 60** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 248)

Caption: Women and children released from the Jasenovac Camp [Loborgrad].

**Photograph 61** (AV, F. 562, 3.1.1.2, 247)

Caption: Women and children released from the Jasenovac camp [Loborgrad], among them there are 13 men released from the Jasenovac camp].

## 1. Gudovac and Sisak



Photograph 1. Ustasha atrocities against the Serb population in the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 2. Mass killing of the Serb farmers in the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 3. Massacre of the Serbs in the village of Gudovac  
in the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 4. Mass killing of the Serb population in the area of the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 5. A group of murdered Serb peasants.



Photograph 6. Slaughter of the Serbs in the village of Gudovac  
in the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 7. Mass killing committed against the Serb population in the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 8. A murdered Serb peasant from the Bjelovar District with severe stab wounds in his lower abdomen.



Photograph 9. A murdered Serb from the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 10. A mutilated and murdered Serb peasant from the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 11. A murdered Serb whose body shows several deep cuts.  
Bjelovar District.



Photograph 12. A murdered Serb from the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 13. A murdered and mutilated Serb from the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 14. Individual photograph of atrocity committed against the Serb population in the Bjelovar District.



Photograph 15. The murdered Serb Miloš Teslić, industrialist from Sisak.



Photograph 16. The murdered Serb Miloš Teslić, industrialist from Sisak.

## 2. Eastern Bosnia, April 1942



Photograph 17. Photographed by a German physician, Doctor Reuter.  
An overturned pram and a murdered child.



Photograph 18. Fresh grave and a burned Serb home.



Photograph 19. A murdered Serb woman with multiple stab wounds.



Photograph 20. A Serb woman murdered by the Ustasas.



Photograph 21. Ustasha atrocity



Photograph 22. Murdered Serb children.



Photograph 23. Ustasha atrocity



Photograph 24. Murdered Serbs with their children.



Photograph 25. Murdered Serb women and children.



Photograph 26. Photographs of corpses from the Drina river washed to the Serbian bank of the Drina river, on the section Ljubovija–Zvornik.



Photograph 27. A body washed to the Serbian bank of the Drina river, on the section Ljubovija-Zvornik.



Photograph 28. A body washed to the Serbian bank of the Drina river, on the section Ljubovija-Zvornik.



Photograph 29. A remain of the body washed to the Serbian bank of the Drina river, on the section Ljubovija–Zvornik.



Photograph 30. Refugees from eastern Bosnia who survived.



Photograph 31. Captured Communists.



Photograph 32. Captured Communists.

### 3. Releases from the Ustasha camps



Photograph 33. Serbs released from the Jasenovac camp.



Photograph 34. A Serb with signs of beatings on his body, the Jasenovac camp.



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Photograph 37. A Serb with signs of beatings and burns,  
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Photograph 39. Serb women and children released from the Lobargrad camp.



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Photograph 41. Serb women with their children, released from the Lobargrad camp.



Photograph 42. One group of Serb women and children released from the Loborgrad camp.



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Photograph 44. A group of Serb women and children released from the Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 45. Serb women and children released from the Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 46. Serb women and children released from the Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 47. Serb women and children released from the Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 48. Serb women and children released from the Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 49. A Serb woman with her child from the Loborgrad Camp.



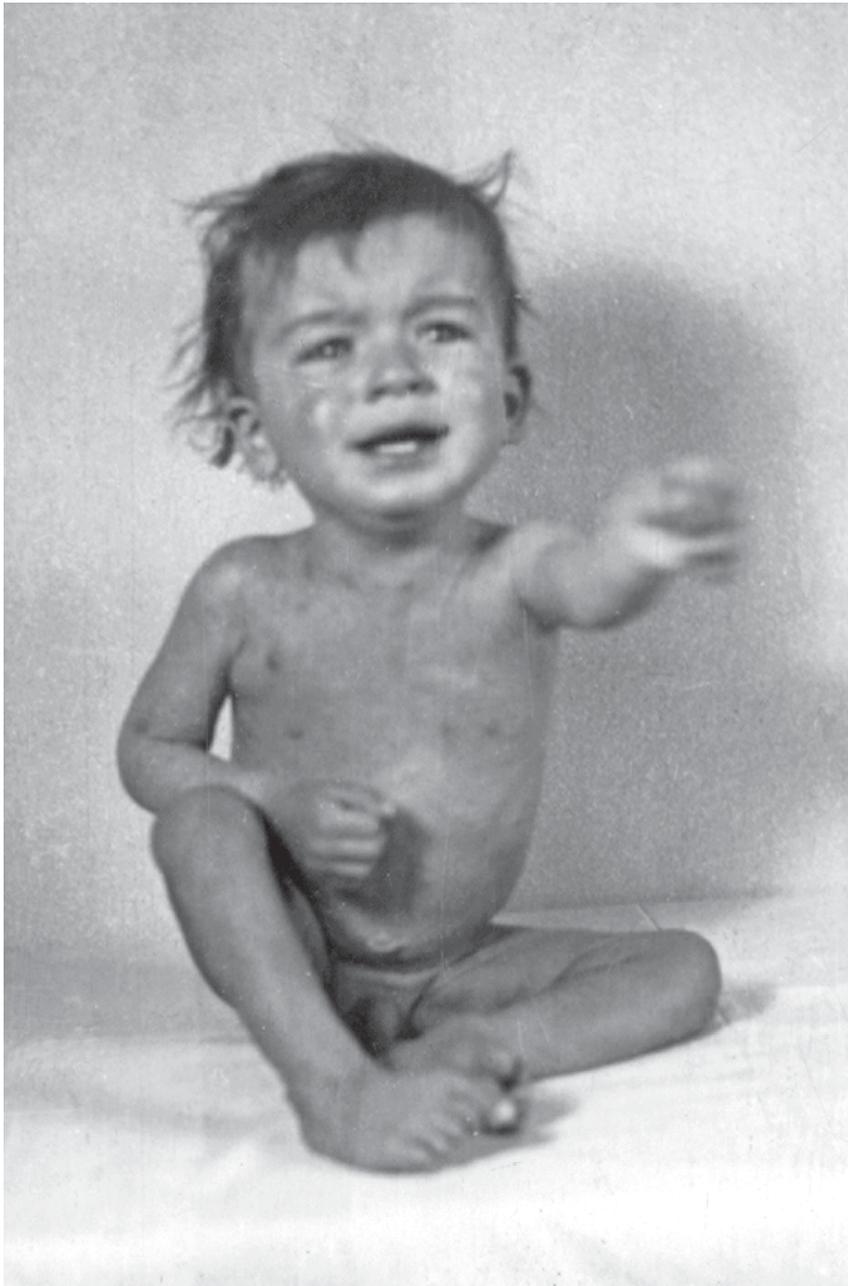
Photograph 50. A Serb woman with her child released from the Loborgrad Camp.



Photograph 51. Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 52. Serb children, released from the Loborgrad camp.



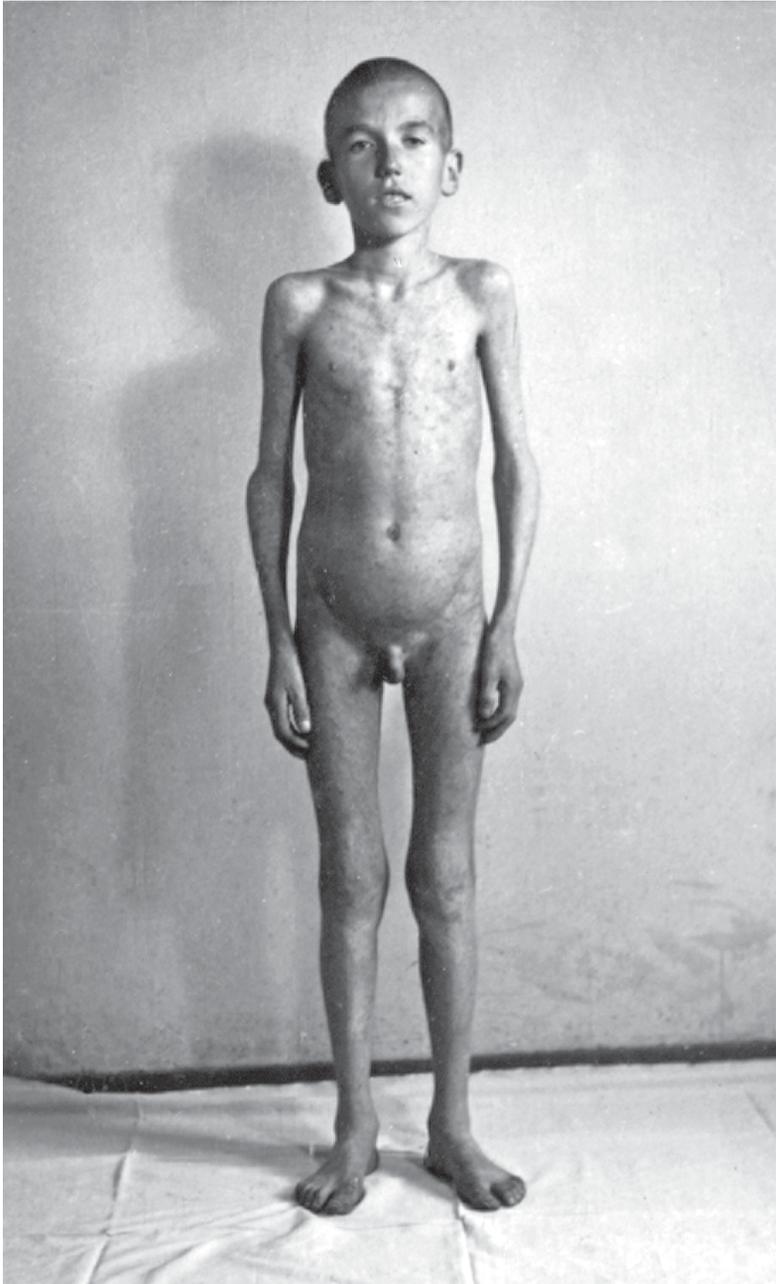
Photograph 53. Loborgrad camp.



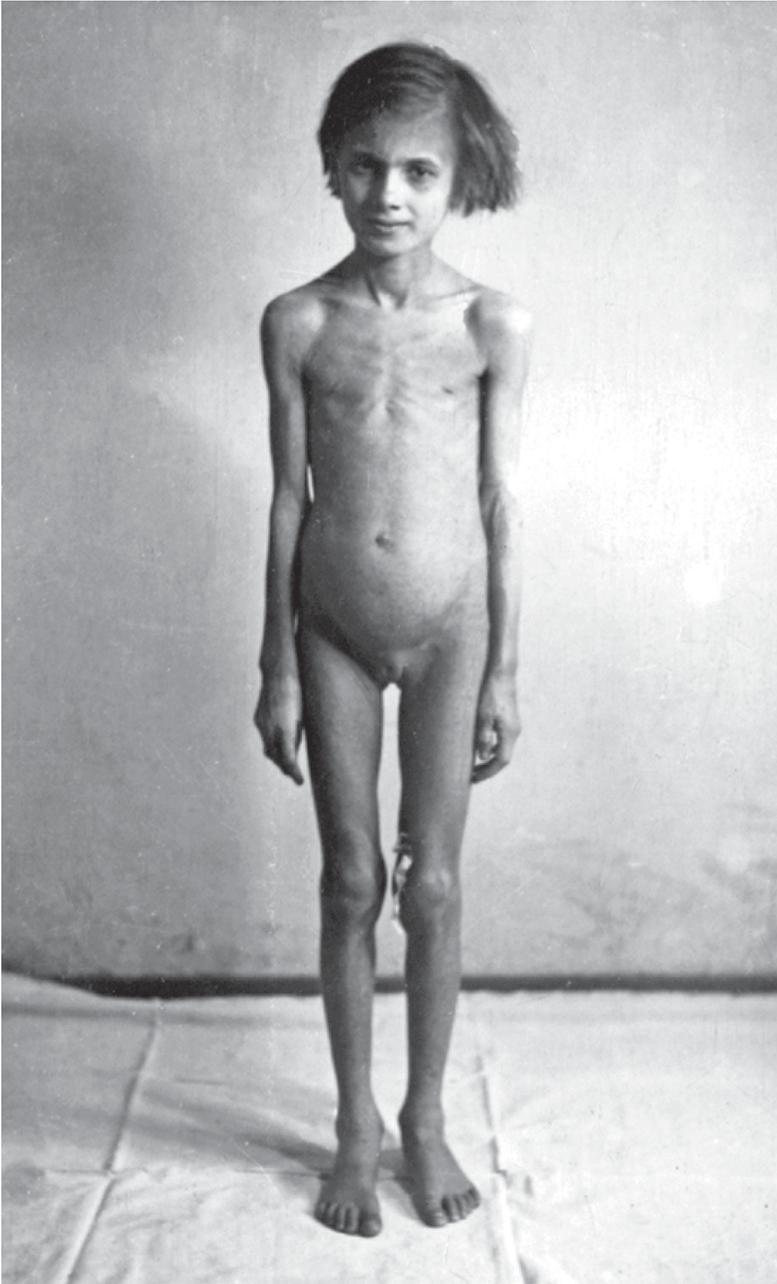
Photograph 54. Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 55. Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 56. Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 57. Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 58. Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 59. Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 60. Women and children released from the Loborgrad camp.



Photograph 61. Women and children released from the Loborgrad camp; among them there are 13 men released from the Jasenovac camp.



## List of Abbreviations

- Amt. Ausl/Abw.** *Amt Ausland Abwehr*, Foreign Defense Agency, central office of the military intelligence service.
- AO** *Abwehroffizier*, an Abwehr officer at the military headquarters in charge of intelligence tasks.
- Ast.** *Abwehrstelle*, an outpost/station of the German military intelligence service (Abwehr).
- BdO** *Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei*, Commander of the Order Police.
- BdS** *Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*, Commander of the Security Police and Security Service.
- EG** *Einsatzgruppe*, Operational Group, police formation (Sipo-SD) in the occupied territories.
- EK** *Einsatzkommando*, Operational Command, police formation (Sipo-SD) in the occupied territories, subordinate to the Operational Command.
- FK** *Feldkommandantur*, aerial/field military command.
- Gestapo** *Geheime Staatspolizei*, Secret State Police.
- I c** Intelligence Department at military commands and staffs.
- ID** *Infanteriedivision*, infantry division.
- IR** *Infanterieregiment*, infantry regiment.
- KO** *Kriegsorganisation*, war organization; the institution of Abwehr in neutral countries, or in allied countries of the Third Reich.
- OK** *Ortskommandaniur*, local (town) military command.
- OKH** *Oberkommando des Heeres*, Supreme Command of the Army (ground force).
- OKVR** *Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat*, Senior War Administration Adviser.
- OKW** *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, Supreme Command of the Armed Forces (Wehrmacht).
- OU** *Ortsunterkunft*, command post or place of accommodation.

**RSHA** *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, Reich Security Main Office, central police and security agency of the Third Reich.

**SA** *Sturmabteilungen*, storm divisions, or storm troopers (armed formations of the Nazi Party).

**SD** *Sicherheitsdienst*, Security Service, intelligence service of the German National Socialist Workers' Party (NSDAP), from 1939. the third department in the Reich Security Directorate and lower-ranking police institutions.

**Sipo** *Sicherheitspolizei*, Security Police.

**SS** *Schutzstaffeln*, protection squadrons (Nazi Party Armed Forces).

**Stapo** *Staatspolizei*, State Police (Gestapo).

**VB/VB II** *Verbindungsführer/Befehlshaber*, liaison officers of the Police Commander in Belgrade (Serbia) with the occupation administration.

**VM** *Vertrauensmann*, commissioner.

## Milan Koljanin: A Brief Biography

Dr. Milan B. Koljanin (1953), senior research associate at the Institute of Contemporary History in Belgrade, retired in November 2018. Since August 2022 chief of the Research Department in the Memorial Center “Staro sajmište” in Belgrade. His research is related to various phenomena of political and social history of Serbia and Yugoslavia in the period between the two world wars and, especially, in the period of World War II. He studied the history of certain social groups, such as students and refugees, repressive systems in Yugoslavia during the Second World War, especially the creation and functioning of the system of camps, repressive legislation of the Independent State of Croatia, the issue of converting Orthodox Serbs in the NDH, Holocaust in Serbia and Yugoslavia, issues of systematization and use of historical sources about the Holocaust in Serbia and Yugoslavia, the use of film and anti-Semitic stereotypes in propaganda in occupied Serbia, the history of Jews and anti-Semitism in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He has given introductory speeches and announcements at numerous scholarly gatherings in the country and abroad. Mr. Koljanin has published a large number of scientific papers in collections and scientific journals in the country and abroad, and has participated in the production of synopses for several museum exhibitions. He is a member of the editorial board of the periodicals *Istorija 20. veka* and *Zbornik Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja* [Jewish Studies – Jewish Historical Museum] as well as of the Academic Working Group within the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.



He has published four monographs: *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu 1941-1944* [*The German Camp at Belgrade Fairground*], Beograd 1992;

*Jevreji i antisemitizam u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji 1918-1941* [*The Jews and Anti-Semitism in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1918-1941*], Beograd 2008; *Pravednici među narodima – Srbija* [*The Righteous Among the Nations – Serbia*], Beograd 2010 (co-authored with Milan Fogel and Milan Ristović) and *Jevreji Srbije u Prvom svetskom ratu* [*The Jews of Serbia in the First World War*], Beograd 2014 (co-authored with Vojislava Radovanović).

Dr. Koljanin lives and works in Belgrade.

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