
THE LAST VOYAGE OF THE KLADOVO TRANSPORT*

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On their voyage down the Danube, a large group of more than 1,300 Jewish refugees from Central Europe was stopped at the port of Prahovo, Yugoslavia, on December 20, 1939. By the end of that month, they were transported to the winter port at Kladovo, 73 km upstream from Prahovo. In the second half of September 1940, the refugees were moved to Šabac, where they witnessed German occupation, in April 1941. Shortly before the war broke out, a group of between 200 and 280 youths and children who had obtained immigration certificates left for Palestine, via Greece. The German occupying forces interned the refugees from the Kladovo transport to Šabac in July 1941. During the anti-insurgency campaign in Šabac and its surroundings, and the mass executions by the "punitive expeditions" of the German Wehrmacht, at the execution ground near the village of Zasavice, on October 12 and 13, 1941, all Jewish men from the Kladovo Transport and Šabac were killed. The remaining Jews, women and some children, were deported to the Jewish camp Zemun (Judenlager Semlin) in Sajmište (the Fairground) in Belgrade, by the end of January 1941, where they were killed together with other prisoners in spring that same year. This paper examines some of the factors that led to the transfer of refugees from Kladovo to Šabac, the conditions of their deportation to the camp in Sajmište, the number of victims, as well as some other issues.

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I

After a series of news about imminent departure, the convoy of ships carrying Jewish refugees finally left Kladovo, a small town on the Yugoslav-Romanian border, on September 19, 1940. However, instead of in the direction of the Black Sea and Palestine, the Jewish refugees were taken upstream, to the Sava River and the town of Šabac, and into the Serbian inland. The voyage from Kladovo to Belgrade (236 km), and from Belgrade to Šabac (101 km) lasted until September 22, when approximately 500 Jewish families arrived in Šabac, a town with a population of 16,000.¹

While still in Kladovo, the refugees first learned about the possible transfer to Šabac in early September 1940. They learned that roughly one half of the group would be transferred there, upon the orders of the Yugoslav Interior Ministry, because Kladovo was too small to accommodate such a large group of people. However, the refugees soon found out that the reason behind the transfer was something else. Two SS troops from a German ship anchored off-shore landed in Kladovo on September 14. The refugees soon learned that the ship would continue downstream towards Romania the next day, and that it would be used for the transport of German nationals.

Šime Špicer, Secretary-General of the Federation of Jewish Religious Communities of Yugoslavia, later stated in his reports that the immediate reason for moving of the refugees from Kladovo to Šabac was the wish Yugoslav authorities to avoid contact and possible incidents between the Jewish refugees and the

¹ Gabriele Anderl, Walter Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht. Der juidische "Kladovo-Transport" auf dem Weg nach Palaestina 1939-42*, Wien 1993, p. 100-101, 145. According to the testimony of Jefta Kujundžić, a municipality clerk in Šabac who kept record of the Jewish new arrivals, the transport arrived on September 21, 1940; Stanoje Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu (Camps in Šabac)*, Novi Sad 1967, p. 135. For the exact distances between the cities on the Danube and Sava, see: Miloš Đonić, *Plovimo našim rekama (Navigating Our Rivers)*, Belgrade, 1978.

members of the ethnic German coming from Bessarabia and North Bukovina. There was a genuine risk of this happening because, according to Špicer's information, Prahovo and Kladovo were intended to be used by ethnic German refugees as havens and ports of embarkation.²

The transfer of ethnic Germans from Romania in the fall of 1940 was just a detail in a broader scheme of the National Socialist Germany for the "reorganization" of the European space, i.e. the displacement of millions of Europeans and the Germanization of their territories. The execution of this plan began after the division of the Eastern Europe into the zones of interest between Germany and the Soviet Union, on August 23, 1939, followed by the German offensive in Poland, which marked the beginning of the Second World War. By a secret decree signed by Hitler on October 7, 1939, the SS Reichsfuehrer Heinrich Himmler was appointed Commissary of the Reich for the "strengthening of Germanism". He was in charge of bringing ethnic Germans from other countries back to the Great Reich and of "regulating the status of the members of foreign nationalities" and "preparing new German lands for colonization". According to the decree, the largest among the "new German lands for colonization" was the annexed part of Poland, with 10.7 million Poles, other Slaves and Jews, who were treated as "foreign nationals". Germanization entailed their expulsion and internment, followed by the arrival of between 132,727 and 151,000 ethnic Germans from Bessarabia and North Bukovina, and later from the Romanian region of Dobruzha as well.³

² G. Anderl/ W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 100-104

³ Robert Koehl, *RKFDV. German Resettlement and Population Policy 1939-1945. A History of Reich Commission for the Strengthening of Germanism*, Cambridge 1957, p. 101; Tone Ferenc, *Nacistička politika denacionalizacije u Sloveniji u godinama od 1941. do 1945 (The Nazi Policy of Denationalization in Slovenia Between 1941 and 1945)*, Ljubljana-Beograd 1979, p. 30-31; *Basic Book for Germany, chapter 3, 1944, Umsiedlung*. Anderl/W.Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 102-104.

These large-scale resettlements were organized by the central SS office for Germans in foreign countries, the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*. The ethnic Germans from Yugoslavia also volunteered to set up the temporary reception camps in Prahovo and Zemun. In early September 1940, the dry, sandy, flat terrain near Belgrade, on the confluence of the rivers Sava and Danube, in the vicinity of the city's fairground pavilions, became the scene of a hurried construction of a camp for ethnic Germans from Bessarabia and North Bukovina. This seemed like a perfect location, not only for a port, but also because of the vicinity of the railway station in Zemun, from where the deportees were taken to the reception camps in the Reich. The construction works were done by the German Traffic Bureau (*Verkehrsbureau*). The camps were designed to receive ten transports of 12,000 ethnic German deportees each.⁴

The governments of Yugoslavia and Germany signed an agreement on the organization of accommodation and transfer of the German settlers from Romania. The details of this agreement are unknown, but some of the provisions can be conjectured from a protest note of the British government to the Yugoslav government. The British insisted that the presence in Yugoslavia of more than 1,000 uniformed German troops, including the SS, constituted a breach of Yugoslav neutrality. The SS troops were in charge of the organization of the transports of their fellow nationals. The Yugoslav government did not share this view, and replied that the German presence there was only temporary.⁵

⁴The Belgrade Historical Archives (Istorijski arhiv Beograda, abbr. IAB), Belgrade Municipality Fund, Technical Direction, Inv. No. 493, Operative Section of the Administrative Office of the City of Belgrade for Melioration, the "New Belgrade" Construction Site, Engineering Section of Technical Direction, Belgrade, September 5, 1940. Among other things, this document shows that the developer employed security officers (the "guard") to prevent any unauthorized access to the construction site, and that the works obstructed free access to the banks of the Danube.

⁵Envoy in Belgrade, Campbell, to the Foreign Office, No. 699, Belgrade, September 19, 1940, in: Živko Avramovski, *Britanci o Kraljevini Jugoslavi-*

Did the German government request that the agreement with the Yugoslav government include the resettlement of the Jewish refugees from Kladovo, or did the Yugoslav authorities initiate their transfer in an attempt to prevent possible incidents? It is not possible to give a reliable answer to this question without knowing the details of the agreement. However, it seems more likely that the German side insisted on the Jewish refugees being taken out of Kladovo and that this was the reason for the visit of the two SS officers on September 14, 1940, of which there exists a testimony by one of the refugees, Walter Klein.⁶ The Germans' request to have the Jews taken elsewhere could have been inspired not only by the risk of clashes between the Jewish refugees and ethnic Germans, but also by other, probably more important reasons.

After the first big German victories in Western Europe, in the spring and summer of 1940, the Balkan Peninsula more and more became the arena of the conflict of interests of the warring parties. After Hungary and Romania allied with Germany, in the fall of 1940, Yugoslavia found it increasingly difficult to retain its policy of neutrality. When in late October 1940 Italy invaded Greece, it practically became surrounded with German allies. The Anglo-German conflict of interest in Yugoslavia unfolded on different levels, making its international position even more difficult. In an attempt to weaken the enemy's military potentials, Britain endeavored to have Germany brought to a standstill by, among other things, cutting its oil supply from Romania. In a memorandum of May 11, 1940, the British Ministry of War even suggested that the oil fields in Romania should be destroyed and acts of sabotage carried out on the Danube, Germany's main oil-supply artery. It seems that for the sa-

ji (*The British on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*), Vol. 3, (1939-1941), Belgrade 1996, p. 515; Foreign Office to Campbell, No. 548, London, September 25, 1940, in: Idem., p. 518; Envoy Campbell to the Foreign Office, No. 718, Belgrade, September 29, 1940, in: Idem., p. 519.

⁶G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 101-102.

botage and blockade of the Danube at its most sensitive section, the Djerdap Gorge (the Iron Gate), the British secured *Darien 2*, a ship provided by Haganah, the illegal Zionist army in Palestine, originally intended for the transport of the Jewish refugees from Kladovo. This ship was never used for sabotage, but it never reached the Kladovo refugees, either.⁷

The British intelligence in Yugoslavia and Romania tried to obstruct navigation on the Danube by sinking cement-laden barges at the Iron Gate or by mining the steep rocky riverbanks. The British attempted to obstruct German navigation on the Danube also by buying up the entire fleet of the *Schultz and Deutsch* shipping company from the city of Pančevo. In addition, they paid full salaries to the Danube pilots who navigated vessels through the Iron Gate not to do their job.⁸

On her part, Germany invested massive efforts to secure unhindered navigation on the Danube. A broad navigation security network, consisting of the members of intelligence services, chiefly the military intelligence, *Abwehr*, was up and running. The network's main pillar of support was the *Donau-Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft*, or the DDSG, the Vienna-based Danube steamboat society, and it could also count on a system of camouflaged lookouts along the banks. On several occasions, the German services received information about the British plans for sabotage on the Danube, and passed them on to the Yugoslav authorities, expecting them to act. This put the Yugoslav authorities in a delicate position, as they tried, in line with their policy of neutrality, to keep good relations with both warring sides. On the one side, it was in their interest to stop

⁷Rd, p. 110-111.

⁸A German police investigation, conducted in October 1941, confirmed this after the arrests of two pilots; *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodno-oslobodilačkom ratu jugoslovenskih naroda*, (*Collection of documents and data about the freedom struggle of the Yugoslav peoples*) (hereinafter: *Zbornik NOR*) Belgrade 1949, Vol.1, book 1, p. 543-545, Report about the events in the US-SR No. 119, Berlin, October 20, 1941.

every attempt at disrupting navigation of the Danube, which was a vital interest of Germany, but also Yugoslavia's obligation as one of the Danube countries. At the same time, it was important to maintain good relations with Britain, a traditional but also prospective war ally. To achieve these goals, a special military command for the protection of Djerdap was established. This command was connected with the British intelligence service and knew about the British plans of sabotage through one of its agents. Before the German occupation of Yugoslavia, on April 6, 1941, there were no major disturbances of the navigation of the Danube. It was no coincidence, of course, that the German aggression on Yugoslavia began with an attack in the Djerdap Gorge. The German forces managed to prevent the sabotage.⁹

It is not known whether the intention of the British intelligence service was to use the Jewish refugees from the Kladovo transport for sabotage purposes. However, it is certain that it was in the interest of the German service to thwart such a possibility, especially in the course of the large-scale movement of ethnic Germans from Romania. Under the circumstances, the Yugoslav authorities too thought that it would be better to have the Jewish refugees moved from such a sensitive location near the Djerdap Gorge, where the risk of sabotage was very high. Precisely in September 1940, Hans Helm, one of the top German intelligence officers in Yugoslavia, received news of a planned British sabotage to German tankers.¹⁰ All this urged the Yugoslav authorities to have the Jewish refugees transferred from the border on the Danube to the interior part of the country. Perhaps Šabac was selected for the fact that it was located on the banks of the river Sava, which potentially allowed easy and quick transport of this rather large group of people. Besi-

⁹*Nemačka obaveštajna služba (The German Intelligence Service)*, book 2, Belgrade 1955, p. 544-549, 550. This publication for official use only is largely based on the German police sources from the days of the occupation of Yugoslavia, and the archives of the state institutions of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

¹⁰Idem, p. 536-537.

des, the prosperous region of Mačva, of which Šabac was the capital city, would easily provide housing and supplies. It was recorded that the Šabac mayor, Dr. Milorad Petrović, was in favor of the idea to receive the refugees there.¹¹

II

In order to shed light on the circumstances leading to the death of the Jewish refugees from the Kladovo transport, let us briefly recap the main points of the “Final Solution”, or the *Endlösung*, in force during the German occupation of Serbia.

Just like in other occupied territories, the arrival of the German troops in Serbia involved the implementation of an already well developed mechanism of repressive and humiliating anti-Jewish measures: registration, labeling, introducing all sorts of bans and restrictions in economic and public life, forced labor, looting and “legal” expropriation. All this was accompanied with various forms of torture and detention, followed by internment and mass executions.

The German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941 worsened the position of the Jews and marked the beginning of the process of systematic annihilation of the European Jewry. The occupied Serbia's rapid inclusion in the Final Solution of the Jewish question had a decisive impact on the breakout and spreading of the uprising, which the occupying forces quelled with extremely severe measures. Along with the communists and other anti-German elements, the Jews too became victims of mass executions in reprisal for acts of sabotage and German losses in combats with the insurgents. In such reprisals the German occupying authorities saw a good opportunity to launch a systematic anti-Jewish campaign in Serbia as of the first half of July 1941.

This initiative to exterminate Jews in acts of retribution in Serbia did not come from Berlin. It came, according to his own

¹¹ Miloš Jevtić (editor), *Šabac i Jevreji u susretu (Šabac and Jews Meet)*, Belgrade 2003, p. 8-9, 53-54.

account, from Wilhelm Fuchs, a SS colonel and head of the Operational of the Security Police and the Security Service (*Einsatzgruppe der Sipo und des SD*). The Military Commander of Serbia, Ludwig von Schroeder, and his successor, Gen. Heinrich Danckelmann, soon embraced the initiative. As a result, in reprisal to acts of sabotage and attacks on the German troops, since the beginning of July 1941, together with other arrestees, the Jews too were shot, and this practice was soon formalized through specific orders. Since August 22, mass internments of Jews began in Belgrade. First in line were the Jews from the Banat regions, then Jews from Belgrade. On that same day, the few remaining Jews from Šabac were also interned.¹² In such retributive executions, which were getting increasingly frequent, some 1,000 communists and Jews were shot or publicly hanged until the end of August 1941.¹³

Wilhelm List, Military Commander Southeast, was not pleased with the anti-insurgence measures thus far. On September 5, 1941, he ordered the Military Commander of Serbia to do everything to “destroy the Serbian rebel movement quickly and terminally”. He ordered “ruthless and immediate measures against the rebels”, their collaborators and relatives (hanging, burning their homes down, increasing the number of hostages, deporting relatives to concentration camps, and so on).¹⁴ Following the guidelines from the Field Marshal List’s order, the Military Commander of Serbia ordered on September 12, 1941 to “have arrested all active officers, non-commissio-

¹²Christopher R. Browning: *Fateful Months, Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution*, New York, London 1991; Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu (German Camp at the Belgrade Fairground)*, Belgrade 1992, p. 26-35; Walter Manoschek, “Serbien ist judenfrei”, *Militaerische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42*, Muenchen 1993, p. 35-49.

¹³Arhiv Vojnoistorijskog instituta (Archives of Institute for Military History, abbr. AVII), German Archive (abbr. NA), K-70, File No. 18/14; Venceslav Glišić, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941-1944, (Terror and Crimes of the Nazi Germany in Serbia 1941-1944)*, Belgrade 1970, p. 48.

¹⁴Zbornik NOR, Vol. I, book 1, p. 390-392.

ned officers, all Jews and Gypsies, because they are secretly plotting against the Germans as spies and intelligence agents of the enemies of Germany".¹⁵ New arrests and executions of Jews, the most massive of which took place on September 17, ensued.¹⁶

When in August and September 1941 the armed resistance in Serbia assumed large proportions, the German occupational forces found it increasingly hard to crush it. Three divisions in Serbia were totally inadequate for larger-scale operations against the insurgents, despite fresh reinforcements. Having accepted List's proposal, Hitler appointed Gen. Franz Boeme on September 16, 1941, who had the authorization to crush the insurgent movement in Serbia by using extreme measures.¹⁷ The head of the Wehrmacht Supreme Command, Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, requested in his order of September 16, 1941,

¹⁵ A VII, NA, K-41F, f-1, d-9/3318-3319. This order was obviously based on the fresh evaluation of the cooperation and joint activities of Partisans and Chetniks (led by Col. Dragoslav Mihailovic) against the Germans, which Field Marshal List had pointed out already in early September. The report of the head of the Military Headquarters of the Military Commander of Serbia Gen. Gravenhorst, Belgrade, September 16, 1941, *Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, book 1, p. 433.

¹⁶ There remain very few information about the camp at Autokomanda. According to a document of the Representative Office of the Jewish Community of October 23, 1941, an average of 1,400 Jews were detained in that camp; IAB, OGB, File No. 2. However, accurate data about the Jews brought to the Banjica camp exist in the books of the inmates' personal details (the so-called Banjica Books). Soon after they were brought to the camp, on September 17, 1941 202 Jewish men were executed; IAB, Fund of the Administrative Office of the City of Belgrade (UGB), *The Banjica Books*, Book 1, No. 219-420. That same day, the Commander of Serbia informed the Military Commander Southeast about the arrests of the Jews in Belgrade. As of September 17, 65 Jewish women were arrested and taken to Banjica. M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, p. 34-35.

¹⁷ Radiogram of the Military Commander Southeast List to the Military Commander of Serbia, the Supreme Command 65 and a German general in Zagreb, on September 19, 1941, *Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, book 1, p. 440. Boem's appointment actually meant the replacement of the Military Commander of Serbia, Gen. Danckelmann, who was recalled from Belgrade in mid October 1941.

on behalf of the leader of the Reich, to “apply the severest possible measures” in order to “suppress this general communist rebel movement” as soon as possible. Keitel came up with new guidelines: “The general rule provides that between 50 and 100 communists will be executed in reprisal for each German soldier killed.”¹⁸ On September 28, Keitel added new categories to his list of political enemies of the National Socialists that needed to be arrested. Apart from the communists, the list included the patriotic and democratic bourgeoisie, which was linked to specific attacks against the members of the Wehrmacht.¹⁹

The new radicalized repressive policy in Serbia covered the Jews as well, i.e. the entire male Jewish population, in line with the policy of the occupational military authority, adopted earlier. Since the beginning of October 1941, Boeme’s orders identified “Jews and communists” as first-choice hostages and victims of executions. According to his order of October 4 that year, 2,100 inmates “from the concentration camps in Šabac and Belgrade (primarily Jews and communists)” were to be shot in reprisal for 21 German soldiers killed. His order of October 10 now formally amended Keitel’s order of September 16, 1941. Among other things, Boeme ordered the following: “All garrisons in Serbia should hunt down, arrest and detain as hostages all communists, all suspicious men, all Jews and a certain number of nationalistic or democratically oriented locals”. For each German soldier or ethnic German killed, 100 prisoners or hostages were to be shot, and 50 for each one wounded.²⁰ This order inspired mass executions of Serbs, as well as an extensive campaign of arrests and an almost total annihilation of all adult Jewish males by early November 1941.

Anti-Jewish measures of the German occupying forces in Serbia affected not only the local Jewish population, but also the

¹⁸ Idem, p. 431-432.

¹⁹G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 225.

²⁰Idem, p. 102.

Jewish refugees in Yugoslavia, who now found themselves in the middle of the war. What is more, some measures were targeted against them in particular. The first massive internment of Jews in Serbia took place in Šabac after all Jewish refugees from the Kladovo transport were detained. In the barracks of the new camp previously occupied by a pontonier squad, near the Old City, more than 1,000 Central European Jews were detained until July 15, 1941. The camp was right next to the river Sava, on which the refugees arrived in Šabac the previous fall. The "Jewish camp in Šabac", as it was called in some documents, was the first camp for Jews. The local Jews, 65 of them, paid ransom to delay their internment, but this merely postponed the inevitable until August 22 that year.²¹ Also, this was the first time in the German-occupied Serbia that a city's entire Jewish population, including women and children, was interned. In Banat, internment of Jews and their subsequent deportation to Belgrade began as early as in mid August.²²

In August 1941, the rebel movement in Western Serbia gained momentum through large-scale operations, and Šabac was threatened by imminent attacks of Chetnik and partisan forces. Like in other Serbian cities, various measures aimed at intimidating the population were used in Šabac as well, above all executions and public hangings, which included Jewish victims. In clashes with the partisans on August 19, 1941, some 20 km outside of Šabac, three soldiers and one policeman were killed, and 10 soldiers from the German units stationed in Šabac were wounded. In the night of August 21, the Germans retaliated.²³

²¹The internment of the Jewish refugees in Šabac followed a police order, carried out by the county military authorities (Kreiskommandantur 847). They also set up the camp, but later let the Operational Command of the Police Security Service use it (Einsatzkommando der Sipo und des SD). See the statements of Dr. Walter Boehne and Fritz Trothe, AVII, NA, k-27/S II, file No. 40/7. Valuable data about the events in Šabac are found in *Šabac pod okupacijom (Šabac Under Occupation, diary 1941-1944)* by Gliša Babović, a Šabac priest and children's writer.

²²M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, p. 32-33.

²³G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 214.

Among the ten men who were shot that night and left lying in pools of blood in the city's busiest street was Alfred Bata Koen, a doctor. Being a Jew was his only crime.²⁴ At nine o'clock the following morning, German guards ordered a group of Jews from the Sava camp to hang the dead bodies on power poles. Koen was killed and hanged in front of the National Bank building, whose facade bore a large anti-Jewish banner. This whole scene conveyed a strong symbolic message and the slogan on the banner belonged to the repertoire of both old and freshly coined anti-Semitic stereotypes.²⁵ That same evening, using a municipality garbage cart, the Jews from the camp moved the bodies to the remotest corner of the Šabac graveyard, in Donji Šor.²⁶ On the following day, the Šabac Jews were also taken to the camp. Because the insurgent activities grew in intensity and got closer to the city in September, the German authorities in Šabac tightened the safety measures, began fortifying the city and the institutions of the occupational authorities. More and more people who had been known for their pro-leftist views

²⁴The report of the Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Šabac County of August 23, 1941, *Zbornik NOR*, Vol. 1, book 1, p. 76-77; Statements No. 34-53 about the crimes of the occupying forces and their helpers, *Statement No. 34*, Belgrade 1945, p. 404.

²⁵Milan Koljanin, *Antisemitski stereotipi i progandna u Srbiji 1941-1942*, *Istorija 20. veka (Anti-Semitic Stereotypes and Propaganda in Serbia, History of the 20th Century)*, No. 1, Belgrade 2003, p. 89-100.

²⁶G. Babović, *Šabac pod okupacijom (Šabac Under Occupation)*, August 21, 1941, "Glas Podrinja", Šabac, april 5, 1962; Stanoje Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu (Camps in Šabac)*, Novi Sad 1967, p. 43; Mara Jovanović, "Wir packen, wir auspacken..." "Tragična sudbina Jevreja izbeglica u Šapcu 1941", *Zbornik 4*, Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, 1979, p. 259-260. H. Anderl and W. Manoschek (Idem, p. 214) say that 10 hostages were shot and hanged on August 18, and that in the night of August 21 between 10 and 20 men were shot and later hanged, including an unknown number of local Jews. As their source, they quote the above mentioned article by M. Jovanović (p.259) and the doctoral thesis of V. Glišić, *Teror u zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941-1944*. (in German, p. 60). However, the translation from the quoted article is inaccurate. Glišić, citing Filipović's book, says that in Šabac on August 21 10 hostages were shot and hanged (Serbian edition, Belgrade 1970, p. 49).

and suspicious links with the insurgents were taken to the Šabac District Court prison. The family members of those belonging to the insurgent movement were also kept as hostages. A group of 38 prisoners were transferred to the Banjica Camp (Anhaltelager Dedinje) on September 15, 1941. They included two Jews, Lazar Hauzer from Ruma, and Berthold Kaiser, whose last place of residence was the "Jewish camp in Šabac".²⁷ One can only speculate about the reasons for their transfer, but let it be noted that most members of their group were arrested because of their links with the insurgents or as communist supporters. Since the Banjica camp was one of the major "human pools" for mass executions throughout October 1941, Lazar Hauzer and Berthold Kaiser were soon among the victims. The 200-strong group of prisoners from the Banjica camp who were shot at Jajinci execution ground included more than 100 Jews, the two young men from Šabac among them.²⁸

The future of the Kladovo transport, i.e. the Jewish inmates of the Šabac camp, depended directly on the outcome of the insurgents' attack on the city and Gen. Boeme's "punitive expedition". Wehrmacht's bloody campaign in Western Serbia first started in Šabac, the city that suffered tremendous devastation by the Austro-Hungarian army, in 1914. After three days of attempts by Partisans and Chetniks to take the city, the units of

²⁷IAB, UGB, The Banjica Books, book 1, No. 442, Hauser Lazar, technical student from Ruma, born April 3, 1921 in Ruma, resident of Ruma, Jew, brought on September 15, 1941 from Šabac; Idem. No. 443, Hauzer Berthold (or Kaiser Berthold), shop assistant, born April 12, 1921 in Munich, last place of residence the "Jewish camp in Šabac", brought in on September 15, 1941 from Šabac. See: S. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, p. 46. On the list of Jewish victims of December 24, 1945 (M. Jovanović, p. 270), the entry 439 reads: Kaiser Berthold, 4/12/1921.

²⁸ IAB, UGB, The Banjica Books, book 1, No. 442, 443. According to the report of the head of the Security police and Security service of October 20, 1941, because of the murder of two German soldiers in Belgrade "200 communist, i.e. Jews were shot in reprisal"; *Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, p. 543-544, Report about the events in the USSR No. 119, Berlin, October 20, 1941; Idem, Vol. I, book 2, p. 358-360.

the 342nd division entered Šabac after crossing the river Sava on September 23, 1941. That same day, Gen. Boeme ordered all the men in the city aged between 14 and 70 arrested and deported to the “collective prisoner camps”, and later the “concentration camps north from Sava”. On the following day, the city’s entire male population was arrested, including Serbian administration officials, civil servants, police officers and gendarmes, totaling 4,410 persons. They were rounded up at the outskirts of the city, where the Jews from the Sava camp already awaited them. The Jewish women were soon taken back to the camp, while the men were escorted across the river, to Klenak, in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. After the men left, the city became the scene of a terrible crime. According to the report of the commander of the 342nd division, Gen. Hinghofer, by September 29, 1941, 830 people were executed there. They were mostly farmers from the nearby villages who were brought into the city and shot on the Bara execution ground.²⁹

After two days spent in the open, the victimized prisoners had to run the distance of 23 km from Klenak to the new temporary camp in Jarak in less than 4 hours on September 26, 1941. All who collapsed or were or legging behind due to exhaustion were killed on the spot by Germans and the Ustashe, the Croatian troops. The participants in this “Bloody March” estimated that between 120 and 200 prisoners, including 24 or 25 Jews, were killed in this way.³⁰ They remembered the names

²⁹Zbornik NOR, Vol. I, book 1, p. 454-455, 456-457, 475; S. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, p. 47-55.

³⁰According to priest Babović, some 120 people, of which 96 Serbs and 24 Jews, died along the way. He later learned that 86 Serbs and 25 Jews were killed on the road to Jarak. G. Babović, *Šabac pod okupacijom, 30. septembar 1941; 7. decembar 1941* “Glas Podrinja”, August 2, 1962, September 13, 1962. A survivor Anna Hoecht learned from her husband that 24 Jews had died; G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 222. In his diary, a Šabac resident Vasa Mikić put the number of victims at between 180 and 200 people, 25 of them Jews. Vasa P. Mikić, *Burni događaji 1941-1944. godine (Turbulent Events 1941-44)*, p. 27, manuscript in the library of the Institute for Contemporary History (ISI) in Belgrade.

of three victims, their fellow citizens from Šabac. The remaining 22 Jewish victims were the people from the Kladovo transport - the very first victims from the ranks of Jewish refugees in Šabac.³¹ Three days later, on September 30, the prisoners from Jarak were taken back to Šabac and detained in the army barracks now serving as concentration camp, in Senjak. The Jewish men returned to the Sava camp, but only for a short while.

Throughout October 1941, thousands of men from Mačva, Jadar, and Pocerina were being brought to the camp in Senjak, Šabac. At the same time, the German "punitive expedition" committed massive atrocities throughout the country. According to Gen. Boeme's report of October 20, 1941, the camp population was 22,658 men, 5,004 of whom were released, 1,968 shot, and 2 died. Therefore, the total number of inmates was 15,684.³² The victims of the shootings included the Jewish men from the Sava camp. Following the killing of 21 German soldiers between Belgrade and Obrenovac (in the surroundings of Topola), on October 4 Gen. Boeme ordered, 1941 the execution of 2,100 prisoners from the "concentration camps in Šabac and Belgrade (primarily communists and Jews)". The military units were to take care of the actual executions, while the Security police was charged with providing the requested number of pri-

³¹They were Haim Ruso, Samuilo Malamed and Naum Gidić; Archives of Yugoslavia (AJ), Fund of the State Commission for the Establishment of Facts About the Crimes Committed by the Occupying Forces and Their Collaborators (Fund reference: 110), 691-192, Fact-finding commission for crimes committed by the Occupying Forces and Their Collaborators against Jews in Vojvodina, Prijava, Šabac, February 23, 1945. This list contains the names of 64 Šabac Jews. Boriška Vetendorf was the only survivor. The list does not include the name of Dr. Albert Koen, shot and hanged on August 21, 1941. The list should also include the names of the members of Mika Bararon's family: wife Salika, children Jakov and Berta, and a four-year-old grand-daughter, Matilda Maza Mandil. They were arrested in the village of Gradojević, sent to Banjica from the camp in Šabac and shot on August 24, 1942. IAB, UGB, registration books of the Banjica Camp, book No. 4, No. 6920-6924. The survivors among the Šabac Jews include Rašela Bararon and her daughter Elza Anaf, who were hiding in Belgrade, and Haim Avramović, a POW in Germany. S. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*.p. 144. See also the memoirs of Gradimir Slavković (ISI library, Belgrade).

³²*Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, book 1, p.546-547.

soners. Eight hundred and five Jewish and Gypsy (Roma) inmates from the camp in Šabac were to be executed, and the rest were to be supplied from the "transit Jewish camp in Belgrade", i.e. the Topovske Šupe camp, in Autokomanda. When in the meantime another wounded German soldier died, the number of Jews and Gypsies to be shot rose to 2,200. The execution of the inmates from the camp in Belgrade started on October 9 in the city's surroundings, and on October 12 and 13 the inmates from the camp in Šabac were executed.³³

The Jewish men from the Sava camp in Šabac were taken away on October 11 and shot and buried in the next two days near the village of Zasavice.³⁴ There have been discrepancies among the sources and researchers on the exact number and structure of people killed in those killing sprees.

During its campaign of destruction of war-crimes evidence, in the fall of 1943, the Special Command 1,005, or the *Sonderkommando 1,005*, under the command of SS Colonel Paul Blobel, arrived in the occupied Serbia and started exhuming and cremating the bodies of victims on a number of locations. For some reason, the Command never went to Šabac, and the bodies of the victims of mass crimes of the Wehrmacht's 1941 "punitive expedition" there were not destroyed. This enabled the post-war fact-finding State commission to carry out exhumations and forensic analyses.

The bodies of the Zasavica victims were exhumed on June 12, 1945. There are two official documents about this exhumation.

³³ Idem, p. 480-481; 498-499; 526-528; 545; 555; G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*.p. 225-226. As priest Babović noted, only two days after the executions, rumor started in Šabac that all Jewish men from the camp had been shot, as well as some 200 Gypsies (Roma); *Šabac pod okupacijom, 15. oktobar 1941*, "Glas Podrinja", August 28, 1962. This news was confirmed on November 6. Priest Babović learned from eye witnesses that between 100 and 120 Gypsies and around 600 Jews were killed, and wrote down some other details about the executions. Idem, November 6, 1941; "Glas Podrinja", November 6, 1962.

³⁴As under 30. According to this list, 23 Šabac Jews were killed in Zasavica. Left behind were Jakov Bararon, Binja Mediina and Julius Guenzberger, who were seriously ill. They were shot in Šabac immediately after being released from hospital. Idem.

tion. According to a document of the district office of the Serbian Commission For the Establishment of Facts About the Crimes of the Occupying Forces and Their Collaborators in Šabac (No. 519 of September 13, 1945), 868 bodies were exhumed in Zasavica on June 12, of which 47 were positively identified as Jewish on the basis of the personal documents that were found on them. However, the minutes of the Investigating Commission of the Serbian Office for the Establishment of Facts About War Crimes of the Occupying Forces and Their Collaborators (No. 3107), taken in the town of Bogatić, the center of the Mačva County, on June 12, the day of the exhumation, suggest that 834 bodies were exhumed. It is stated that the relatives had identified 61 bodies and that another 48 were identified thanks to the personal documents they had on them, putting the total number of bodies at 109.³⁵ However, the list of names has only 105 entries, of which 59 are Roma and Serb victims, and 46 Jews. This document contains the forensic report in which the victims are categorized according to age and gender, as well as other details about the crime. The Commission used these figures and based its subsequent rulings on these findings.³⁶

According to the investigating Commission, out of the 834 people executed in Zasavica, 832 were men, 725 of them

³⁵ S. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, p. 143-144. The exhumations were carried out by German war prisoners, who stayed in the same grain warehouse in Šabac that was home to the Jewish refugees from the Kladovo transport shortly before the war. M. Jovanović, *Wir packen, wir auspacken*, p. 265.

³⁶ AVII, NA, K-53, File No. 12/2. Odluka o utvrdjivanju zločina (Decision on the Establishing of Crimes, Zl. Br. 17.033. According to the report of the head of the Security Police and Security Service about the events in the SSSR No. 119 of October 20, 1941. (*Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, book 1, p. 543-544), 910 prisoners were killed until that day. G. Anderl/W. Manoschek (p. 229-230) believe, based on this report, that on October 12 and 13 910 Jews and Gypsies from the Šabac camp were shot in Zasavica. The June 12, 1941 exhumation established the exact and reliable data about the number (834) and structure of the victims. The figure 910 from the abovementioned report is probably the combined number of those shot in Zasavica and several other groups executed before October 20, 1941. For more details about these executions, see: S. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, p. 47-55, 98-101.

Jewish refugees, 23 were Jews from Šabac, 84 Gypsies (Roma), and there was a certain number of Serbs. Forty-four out of 46 identified Jewish victims were refugees, and two were local Jews. Two bodies were identified as being those of two Jewish women from the Kladovo Transport, Alice Stein and Berta Zwicker. This brings the total number of Jews executed in Zasavica to 750. There were 84 Roma victims, including several Serbs. According to the Commission's early reports, there were 727 Jewish victims (725 men and two women) and 23 Jews from Šabac.³⁷ The Commission mistakenly included Salomon Fingerhut, a rabbi from the town of Ruma, among the Jewish refugees, instead of among the local Jews. It is therefore safe to conclude that 726 victims were Jewish refugees, and 24 local Jews.

This structure of victims raises the following question: why were the two women shot together with the men? When storming the villages, the Wehrmacht's punitive expedition as a rule wiped out the entire population, including women and children, but they otherwise rarely detained and executed women. The women who were killed with the men were mostly members of the rebel movements or illegal organizations. The same applied to the Jewish internees: as a rule, only men were shot. Perhaps the explanation for the killing of these two Jewish women lies in the fact that there were not enough men to fill the quota for the execution, particularly as the number of Jews killed in Zasavica is conspicuously rounded off to 750.

III

After the men were taken away, the remaining Jews from the Sava camp faced total uncertainty. The Germans deliberate-

³⁷All the names from the list attached to the abovementioned Decision are transcribed in Serbian and often misspelled. A comparison with the lists from 1945 shows that "Štejn Aljese" and "Zviker Berta" are in fact Stein, Alice and Zwicker, Berta. For a complete list of identified Jewish victims exhumed in Zasavica see the Addenda.

ly gave contradictory answers to the inmates' many questions, which only made the waiting worse. Some said that the men had been taken to perform labor, others that they had been shot. Prolonged uncertainty, which kills a person's wish to put up resistance, was indeed part of the standard procedure with prisoners in the German camps. A survivor Dorothea Fink gave the following testimony: "*Now they told us that the men were building roads, and next they said that they had all been shot. They took pleasure in seeing the women and children cry, and told us that the same would happen to us if we didn't stop weeping. But to us it already made no difference...*" Another survivor, Anna Hecht, confirmed that this was how the guards treated the prisoners.³⁸

Despite the contradictory news about their men's fate, the Jewish women preferred to believe that they had been used for slave labor. In his diary under November 6, 1941, priest Babović offers the details of the killing of Jews and Gypsies in Zasavica based on the testimonies of the eyewitnesses. He also managed to find out how the women in the camp had reacted to this news. "*Despite the fact that this whole event has been described by eyewitnesses, there is still hope among the Jewish women that their men had not been killed, but that they were used as laborers near Novska, in Croatia. Rumor has it that the Jewish women are hide their adolescent male children at the mere sight of a German soldier near their camp.*"³⁹ After the Jewish men were taken to the other side of the river Sava on October 11, 1941, and to the Croatian territory, those who stayed behind were led to believe that they were going to be used as laborers. In addition, there is a psychological explanation for this self-delusion: good news is easier to accept than bad news, especially if the bad news is so devastating. A month or so later, the Ger-

³⁸G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 229.

³⁹G. Babović, *Šabac pod okupacijom, 6. novembar 1941*, "Glas Podrinja", August 28, 1962. It is unknown how the Jewish women found out about it, but there really existed two camps with Jewish prisoners near Novska at that time. They were the first camps under to the command of the biggest Croatian death camp, Jasenovac, where the majority of Jews from the fascist Independent State of Croatia were killed.

mans unambiguously confirmed that the men were alive and, what is more, that they would get to meet with them soon.

On Saturday, December 13, 1941, Babović wrote down the following: "*The Jewish women were told yesterday that they and the children would be transferred from the Sava camp to the camp in Sajmište, near Zemun. They were also told that their husbands were waiting for them there*".⁴⁰ The part about the transfer to the new camp in the pavilions of Belgrade's fairground was not a lie. For several days, since December 8, Jewish women and children were rounded up in Belgrade and taken to this camp. All the remaining Jews from other parts of Serbia, including those from Šabac, were to be transferred there. The German assurances only reinforced the women's belief that their men were indeed alive. This is corroborated by a Red Cross postcard of December 27, 1941 signed by Johanna Hansi Hahn, who somehow managed to have it mailed from the camp to Palestine. Against all the odds, seven months later the postcard reached the addressee, Leo Klein, the father of Walter Klein, who was shot together with other men in Zasavica. The card contained just a few lines: "Walter labors outside camp. Thinking of you, will pass news." After receiving the postcard on August 2, 1942, Leo Klein replied, hoping that this illegal correspondence could be maintained.⁴¹ By that time, however, neither Hansi Hahn nor any of the Jews in Serbia who failed to escape the occupational authority, were among the living.⁴²

Why were the remaining Jewish prisoners in the Sava camp in Šabac transferred to Sajmište precisely on January 26, 1942? In order to find the answer to this question, one more aspect of the German policy of repression in Serbia needs to be examined.

⁴⁰G. Babović, *Šabac pod okupacijom, 13. decembar 1941*, "Glas Podrinja", September 13, 1962.

⁴¹G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 230.

⁴²Peter Longerich (Hrsg.), *Die Ermordung der europaischen Juden. Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust 1941-1945*, Munich 1989, p. 294.

In addition to the mass executions, the leadership of the military occupational authorities in Serbia decided in the fall of 1941 to organize large-scale internments and resettlement of the population from the regions where the insurgent movement had been particularly strong, Northwest Serbia in particular. In line with this decision, they ordered the construction of a large concentration camp shortly before the arrival of Gen. Boeme's punitive expedition. Gen. Boeme's order to the 342nd division to "evacuate Šabac", given on September 23, 1941, entailed moving all the people from Šabac to a "concentration camp that the division will build north of the river Sava".⁴³

This order applied to the temporary transit camp in Jarak, where the prisoners from Šabac arrived after surviving the Bloody March on September 26, 1941. However, the improvised camp at Jarak was inadequate for the planned large-scale internment of both insurgents and population. This is why on September 30 the prisoners from Jarak were taken back to Šabac, and into the newly built barracks in Senjak, known as the "Transit camp Šabac", (*Durchgangslager Šabac*), and built as a temporary facility only. It had a population of more than 20,000, the majority of whom lived in the open. It was obvious that such a camp could not provide a more permanent solution for a large number of people. Gen. Boeme suggested to the Field Marshal List to have all the prisoners from the Šabac camp deported to Germany, but List refused to do so.⁴⁴ Surely, List's

⁴³*Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, book 1, 454-455. This order specified what belongings the prisoners were allowed to take into the camp, including food from their own supplies. In the report to Military Commander Southeast of September 24, 1941, Gen. Boeme mentioned that the population of Šabac would be "resettled" starting September 24. *Idem*, p. 458.

⁴⁴C. R. Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 47-48. As the police investigation failed to prove any of the thousands of the Šabac prisoners guilty, they were released following List's orders. This enraged the commander of the 342nd division Gen. Hinghofer, who in his report to Boeme of October 15, 1941 said the following: "It is safe to say that the rebel movement in Mačva, due to the release of a large number of people from the concentration camp, may grow fresh impetus as soon as the division moves to a new area of activity"; *Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, book 1, p. 537-538.

refusal to have the detained rebels deported to Germany encouraged Boeme to look for a solution to the problem of large-scale internment in Serbia by building a large camp that had been mentioned in the orders since September 18, 1941.

Gen. Boeme's headquarters decided on October 6, 1941 to build the new camp next to the village of Zasavica, at the northernmost point of the German occupational area along the river Sava and the border with Croatia. "In the Sava bend at Mitrovica, Organization Todt was to erect a collection camp according to the model of German concentration camps." The initial capacity of this camp will be 50,000, amendable to 500,000 people".⁴⁵ It cannot be purely by coincidence that right there, near the village of Zasavica, mass executions of Jews took place on October 12 and 13. This village and the surrounding area had already been evacuated and it seemed like a suitable place for terrible crimes, including a new camp. After heavy rains turned the terrain into a pool of mud, Gen. Boeme stopped the works on October 28, 1941, and ordered the pavilions of the Belgrade fairgrounds to be turned into a camp instead.⁴⁶

At the time of the execution of the Jewish men, the first phase of the "final solution" in Serbia, carried out chiefly by the Wehrmacht, was being completed. But the problem of Jewish women and children still remained. The members of the top brass of the occupational military command in Serbia did not see eye to eye on the Jewish issue, which prompted the visit of a delegation of the Foreign Ministry and the RSHA from Berlin, in mid October 1941.⁴⁷ It became clear from the talks that the "final solution" was already well underway in Serbia. In the acts

⁴⁵Zbornik NOR, Vol. I, book 1, p. 498-499; Idem, Vol. XII, book 1, p. 486-487. While still under construction, the camp was named "Transit Camp 183" (*Durchgangslager 183, Dulag 183 for short*); AVII,NA, K-44h, f-1, d-7/55, Auszug aus dem Kriegstagebuch des Generalkommando XVIII (Geb.) A.K. (18.9.41-8.12.41).

⁴⁶Idem, priest Babović wrote down on November 9, 1941 that it had been raining incessantly for four weeks, since October 12. *Šabac pod okupacijom*, "Glas Podrinja", August 30, 1962.

⁴⁷C. R. Browning, *Fateful Months*, p. 51-52; G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 231-232.

of reprisal for the killing of German soldiers more than 2,200 Jewish men had already been shot, and another 4,000 remained. The participants in the talks agreed to have 3,500 shot “by the end of that week”, and to use the remaining 500 men to maintain order and organize provisions and medical services in a ghetto where all the remaining Jews and Roma were to be confined. This ghetto, was planned to be just a transit area for the prisoners on their way to the camp, located on the “Serbian island Mitrovica” on the river Sava. The island was to have two facilities: one for the Jews and Roma, and another for “50,000 Serbian hostages”. The Jewish camp was also to be used as a transit prison, before the technical possibilities allowed the transfer of prisoners to a “reception camp” in the east.⁴⁸ In fact, both the Foreign Ministry and the RSHA consistently asked for the “final solution” to be carried out in Serbia and nowhere else.

The order to have the Jews and Roma interned in the camp in Sajmište was not issued until early December 1941, after the insurgence in Western Serbia was quelled, which had been the German’s top priority. The conditions now existed to switch to the second phase of the “final solution”: the internment of all the remaining Jews in Serbia. According to a report from Gen. Boeme’s headquarters to the Military Commander Southeast of December 5, 1941, “all the Jews and Roma will be transferred to one concentration camp near Zemun. (For the time being, some 16,000 people). It can be proved that they procured intelligence for the rebels”.⁴⁹ This was one of Boeme’s last orders before he

⁴⁸Idem; Rademacher’s report about the trip to Belgrade in: AVII, NA, mf. London, r-1, s-297 105 to 297 108: The numbers of the remaining Jews vary significantly depending on the source. On the basis of Benzler’s telegrams, Rademacher believed that there were 8,000 Jewish men in Serbia and 20,000 other Jews, while the police sources in Serbia put that number at “around 10,000 Jewish women and children”; *Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, book 1, p. 543-545, Report about the events in the SSSR No. 119. Different sources offer different numbers of Jews and Roma who were to be interned to the camp in Sajmište.

⁴⁹Idem, Vol. I, book 1, p. 624-625. This paper also announces the arrest of 1,200 active officers in Belgrade and their transfer to a POW camp in Germany, as had long been planned by Turner.

left Serbia, on December 6, 1941, when his successor, Gen. Bader, took office. As of December 8, all the remaining Jews and a certain number of Roma in the occupied Serbia were sent to the new Jewish camp Zemun (Military Commander Southeast). The Jews from Belgrade and Banat were among the first prisoners, together with a group of Jewish women transferred from the camp in Banjica. According to Gen. Bader's report, 5, 281 persons were brought to "the camp for Jews and Gypsies" by December 15. The transfer of Jewish women and children from other camps throughout the country was next.

Historiographers disagree on the date of transfer of Jewish prisoners from Šabac to Sajmište, as well as the circumstances of this transfer and the number of prisoners. Relying on the notes from priest Babović's diary, S. Filipović accepted as correct the information that the remaining Jews from Šabac were transferred to the camp in Sajmište on January 26, 1942, but did not specify their number. On the basis of a statement from Lav Brandajs, the former president of the Jewish Religious Community in Zemun, G. Anderl and W. Manoschek accepted that the group had between 730 and 800 Jewish women and children and that their transfer to Sajmište took place on January 3, 1942.⁵⁰ No doubt, priest Babović is a credible witness and his notes are a reliable historical source. However, the question remains of the number of the deportees, their structure and the circumstances under which the transfer took place. To answer this, one has to take into account the total number of Jews from the Kladovo Transport and from Šabac who were interned and killed in either Zasavica or Sajmište.

There are several lists of victims from the Kladovo Transport and Šabac. All derive from the one kept in the Šabac municipality archive (No. 11.181 of November 16, 1941). Jefta Kujundžić, a war-time municipality clerk, gave an affidavit for the war-crimes commission confirming the existence of the list.

⁵⁰ S. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, p. 144; G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 234.

The Commission established that upon the arrival of the Kladovo Jews in Šabac, in September 1940, their leader eng. Stern gave Kujundžić a list of names of all the Jews from the group, "asking him to keep it in case they were killed by Germans".⁵¹ Two most reliable post-war lists of victims are the one kept in the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, with 1,037 names, and the list made in Belgrade on December 24, 1945, with 1,057 names.⁵² These two lists, combined with additional research, resulted in a directory of 1,051 names, the most comprehensive one so far, which Anderl and Manoschek added to their book about the Kladovo Transport. However, this list too is incomplete, because some names from the list of December 24, 1945 were left out, not all available lists were consulted, and a few minor mistakes crept in.

Three names should be added to the list of December 24, 12 persons from four lists of Jewish refugees that were not included in the research, and eight names from an overlooked list of the Šabac Jews. All these names will be listed in the addenda to this paper. Simple addition brings the number to a total of 1,074 victims. Of this, 64 are local Jews (63 from Šabac and the rabbi from Ruma) and 1,010 are the Jews from the Kladovo Transport. Three out of 64 local Jews died during the Bloody March, 24 were shot in Zasavica (only two were positively identified), three were shot in Šabac later on and 34 were taken to the camp in Sajmište. Out of a total of 1,010 Jews from the Kladovo Transport, 22 perished during the Bloody March, 726 were shot in Zasavica (44 identified) and one prisoner was taken to Banjica on September 15, 1941, where he was shot on October 17 that year. The remaining

⁵¹AVII, NA, k-53, reg. No. 12/2, Inv. No. 18.612.

⁵²JIM, k-24-3-1/1, "Verzeichnis der seitens deutschen Okupationsbeherden im Oktober 1941 im Dorf Zasavica bei Schabac erschossenen Juden". The other list is entitled "Spisak šabačkih Jevreja i Jevreja izbeglica koji su ubijeni u Zasavici oktobra 1941. godine" (The list of Šabac Jews and Jewish refugees killed in Zasavica in October 1941). This list is appended to M. Jovanovic's *Wir packen, wir auspacken*, p. 266-277. The titles of both lists are inaccurate because they also include the names of the Jews killed at Sajmište.

prisoners, 261 of them, were taken to the camp in Sajmište on January 26, 1942, and killed there.

However, the total number of the victims from the Kladovo Transport exceeds 1,010. On the list of December 25, 1945, entry No. 407 features the name of Irma Hilkovic, along with a note explaining that she had three children, one of them born in Šabac. Only the name of her eldest child, Haim, is known, as well as that all three were boys.⁵³ The father, Kurt Hilkovic, was executed in Zasavica, together with all the other men. The mother, Irma, left for Zemun on January 26, 1942, along with the rest of the group. All three of her children perished en route. Little Haim Hilkovic and his two nameless brothers should be included in the list of the victims from the Kladovo Transport and the total number put at 1,013. However, this figure too needs to be revised.

The group of prisoners sent from Šabac to Sajmište included two Christian women, Dorothea Fink and Anna Hecht, both German and both married to Jews, who were subsequently released from the camp in Sajmište. As expected, their names are not found in the two most complete lists of victims. On the shorter list of prisoners of the camp in Šabac the word “no” is written next to the name of Dorothea Fink, meaning that she had not been killed. Obviously, the State commission for war crimes knew that she had survived, while Anna Hecht was still listed as dead. After the war, both survivors gave official statements about this.⁵⁴ However, another two women from the Kladovo Transport were released from Sajmište – a fact we shall examine in more detail later in the paper. Therefore, the list of victims from the Kladovo Transport should contain 1,011 names.

Therefore, the total number of Jews from the Kladovo Transport who were sent to Sajmište on January 26, 1942, was

⁵³ M. Jevtić (Ed.), *Šabac i Jevreji (Šabac and the Jews)*, p. 120; the caption says that the photo shows Kurt Hilkovec (the correct spelling should be Hilkovic) and his youngest son, Haim.

⁵⁴AJ, 110-691-199 to 200, “Emigrants From the Camps in Šabac – Families with Children”; G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, passim.

266. They were joined with 34 Jews from Šabac. The group included more Jews from other Serbian towns, as well.

By mid December 1942, the Jews from Belgrade and Banat were detained in the camp in Sajmište. Since January 1942, all the remaining Jews from the country were rounded up to be taken to Sajmište. In Obrenovac, the local German authorities arrested six Jewish men on September 19, 1941, and sent them to the camp in Banjica. Their family members, 12 of them, were taken to Šabac on January 10, 1942, where they joined other Jewish prisoners.⁵⁵ This raised the number of Jewish prisoners in the "Jewish camp in Šabac" to 312. Only several days later, in mid January, preparations for their transfer to Sajmište were underway.⁵⁶

The deportation of Jews from the country's interior to Sajmište began with the transfer of a group of around 100 Jewish women and children from Kragujevac, on January 14, 1942. The deportation of Jewish women and children from the camp on the river Sava in Šabac followed on January 26, 1942. This was the first of three major groups of Jews deported to Sajmište from the inland. The time of the year and the circumstances of the deportations not only reveal the Germans' total lack of human sympathy, but also show that the transports were organized in a rather hasty manner.

The resistance of both Partisans and Chetniks crushed, and control of Western Serbia reestablished, German military operations moved to the territory of the neighboring Independent

⁵⁵AJ, 110-384-600, Written statement from Pera Pavlović, former Obrenovac municipality clerk, before the local office of the Serbian Country Commission for War Crimes, Obrenovac, August 20, 1945. According to this statement, the local military commander was a second lieutenant Heinrichs (probable spelling). The register of German war criminals (f.br.11.435) contains also a German lieutenant Henriex, local commander in Obrenovac; Miodrag Zečević/Jovan Popović (Eds.), *Dokumenti iz istorije Jugoslavije (Documents from the History of Yugoslavia)*, Vol. IV, Belgrade 2000, p. 559. This is probably the same person. The list of Jews from Obrenovac is appended to this paper.

⁵⁶AVII, Nedić Archive, (NdA), k-36. F-1, d-23.

State of Croatia, in Eastern Bosnia. Serbian insurgence there was strong enough to jeopardize the German position in Serbia proper. Since January 14 until the beginning of February 1941, two German divisions, helped by the Croatian forces, defeated Serbian insurgents, Partisans and Chetniks. Following the advice of their commanders, the majority of more than 1,000 Chetnik prisoners peacefully surrendered to German troops. They were taken to the transit camp in Šabac on January 18 and 22, 1942. As the operations in Eastern Bosnia and low-intensity fightings with Partisans in Western Serbia continued, the issue of additional space for new prisoners in internment camps came up. The camps in Šabac seemed like a perfect solution. This was certainly the main reason for vacating the Sava camp and for the decision to have 312 Jewish prisoners transferred to the camp at Sajmište, on January 26, 1942. Soon after they left, the captured Serbian insurgents from Eastern Bosnia arrived in the camp.⁵⁷

Surely, the order to move the Jews from Šabac to Sajmište came from Belgrade and was carried out by the German military and police authorities in Šabac. Did Lieutenant Herbert Andorfer, commander of the Jewish camp Zemun, have a role in this? According to the studies available so far, based on Andorfer's statements during his 1967 trial, he was in Belgrade in the second half of January 1942, i.e. he could not have been involved in the deportations. However, some historical sources describe his activities during this period in an entirely different light.

According to his statement, in the aftermath of the occupation of Yugoslavia, Andorfer was commissioned to Zagreb as a member of the Third department of the *Sicherheitspolizei*, the security police, from the Operational Squad headed by the SS colonel Wilhelm Fuchs. This department's task was to be an impartial observer of all "walks of life", collect information and

⁵⁷By early February 1942, 1,470 Serbian rebels were captured and interned to the camps in Šabac; Zdravko Antonić, *Ustanak u istočnoj i centralnoj Bosni (Insurgence in Eastern and Central Bosnia)*, Belgrade 1973, p. 515; S. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, p. 145-152.

pass them to other departments of the police, army and administrative authorities. This department's personal evaluation reports could send people to prison or camp, or even get them killed.⁵⁸ Soon after moving to Belgrade, on October 29, 1941, Andorfer was commissioned to Šabac. His task was to interrogate a prisoner in the "Transit camp Šabac". The insurgents and those accused of helping them were executed immediately, while others were convicted to hard labor in Serbia's mines, or released. According to his own testimony, Andorfer was in charge of interrogating the members of the Chetnik movement. At the time of his arrival in Šabac, the camp in the barracks in Senjak was packed with prisoners; on October 25, 1941, there were 16,445 of them.⁵⁹ During the next two months, exhaustive interrogations of prisoners took place. They included torture, which claimed more than just a few lives.⁶⁰ According to him, by mid January 1942 the camp in Šabac had been vacated, following the execution of some 500 Partisans. This was the end of his mission in Šabac, and he returned to Belgrade. After, as he put it, being "virtually jobless" for a while, the head of the Third department, SS Major Hans Rexeisen, appointed him commander of the "Jewish camp Zemun" in late January or early February 1942. He replaced Edgar Enge, a non-commissioned SS officer, who became his assistant. In his statement, Andorfer insisted that as camp commander he was responsible to the Third, and not the Fourth department of the police, the *Geheimstaatspolizei*, or Gestapo, for short.⁶¹

Andorfer's statement that he took office as camp commander at Sajmište in late January or early February was false. Already since December 23, 1941, the documents from the

⁵⁸G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 243; *Nemačka obavestajna služba (German Intelligence Service)*, book IV, Belgrade 1956, p. 453-454.

⁵⁹*Zbornik NOR*, Vol. I, book 1, p. 571, Gen. Boeme to the Military Commander Southeast Operations, October 30, 1941.

⁶⁰For tortures and executions during Andorfer's term in Šabac, see: S. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, p. 104-116.

⁶¹G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 244.

Jewish camp Zemun bear the signature of Andorfer in the capacity of camp commander.⁶² As of December 26, these documents bear the signature of Enge, but always "on the orders of the camp commander". After January 23, 1942, Andorfer again signed the documents as the camp commander, as often did Enge, but again always "on the orders of the camp commander". This means that shortly before or soon after the Jewish camp Zemun was set up Andorfer was made camp commander, and held that office until the camp's closure. The last document with his signature in the capacity of camp commander is dated April 24, 1942. Enge represented Andorfer during his absence in the period between December 26, 1941 and January 23, 1942.⁶³ According to Andorfer's statement, he was in Šabac until mid January 1942. This means that, in all likelihood, he returned to Šabac by the end of December 1941, but this time as the commander of the Jewish camp Zemun.

It is almost impossible that Andorfer, as the camp commander playing a central role in the Final Solution in Serbia, could have remained in the Third Department of the police. And yet, this possibility should not be discarded if one knows that there was no strict division of authority between the departments within the Operational Squad.⁶⁴ In principle, the Final Solution was under the jurisdiction of the Fourth department, i.e. the Gestapo, and its Jewish section (IV B4). The command of the Sajmište camp, as well as of the camp in Banjica, was or-

⁶²IAB, Fund of the Municipality of the City of Belgrade, Inv. No. 314. Andorfer requested some stationery and office material from the Belgrade municipality, as well as drugs, medical equipment and supplies for "opening a hospital and a hospital pharmacy" in the camp.

⁶³M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, p. 66-67. Andorfer's statement that after his service in the camp he left Serbia is also false; G. Anderl/W. Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*, p. 250. When a German police center of operations was established in Novi Pazar, in September 1942, Andorfer was appointed its head; *Nemačka obaveštajna služba*, book IV, p. 850-851. Perhaps that is when he returned to the third police department.

⁶⁴*Nemačka obaveštajna služba*, book IV, p. 405-406.

ganized as an independent unit (*Sonderkommando*) under the direct command of the head of Gestapo, SS Major Hintze, and through him to the head of the Operational Squad of the Security Police and the Security Service, Fuchs. One can assume that Andorfer returned to Šabac to terminate his previous job with the Third department. However, the assumption that his arrival had to do with his new duty of camp commander seems more plausible, all the more so because, according to his own statement, the evacuation of the imprisoned Partisans from the camp in Senjak, in Šabac, was finalized in mid January 1942. Besides, these two missions do not necessarily exclude one another.

Andorfer's reappearance in Šabac, by the end of December 1941, coincided with the German preparations for military action in Eastern Bosnia. They knew from experience that a new wave of prisoners was to follow, and that new space was to be made for them in the camps in Šabac. It is therefore to be assumed that the arrival of Andorfer as the commander of the Sajmište camp had to do with the preparations for the deportation of Jewish prisoners from the Sava camp in Šabac. The Jews themselves expected to be moved to Sajmište soon. Already on December 21, 1941, according to priest Babović's evidence, the Germans had informed the Jewish women from the camp in Šabac that they would be moved to the camp at Sajmište, where they would meet their men, who had been taken there two months earlier. To them, to leave Šabac meant not only meeting with their loved ones, but also ending the dreadful time in the camp. None of the survivors recalled Andorfer visiting the Sava camp, but it is quite likely that he too took part in stirring up their hopes in getting reunited with their men. Besides, during the executions of prisoners in Sajmište from late March until May 1942, Andorfer would offer plenty of proof of his talent for deception. On January 23, 1942, at the latest, he was already back on duty as the commander of the Sajmište camp. Therefore, he must have been present when, three days later, a large group of Jewish women and children came in from Šabac. His

statement that he was in Belgrade and “without works” at that time is false. He was very busy running the camp with around 5,300 women and children and getting ready for the arrival of a large transport of Jews from Šabac and other camps from the country’s interior.

There are two testimonies about the moving of Jewish prisoners from Šabac to the Sajmište camp in Belgrade. They are based on first-hand observation and partly second-hand information. In his diary, priest Gliša Babović wrote down the following: *“January 24, 1942: At 10 o’ clock this morning the Jewish women and their children were driven out of Šabac. From what we know, they were taken to Zemun, to Sajmište, into the barracks. There are no Jews left in Šabac. Two or three days ago, the German soldiers raided Jewish houses and took their belongings away. The tenants in the apartment buildings owned by Jews are now paying rent to the municipality.”*

He learned more about the forcible eviction in mid March.

“March 15, 1942: I mentioned before that the Jewish women were driven out of Šabac on January 26. They reached Ruma by train, and from Ruma they went Zemun on foot. It was biting cold, there was a long way ahead of them, the children could not endure and collapsed along the road, freezing to death. Babies in strollers were left on the road. Next to them collapsed the elderly women. They all froze to death and were left there. Among other Šabac Jews, the victims include the wife of Dr. Haim Ruso (Žana), and Dr. Koen’s child (Luci, 4), who froze to death en route. Her grief-sticken mother, Elza, had gone mad before reaching Zemun pulled out her hair and was covered with self-inflicted scratches. This is all the news we’ve had of them so far.”

In her testimony about the event, witness Mira Jovanovic said: *«The cold was devastating. At about 10 o’clock in the morning on January 26, 1942, dressed in raggs and wearing tattered shoes, a group of women and children begin their journey across the river Sava to Klenak-and to their death. Packed in freight cars, freezing Germans transport them to Ruma. Later on, the rail workers from Ruma told with horror that the women, their hands*

completely frozen, helped the children into the wagons, and that they, the rail workers, helped them load several strollers in and you could hear the Germans banging with rifle butts and shouting the already notorious: Los, los! Later, there were many stories about the Golgotha of the Jewish women and their children on the road of death. They had to walk from Ruma to Zemun. It was a very cold winter, the road was long, and the small children were falling into the deep snow. White death was mowing down. The children froze in the hands of their mothers, who tried to warm them up against their bosom. The mothers were hurriedly burying their frozen children in the snow, believing that, come spring, people would give them decent burial. The wife of Kurt Hilkovec (Hilkovic) lost her three children on the road. The youngest, born in Šabac, froze on her bosom. The mothers went insane from pain. The frozen bare road echoed with the cries of pain. They pulled their hair out, scratched their face, hit themselves in the bosom. Some elderly women also froze to death and remained there lying on the road. “

The treatment of the Jewish refugees was a display of extreme cruelty on the part of the German guards, who, obviously, did not care if the prisoners died on the road. They may even have had special orders, given that it was reasonable to assume that making the already exhausted prisoners march in the biting cold, particularly harsh those couple of days, would be as good as killing them. It is known for a fact that at least four children perished during the march (three children of Irma Hilkovic, and Luci Koen) and one woman, Žana Ruso, but the death toll was probably higher. Given that a total of 312 prisoners left Šabac, probably some 300 reached Sajmište. They all suffered extreme physical and emotional pain, and some women, like Elza Koen, suffered a total nervous breakdown. Under the circumstances, reaching Sajmište might have brought temporary relief. However, a terrible disappointment followed shortly. Instead of getting reunited with their fathers, husbands and brothers, like the Germans had promised, in the camp they found thousands of Jewish women and children from Belgrade and Banat.

The uncertainty about the prisoners' fate lasted until the second half of March 1942, when the camp commander Andorfer informed them that they were soon to be "resettled" to a new camp in Romania (or Poland). In fact, this was just a trick used to conceal the imminent mass executions.

The "problem" of Jewish prisoners in Sajmište was "solved" by sending a gas van from Berlin to Belgrade. From early April until May 10, 1942 hurried executions of Jewish women and children took place between Sajmište and the burial ground at the Jajinci execution site, prepared in advance. Already in early May 1942, the first group of Partisans and other patriots was brought to the camp, now almost empty. The Sajmište camp changed name and purpose and became known as the Anhaltelager Semlin – reception camp Zemun.

Of all the prisoners in the camp, there remained only a small group of Christian, mainly German women, whose husbands were killed with other Jews. Among them were some women from the Kladovo transport. Apart from Anna Hecht and Dorothea Fink, this group included another two prisoners, whose names appear on the list of the victims, and who are mentioned by one of the prisoners, a Swiss woman Hedwig Schoenfein⁶⁵. On the list of the victims of December 24, 1945, under the entry No. 685 is the name of one of them, Gertrude Neumann. The Zimmermann woman is probably Lydia Zimmermann, whose name appears under 1,038 on that same list. This means that these two names should be deleted from the list of 1,013 victims from the Kladovo transport. This puts the total number of the Kladovo transport victims at 1,011. The number of Jewish victims from Šabac (and one from Ruma) is 64. Therefore, the complete list of all the victims from the Kladovo transport and Šabac should have a total of 1,075 names.

⁶⁵ JIM, k-24-2-2/6. Schoenfein testified that the following women were also released: Gertrude Neumann, Anna Hecht, Zimmerman, Klauber and Eškenazi. Shoenfein was released together with her younger daughter, Ljiljana; the testimony of Ljiljana Đorđević (born Schoenfein) to the author, Belgrade, September 24, 2001.

In the days following the extermination of Jewish prisoners in Zemun, the news of their death reached Šabac. Priest Babović made a brief note in his diary:

"May 14, 1942: rumor has it that all the Jewish women who were driven away to the camp near Zemun last winter have been eliminated. "

The notes in priest Babović's diary show that the citizens of Šabac tried to find out what happened to their Jewish fellow-citizens and the Jews from the Kladovo transport, and that the news of their tragic end reached Šabac rather quickly. It probably came from Belgrade, where people had been aware for some time that the Jews from the camp in Sajmište were being killed in a hideous way, in a gas van. The Jewish victims were buried in mass graves in Jajinci until the fall of 1943, together with tens of thousands of other victims. Since the second half of November 1943 until the beginning of February 1944, Paul Blobel's Special Command Unit 1005 (*Sonderkommando 1005*) destroyed all the bodies, including those of the prisoners of the Jewish camp Zemun, the Kladovo refugees among them.

Addenda

I

The names of the Jewish victims to be added to the list of 1,051 names from Anderl and Manoschek's book about the Kladovo transport

The spelling of the names is as it is found in the sources; where needed, the probable original form is given within brackets.⁶⁶

⁶⁶The names of 64 Jews from Šabac have already been mentioned. Another two lists are kept in the Yugoslav State Archives, "List of Jewish Emigrés" with 616 names (110-691-195 through 205) and "Emigrés from the camp in Šabac - families with children" (110-691-199 through 200), with 432 names. These two lists will be marked with Roman numbers, the first with IV, the second with III. The Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade has two more lists: "Jewish Emigrés from the camp in Šabac" (k-24-3-1/8) with 333 names. These lists are marked II and I, respectively.

Germany is stated as the country of origin of nearly all of them; this includes the entire Third Reich, with Austria, where most of the refugees came from.

Three names are missing from the list of December 24, 1945, and one of them appears in one of the lists that have not been analyzed: 1) Heimbacher Eli (No. 374), 2) Hofmeister Klara (No. 397, ?) and 3) Rosenstingl Gyula or Julius (No. 769, December 12, 1920, aus Ungarn, 1/238, IV/236).

According to the lists of the Jewish refugees overlooked so far, the following 12 persons are missing: 1) Goldschmidt Artur (I/95, IV/94, Oct. 22, 1921, Germany); 2) Hoenig Max (I/I 14, IV/113, August 12, 1921, Germany); 3) Herrstein Fritz (IV/413, Sept 12, 1906, Germany); 4) Keifinger Wienek (IV/29, May 16, 1900, Germany); 5) Kochstein Heinrich (IV/48, May 19, 1920, Germany); 6) Kohn Ernest (I/148, IV/147, March 9, 1910, Germany); 7) Kreutner Robert (IV/607, Nov. 13, 1887, Germany); 8) Leinkram Besalel (IV/599, Oct. 20, 1897, Poland); 9) Mamber Hugo (IV/472, March 23, 1889, Germany); 10) Schneider Hedwig (III/400, March 19, 1905); 11) Singer Friedrich (I/251, IV/249, Sept. 8, 1922, Nemačka) and 12) Spiegler Ernest (IV/255, June 10, 1908, Germany).

When this list is compared against the list of Šabac Jews, it becomes evident that the following eight persons are missing: 1) Abinun Bukica (No. 46, housewife, 39 years old); 2) Avramović Nahama (No. 57, widow, 63 years old); 3) Avramović Erna (No.58, student, 25 year old); 4) Bararon Edenija (No. 34, child, 10 years old); 5) Guenzberger Natalia (No. 60, housewife, 46 years old); 6) Moreno Zumbula (No. 61, housewife, 56 years old); 7) Moreno Navila (No. 62, housewife, 40 years old), and 8) Moreno Zelma (No. 63, child, 9 years old).

II

On June 12, 1945 the War-crimes investigation commission organized the exhumation of those executed in Zasavica on October 12 and 13, 1941. Among them were 750 Jews, 46 of

them positively identified (44 from the Kladovo transport and two local Jews). On the original list, the victims' names are transcribed in Serbian, in phonetic spelling. Here, they are listed according to the two most complete lists and in their original spelling. Next to the names are other general details found in the Commission's document and in the original order.

- 1) Salomon Fingerhut, priest from Ruma; 2) Paul Feintuch from Vienna; 3) Hermann Paul from Paderborn; 4) Benno Deutsch; 5) Arie-Leib Gelbard, 6) Adam Bergeld; 7) Richard Neumann; 8) Haim Hermann Gottesmann from Vienna, 9) Marcel Schwarz; 10) Otto Bazman; 11) Aron Friedmann; 12) Siegfried Nowak; 13) Wolfgang Kahn; 14) Alice Stein; 15) Leo Stein; 16) Geršon Eisner/instead of: Eisner Dušan/; 17) Samuilo Abinun from Šabac; 18) Arnold Hacker; 19) Isidor Kohn, pharmacist; 20) Isidor Kinberg, Berlin; 21) Kurt Gottlieber; 22) Karl Rotestreich from Colomea, 23) Friedrich Rosner, Vienna; 24) Robert Buchelovič, Vienna; 25) Georg Hauser, Vienna; 26) Aron A. Langsam; 27) Max Glaser, Vienna; 28) Markus Klug, Vienna; 29) Breier Sigmund, Vienna, 30) Herbert Aleksandar; 31) Walter Bauer; 32) G. Bauber; 33) Paul Baumann; 34) Walter Marchfeld; 35) Robert Zwicker; 36) Samuel Nachmann; 37) Berta Zwicker, Vienna; 38) Julius Zwicker, Vienna, 39) Fedor Hambach; 40) eng. Alexandar Brod, 41) Leo Gutstein; 42) Erwin Ehrlich; 43) Dr. Salo Ignatz Bergwerk, 44) Moses Austerer; 45) Isak Fieselmann /or Fieselson/; 46) Josef Stern, Vienna.

III

The list of Jews from Obrenovac has 19 entries, but only 11 are listed by name. Among them are two refugees from Petrograd (Banat). On September 19, 1941 the men were taken from Obrenovac to the Banjica camp, one of them to Valjevo on December 10, 1941, from where he was probably taken to the

Banjica camp. Women and children were taken to Šabac on January 10, 1942, and transferred to the Sajmište camp with other Jewish prisoners, on January 26, 1942.

- 1) Marko Ruso, 48, wife Lela; 2) Aron Ruso, shop owner, 42, wife's name unknown, and a 7 year-old son; 3) Mile Daniti, around 22, single, father Isak, around 62, mother Bukica around 45; 4) Moša Ruso, around 45, wife lived in Belgrade, name unknown; 5) Ignjac Gros, over 60, married, wife's name unknown, had 4 sons, the eldest Edvard, around 38, married; 6) Bernard Rotenberg, around 50, wife Bukica-Ana, around 45, daughter married in Belgrade. Refugees from Petrovgrad. Bernard was taken to Valjevo around December 10, and Bukica-Ana was taken together with the others to Šabac, on January 10, 1942.

A.D.