

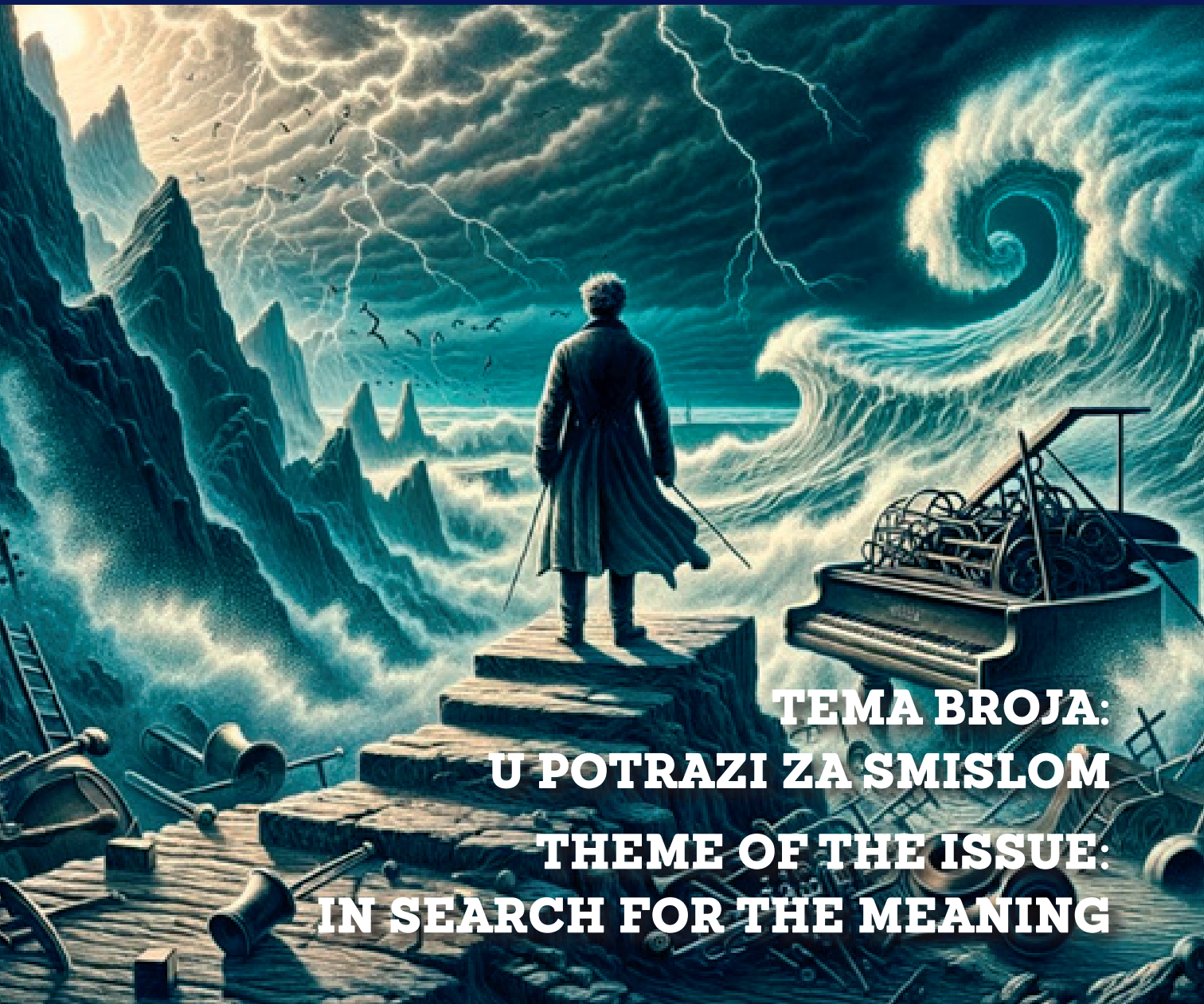


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B'nai B'rith

Gavro Schwartz, Hrvatska

Časopis za židovsku kulturu, civilizaciju i povijest.
Godina 9, broj 34 Zagreb, travanj 2024. Izlazi četiri puta godišnje.



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U POTRAZI ZA SMISLOM
THEME OF THE ISSUE:
IN SEARCH FOR THE MEANING**

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Gavro Schwartz, Croatia

Magazine of Jewish Culture, Civilization and History.
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Časopis *Glasnik B'nai B'rith* pokrenut je 2016. godine kao digitalni časopis s fokusom na židovsku kulturu, civilizaciju, povijest, kao i aktivnosti židovskih zajednica i pojedinaca te udruge B'nai B'rith u Hrvatskoj. Časopis izlazi četiri puta godišnje u dvojezičnom formatu, na hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku, a svi su brojevi dostupni na <https://www.bnibrith.hr/hr/>. Svrha časopisa je ukazati na doprinos židovstva u razvoju hrvatske te europske kulture i civilizacije, povezati židovsku i opću javnost, kao i osigurati kontinuitet komunikacije između židovskih zajednica u Hrvatskoj i inozemstvu. Današnji suradnici uključuju judaiste, izraeliste, povjesničare, teoretičare umjetnosti i stručnjake za različita područja iz Hrvatske, Austrije, Indije, Izraela, Amerike, Poljske, Brazila i drugih zemalja.

The Voice of B'nai B'rith was started in 2016 as a digital magazine focusing on Jewish culture, civilization, history, as well as the activities of Jewish communities and individuals and the B'nai B'rith association in Croatia. The magazine is published four times a year in bilingual format, in Croatian and English, and all issues are available at <https://www.bnibrith.hr/hr/>. The main objective is to point out the contribution of Judaism in the development of Croatian and European culture and civilization, to connect the Jewish and general public, as well as to ensure the continuity of communication between Jewish communities in Croatia and abroad. Today's contributors include scholars from areas of Jewish Studies, Israel Studies, historians, art theorists and experts in various fields from Croatia, Austria, India, Israel, America, Poland, Brazil and other countries.

SADRŽAJ / CONTENTS

Riječ urednice: uz trideset četvrti broj *Glasnika B'nai B'rith* 5

Editorial to the 34th Issue of *The Voice of B'nai B'rith* 6

ATLAS OBLAKA / CLOUD ATLAS

Put oko regije / Around the Region

Zlata Živaković-Kerže: O istaknutim Židovima u Brodu na Savi 7
Outstanding Jews from Slavonski Brod

Darko Fischer 35 godina Kulturnog društva Miroslav Šalom Freiburger iz Zagreba 15
35 Years of Cultural Society Miroslav Šalom Freiburger from Zagreb

U FOKUSU: POTRAGA ZA SMISLOM / IN SEARCH FOR THE MEANING

Anna Maria Gruenfelder: Otpor totalitarnome režimu – ima li smisla?

Osamdeseta godišnjica Operacije Valkyrie 19

Resistance to totalitarianism: can it make a difference?

80 years since Operation Valkyrie

Paula Rem: Vječno vraćanje jednakog? Smisao vremena u židovstvu, kršćanstvu i hinduizmu 27
The Eternal Recurrence of the Same? The Meaning of Time in Judaism, Christianity and Hinduism

Paula Rem: Potraga za istinom u doba dezinformacija: smisao vizualnih medija od antike do danas 39
The Search for Truth in the Age of Disinformation: Meaning of Visual Media from Antiquity to the Present

ZEMLJA MEDA I MLIJEKA / LAND OF MILK AND HONEY

Cionizam / Zionism

Aron Albahari: Smisao borbe za vlastitu državu: Svjetska cionistička organizacija u posjetu Beogradu, Sarajevu i Zagrebu 1928. godine 48
Meaning of Struggle for an Own State: The World Zionist Organization visiting Belgrade, Sarajevo and Zagreb in 1928

Anna Maria Gruenfelder

Otpor totalitarnome režimu – ima li smisla? Osamdeseta godišnjica Operacije Valkyrie

Dr. phil. Anna Maria Gruenfelder (*1948, Kärnten, Austrija) povjesničarka je i prevoditeljica. Živi u Zagrebu od 1974. godine i bavi se poviješću regije Alpe-Dunav-Jadran. Radi kao prevoditeljica i kolumnistica s njemačkog za hrvatske i slovenske novine.

„Jedino što je potrebno za trijumf zla je da dobri ljudi ne reaguju. Najveća pogreška je ne činiti ništa.”

Zaključak što ga je britanski parlamentarac i filozof konzervativizma Edmund Burke (1729 – 1797) izvukao iz iskustva s terorom tijekom Francuske Revolucije, ni danas nije izgubio važnost: miroljubivi duhovi, koji duboko preziru oružje, a vjeruju u snagu diplomacije, zagovaraju nenasilje i omogućavaju zlu da trijumfira. Korektni, pametni, i plemeniti suvremenici ne žele žrtvovati svoju „aureolu“ korektnosti i zaziru od svake intervencije kad bi nalikovala na „nasilje“. U burnim razdobljima povijesti treba žrtvovati svoj imidž i riskirati gubitak glasa svetosti. To je spoznao i Edward Burns.

Svjesna da se mi na pragu ove nove godine nalazimo pred zadatkom sučeljavati se sa nasiljem i zlom silama, zapitala sam se je li realno zlo – tiranin, represivni sustav – stvarno u stanju kvariti ljude nad kojima zlo vlada. Utječu li nepravde i represije na

ljudski karakter i pretvaraju li bezazlena „malenog čovjeka“ u zlikovca? Što može biti toliko moćno da inače pravedan čovjek ne vidi pred sobom drugačije rješenje nego „zaurlati s vukovima“? Hannah Arendt je proučavanjem naravi zla došla do zaključka da pojedinac osjeća kako je nemoguće otporom zaustaviti zlo i da je jedino što se može učiniti povlačenje iz komunikacije, odnosno odbijanje sudjelovati. Hannah Arendt upravo to podrazumijeva pod „građanskom hrabrošću“.

S njome se ne bi složili brojni „Pravednici među narodima“, među njima njih 130 iz Hrvatske. Je li otpor moguć, je li koristan i može li se i malen čovjek obraniti od moći zla? Pokazalo se da može. Rezultate svog istraživanja o ovoj temi predstavila sam u tekstu za koji me je nagradio *Savez jevrejskih opština Srbije* u ovogodišnjem Književnom konkursu 2023.

Kad je represija toliko nadmoćna i nehumana, kao što je to bilo u nacionalsocijalističkom sustavu – ali i

u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj, čini se da nema drugih opcija osim – podrediti se i prilagoditi moćnicima ili snositi posljedice. Prilagoditi se u tom kontekstu znači jedno misliti, a drugo izreći ili činiti, postati konformistom i slugom pokornim. Tada ljudi denunciraju, pristaju na prislušivanje i prijavljivanje bliskih prijatelja i znana. Memoarska literatura hrvatskih autora, koji su bili u „milosti ustaškog režima“, upadljivo je rijetka (osim one emigrantskih krugova) – kao što su rijetka i svjedočanstava, priznanja bivših oportunističkih i karijerista.

U Njemačkoj i drugim zemljama nacističkih suradnika, „ispitivanje savjesti“ bilo je iznuđeno od strane Saveznika nakon oslobođanja. Pitanje je bi li uopće došlo do toga da nije bilo vanjskog pritiska. Oni koji su izbjegli pritisak s te strane, prilagodili bi se demokraciji nakon diktature, uglavnom neopterećeni grižnjama savjesti. U Hrvatskoj je izostao proces čišćenja savjesti, zato što su ga komunisti suzabili i osujetili. Denunciranje je i u komunizmu bilo „poželjno“ ponašanje, tako da se taj oblik „suradnje s moćnicima“ prenosio od jednog sustava na drugi i stvorilo nesretnu tradiciju.

S jedne strane nalazi se indiferentnost i pasivnost, a s druge junačko pomažanje ugroženima, uz rizik za vlastiti život. No, ne postoji samo „ili – ili“ (pokoriti se ili oduprijeti se, čak platiti glavom): između prilagodbe i oportunističkog služenja režimu postoje i nijanse. No, postoji i područje između

ta dva oprečna pola: neki su oportunistički postali „umjereni“ neprijatelji ili mrzitelji Srba, Židova, Roma, sve dok je režim obećavao zadovoljiti njihove privatne ambicije, a u rijetkim su se zgodama usprotivili. Za to je trebalo imati savjest i hrabrost: sudeći prema dokumentiranim slučajevima, takvih je osoba bilo malo. Ubrojiti ću u njih Petra Grgeca, književnika i profesora na Nadbiskupskoj klasičnoj gimnaziji, koji je skidanjem šešira pozdravljao zimi 1941./42. godine na ulici nepoznate ljude koji su nosili židovski znak. Na pitanje kćeri da li te ljude poznaje, odgovorio je da ona ne može shvatiti „koliko taj čovjek trpi i koliko je ponižen. Kada prolazim kraj njih i te sramotne pločice, osjetim duboko poštovanje prema njihovoj patnji“.

Vjerojatno malen broj znalaca hrvatske povijesti zna da je predsjednik Hrvatskog sabora Nezavisne Države Hrvatske Dr. Marko Došen s nekolicinom saborskih zastupnika „Memorandumom“ („Spomenicom“) iznio pred Sabor niz pogrešaka i nedostataka u funkcioniranju države, poput socijalne nejednakosti, poticanja dvoličnosti, potiskivanja temeljnih sloboda. Zastupnici su usmeno i pismeno zahtijevali prestanak progona, raspuštanje svih logora i prestanak mučenja ljudi u njima, ponovnu uspostavu sudstva koje bi moglo zaslužiti epitet „pravno“. U tom činu neki prepoznaju „oporbeni aktivnost“, navodi povjesničarka Nada Kisić Kolanović. „Memorandum“ (u fondu „Hrvatski sabor Nezavisne Države Hrvatske“,

u Hrvatskom Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu) opsežan je elaborat, a Poglavnikov kabinet njegov sadržaj jamačno nije primio s oduševljenjem. Autori „Spomenice“ mahom su bili saborski zastupnici pozvani u Sabor još iz Sabora izglasanog 1939. godine, u vrijeme Banovine Hrvatske, podučeni i socijalizirani po činovničkom kodeksu Kraljevine Jugoslavije: na francuskoj pravnoj tradiciji i na stečevini naslijeđenoj od Austrougarske Monarhije, korektnosti i nepristranosti, bez obzira na porijeklo i stalešku pripadnost. Zastupnici koji su osmislili svoje zahtjeve Saboru, bili su stubokom uvjereni da će i Hrvatski sabor Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, nakon početne „revolucionarne faze“ pronaći put k pravnoj državi. Zabluda! „Pravna država“ moćnicima nije bila na umu: Poglavnik je ukorio autore „Spomenice“ i podučio da Hrvatski sabor Nezavisne Države Hrvatske nije nikakvo tijelo za odlučivanje, ili još gore, za oporbu, nego „simbol tisućljetne državnosti hrvatskoga naroda“. On nije namjeravao udovoljiti ni jednom prijedlogu. Učinak „Memoranduma“ bio je ravan nuli. Podnositelji „Spomenice“ nisu polučili politički uspjeh, ali su odnijeli moralnu pobjedu: Treba ih se sjetiti zbog građanske hrabrosti.

Naznake stanovite civilne hrabrosti utvrdila sam i u drugim tijelima NDH, ondje gdje je ne bih tražila: u suce Pokretnoga prijekog suda (osnovanog u lipnju 1941. za naročito teška djela). Njegovo postojanje pospješivalo je ka-

rakteristično držanje prosječnih građana pod uvjetima represije – denunciranje. Taj čin, kojim su se građani u upadljivo velikom broju koristili protiv svojih znanaca, susjeda, protivnika ali čak i prijatelja, simptom je podilaženja režima iz oportunitizma i kukavičluka. No, mnogi prijeki sudovi, nasuprot njihovoj svrsi, trudili su se suditi pravedno. Spominjem samo slučajeve koji sam rekonstruirala iz arhivske građe, a za koje mogu ustvrditi da ih povjesničari nisu citirali u sekundarnoj literaturi. Posebice valja istaći primjer predsjednika Prijekog suda u Zagrebu Dr. Vladimira Horvatića, domobranskog časnika iz Gospića. Nije poznato da li su Vladimir Horvatić i(li) njegovi kolege istoga kova u komunizmu snosili posljedice pripadnosti domobranstvu, ili je netko svjedočio u korist njihovog hrabrog držanja u uvjetima represije. Drugi primjeri uključuju ministarskog savjetnika Dr. Bresslera, svećenike i redovnice koje su iznašle mogućnosti spasiti ugrožene. Tu su također sestre Hrvatskog Crvenog križa, koje su pomagale aktivistkinji za spašavanje Kozaračke djece Dijani Budisavljević, spašavanjem Jane Koch i Dragice Habazin. Još jedan primjer uključuje liječnike koji su po bolnicama i klinikama koristili sve mogućnosti doskočiti opasnostima po pacijente proskribiranih rasno-nacionalnih pripadnosti. Svi su mi ovi primjeri dokazali da i pod uvjetima represije savjest „funkcionira“ i pomaže skupiti hrabrosti slušati njegovu pozivu.

Ustaški režim ne bi mogao opstajati bez suradnje iz naroda – bez nebrojenih ljudi koji su podupirali antisemitsku, antiromsku, antipartizansku propagandu. No, kao što se može vidjeti iz kruga pomoćnika, Hrvati nisu svi do jednoga pozdravljali izoliranje Židova i njihovo masovno ubijanje. Hrvati su pomagali čak i Romima – prezrenima i izoliranim manjinama odvajkada – a kada su počele deportacije, nastupali su pojedinci, pa čak i seoske zajednice, s peticijama.

Kao zaključak iz razmatranja raznolikog ljudskog ponašanja u uvjetima represije mogu ustvrditi da represija i politički pritisak „kvare karakter“, stvarajući karijeriste, oportuniste i kukavice. No, pritisci ipak ne suzbijaju do kraja poriv ljudskosti i odlučnost suprotstavljati se nepravdi.

Svoja razmatranja posvećujem događaju koji će u srpnju obilježiti sve zemlje s antifašističkom, antinacističkom tradicijom. Ove godine okrugla je godišnjica pokušaja atentata na Hitlera u organizaciji generala Clausa von Stauffenberga uz časnike Wehrmachta, koji je bio organiziran 20. srpnja 1944. godine. Atentat je promašio svoju metu, zbog nepredvidivih Hitlerovih poteza. Vinovnici atentata i velik broj osoba, za koje su nacističke vlasti vjerovala ili sumnjale da su bile upoznate s pripremama, platile su glavama. Glavni inicijator atentata,

Claus Graf Stauffenberg, i krug vojnih osoba i civila oko njega, nazvani danas „Muževi 20. srpnja“ nisu bili prvi i jedini koji su bili svjesni da moraju spasiti domovinu i svoj narod – ako ne na drugi način, onda usmrćivanjem Hitlera. Atentatori su se mjesecima pripremali, neki su odustali pod porivom savjesti, koji im je zabranio ubojstvo čak i zločinca poput Hitlera. Sam djelatni pokušaj atentatora ušao je u povijest kao „Ustanak savjesti“. Barem 42 atentata je pokušavano.

Svaki atentat bio je promašen pokušaj. Ne samo vojni krugovi, nego i „goloruki“ i osamljeni pojedinci pokušavali su ubiti Hitlera. Godine 1939., stolar Georg Elser podmetnuo je pakleni stroj Muenchenskoj pivovari, u kojoj je Hitler običavao održati govore; krug oporbenih studenata na sveučilištu u Münchenu, pod nazivom „Die Weiße Rose“, „Bijela ruža“ vodili su se potrebom izbaviti svoju domovinu iz zločina – i svi su snosili posljedice, smrtnu kaznu. Mnoge druge osobe koje su zaslužile počasni naslov „Pravednika među narodima“ nisu se zadovoljile neaktivnim povlačenjem pred nadmoćnim nasiljem. Civilni neposluš Hannah Arendt definira kao „odbijanje aktivnosti“.

Na pitanje što nepravedni režim čini od Čovjeka, odgovor je: kukavicu, konformista, denuncijanta – ali i junaka humanosti.

Anna Maria Gruenfelder

Resistance to totalitarianism: can it make a difference? 80 years since Operation Valkyrie

Dr. Phil. Anna Maria Gruenfelder (*1948, Kärnten, Austria) is a historian and translator. He has lived in Zagreb since 1974 and deals with the history of the Alps-Danube-Adriatic region. She works as a translator and columnist from German for Croatian and Slovenian newspapers.

„The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing. Nobody made a greater mistake than he who did nothing.”

The conclusion that the British parliamentarian and philosopher of conservatism Edmund Burke (1729 – 1797) drew from his experience with terror during the French Revolution has not lost its relevance even today: pacifists, who deeply despise weapons and believe in the omnipotence of diplomacy, advocate non-violence and enable evil to triumph. Righteous, smart, and noble contemporaries do not want to sacrifice their “halo” of righteousness and shy away from any intervention if it resembles “violence”. In stormy periods of history, one must sacrifice one’s image and risk losing one’s voice of sanctity. Edward Burns also realized this.

Aware that on the threshold of this new year we are faced with the task of confronting violence and evil forces, I asked myself whether real evil – a tyrant, a repressive system – is really capable of corrupting people. Do in-

justices and repressions affect human character and do they turn the innocent “little man” into a villain? What can be so powerful that an otherwise righteous man sees no other solution than “howling with the wolves”? By studying the nature of evil, Hannah Arendt came to the conclusion that the individual feels that it is impossible to stop evil through resistance, and that the only thing that can be done is to withdraw from communication, or refuse to participate. Hannah Arendt means exactly this by “civic courage”.

Numerous “Righteous Among the Nations”, among them 130 from Croatia, would not agree with her. Is resistance possible, is it useful and can a small man defend himself against the power of evil? Yes, it turns out. I presented the results of my research on this topic in a text for which I was awarded by the Union of Jewish Communities of Serbia in this year’s Literary Competition 2023.

When repression is so overpowering and inhumane, as it was in the National Socialist system - but also in the

Independent State of Croatia, it seems that there are no other options but - to submit and adapt to the powerful or bear the consequences. Adapting in this context means thinking one thing and saying or doing another, becoming a conformist and a submissive servant. Then people denounce, agree to eavesdropping and report close friends and acquaintances. Memoir literature by Croatian authors who were "at the mercy of the Ustasha regime" is strikingly rare (apart from that of emigrant circles) - as are the testimonies and confessions of former opportunists and careerists.

In Germany and other Nazi collaborator countries, an "examination of conscience" was forced by the Allies after liberation. The question is whether it would have happened at all if there was no external pressure. Those who escaped pressure from that side would adapt to democracy after the dictatorship, mostly unburdened by remorse. In Croatia, the process of cleansing the conscience was absent, because the communists suppressed and thwarted it. Denouncing was also a "desirable" behavior in communism, so this form of "collaboration with the powerful" was transferred from one system to another and created an unfortunate tradition.

On the one hand, there is indifference and passivity, and on the other, heroic helping of the vulnerable, at the risk of one's own life. However, there is not only "either - or" (submit or resist, even pay with the head): there are nuances between adaptation and opportunistic

service to the regime. But there is also an area between these two opposite poles: some opportunistically became "moderate" enemies or haters of Serbs, Jews, and Roma, as long as the regime promised to satisfy their private ambitions, and in rare cases they objected. For this one had to have a conscience and courage: judging by the documented cases, there were few such people. I will count among them Petr Grgec, writer and professor at the Archbishop's Classical High School, who took off his hat to greet unknown people wearing a Jewish symbol on the street in the Winter of 1941/42. When his daughter asked if he knew these people, he replied that she could not understand "how much that man suffers and how humiliated he is. When I pass by them and those shameful plaques, I feel a deep respect for their suffering".

Not many historians know that the president of the Croatian Parliament of the Independent State of Croatia, Dr. Marko Došen, together with several parliamentarians, presented a series of errors and shortcomings in the functioning of the state, such as social inequality, encouragement of duplicity, suppression of fundamental freedoms, in a "Memorandum". The representatives demanded verbally and in writing the end of persecution, the dissolution of all camps and the end of torturing people in them, the re-establishment of a judiciary that could deserve the epithet "legal". In that act, some recognize "opposition activity", says historian Nada Kisić Kolanović. The "Memorandum" (in the "Croat-

tian Parliament of the Independent State of Croatia” fund, in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb) is a comprehensive study, and the Chief’s cabinet certainly did not receive its contents with enthusiasm. The authors of the “Memorandum” were mostly parliamentarians invited to the new Parliament from the old Parliament of 1939. During the Banovina of Croatia, these representatives were taught and socialized according to the official code of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: their morality was based on the French legal tradition and on the heritage inherited from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, correctness and impartiality, regardless of origin and class affiliation. The representatives who formulated their demands to the Parliament were completely convinced that the Croatian Parliament of the Independent State of Croatia, after the initial “revolutionary phase”, would find its way to the rule of law. Error! “Lawful state” was not on the minds of the powerful: the prime minister Poglavnik reprimanded the authors of the “Memorandum” and taught that the Croatian Parliament of the Independent State of Croatia is not a decision-making body, or even worse, for the opposition, but “a symbol of the thousand-year-old statehood of the Croatian people”. He did not intend to comply with any proposal. The effect of the “Memorandum” was zero. The applicants of the “Memorandum” did not achieve political success, but they won a moral victory: They should be remembered for their civic courage.

I found signs of a certain civil courage in other bodies of the NDH, where I would not have looked for it: among the judges of the Harsh Court (founded in June 1941 for particularly serious crimes). Its existence was facilitated by the characteristic behavior of average citizens under conditions of repression - denunciation. This act, which citizens used in strikingly large numbers against their acquaintances, neighbors, opponents and even friends, is a symptom of the rise of the regime out of opportunism and cowardice. However, many high courts, contrary to their purpose, tried to judge fairly. I only mention the cases that I have reconstructed from archival material, and for which I can claim that historians have not cited them in secondary literature. The example of the president of the High Court in Zagreb, Dr. Vladimir Horvatić, a Home Guard officer from Gospić. It is not known whether Vladimir Horvatić and his colleagues of the same ilk in communism suffered the consequences of belonging to the Home Guard, or whether someone testified in favor of their brave behavior in conditions of repression. Other examples include ministerial advisor Dr. Bressler, priests and nuns who found opportunities to save the endangered. There are also nurses of the Croatian Red Cross, who helped the activist for the rescue of Kozaracka children, Dijana Budisavljević, by rescuing Jana Koch and Dragica Habazin. Another example includes doctors who used every opportunity in hospitals and clinics to expose patients of proscribed ra-

cial and ethnic affiliations to danger. All these examples proved to me that even under conditions of repression, the conscience “works” and helps to muster the courage to listen to its call.

The Ustasha regime could not survive without the cooperation of the people - without countless people who supported anti-Semitic, anti-Roma, anti-partisan propaganda. However, as can be seen from the circle of assistants, not all Croats welcomed the isolation of the Jews and their mass killing. Croats even helped the Roma - despised and isolated minorities since time immemorial - and when the deportations began, individuals and even village communities came forward with petitions.

As a conclusion from the consideration of diverse human behavior under conditions of repression, I can state that repression and political pressure “corrupt character”, creating careerists, opportunists and cowards. However, the pressures still do not completely suppress the urge of humanity and the determination to oppose injustice.

I am devoting my thoughts to the event that will be marked in July by all countries with an anti-fascist, anti-Nazi tradition. This year marks the anniversary of the attempt to assassinate Hitler organized by General Claus von Stauffenberg together with Wehrmacht officers, which was organized on July 20, 1944. The assassination missed its target, due to Hitler's unpredictable moves. The perpetrators of the assassination and a large number of persons, whom the Nazi author-

ities believed or suspected were aware of the preparations, paid with their heads. The main initiator of the assassination, Claus Graf Stauffenberg, and the circle of military personnel and civilians around him, called today the “Husbands of July 20” were not the first and only ones who were aware that they had to save the homeland and their people - if not in another way, then by killing them. Hitler. The assassins prepared for months, some gave up under the urge of conscience, which forbade them to kill even a criminal like Hitler. The active attempt of the assassin went down in history as the “Uprising of Conscience”. At least 42 assassination attempts were made.

Every assassination was a failed attempt. Not only military circles, but also “bare-handed” and lonely individuals tried to kill Hitler. In 1939, carpenter Georg Elser planted an infernal machine in the Munich brewery, where Hitler used to give speeches; a group of dissident students at the University of Munich, called “Die Weiße Rose”/“The White Rose” were driven by the need to save their homeland from crime - and they all suffered the consequence, the death penalty. Many other individuals who have earned the honorary title of “Righteous Among the Nations” have not been content with inactive retreat in the face of overwhelming violence. Civil disobedience is defined by Hannah Arendt as “refusal of activity”.

How does an unjust system affect the Man? It can turn him into a coward, a conformist, a denouncer - but also into a hero of humanity.