

# RDC

## Jewish Community Zagreb

Research and Documentation Center of the Holocaust victims and survivors in Croatia

# JEWS IN CROATIA

MADARSKA

## Holocaust victims and survivors

Madarska zona  
sebrni logori

ANEKTIRALA MADARSKA

Donji Miholjac

Tenja

Vukovar

Đakovo

Vinkovci

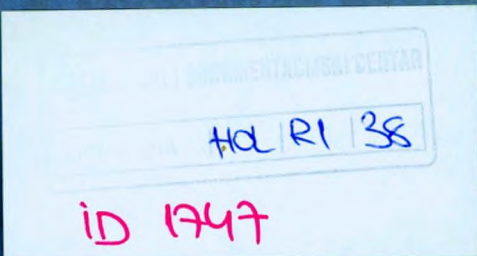
Hrvatska Mitrovia

Zemun



Krušćica

Sarajevo



D TALIJANSKIM

GUVERNEROM

Dubrovnik

Lopud, Gruž, Kupari)

dr. Melita Svob

## **Jewish community Zagreb**

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*Research and documentation Center of the Holocaust  
victims and survivors in Croatia*

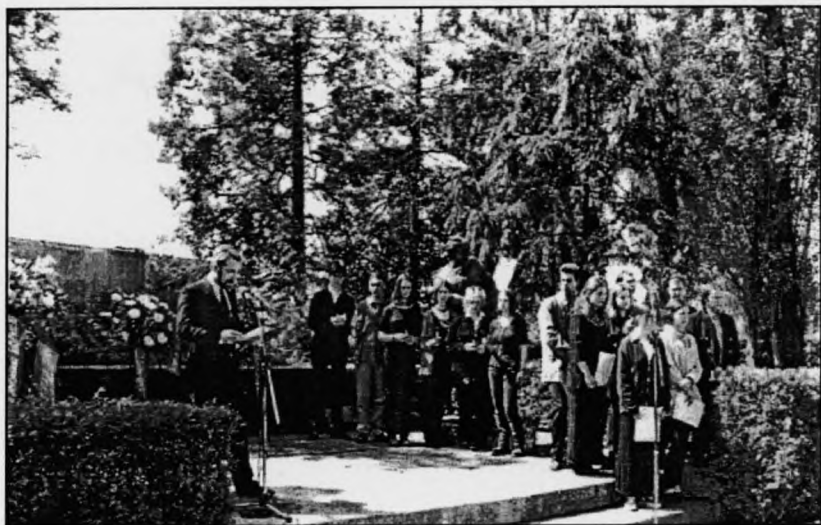
Dr. Melita Švob

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# **JEWES IN CROATIA**

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Holocaust victims and survivors



*Commemorating the Holocaust victims in front of the statue of Moses  
in the Jewish section of Mirogoj cemetery.*

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# Introduction

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The basic material for this book represents recent investigations about the Holocaust survivors and victims in Croatia, initiated by the humanitarian actions of Swiss and Claims Conference funds.

The significance of the Swiss fund and Claims fund actions exceeded by far the task of the direct financial relief.

During the action we have collected many valuable documents from the applicants or by searching for evidence in the archives and libraries. We have gathered many testimonies and heard many souls stirring stories about the Holocaust.

After we had completed the data processing we could obtain a more complete but more dreadful picture of the dimension of the catastrophe caused by Holocaust in Croatia.

The recent research on Jewish population in Croatia, especially recent work with Holocaust survivors, had shown that many data, documents and archives about the Holocaust victims and survivors in Croatia are missing, were incomplete and part of them unavailable.

In the Jewish Community of Zagreb a new "Research and Documentation Center of the Holocaust victims and survivors in Croatia" has been founded. It is supported by the Claims Conference and the American Joint Distribution Committee and with the support of International Council of Jew-

ish Women (ICJW), the Center plans to collect, preserve and research the material and documents about the Holocaust in Croatia.

A special educational activity of the Center is planned in the near future.

The Jewish community plans to build a Jewish cultural center and synagogue on the ground where once the synagogue of Zagreb stood.

The Research and documentation center will be part of the Jewish cultural center.

This book is the first publication in the planned activities on documentation, research and education about the Holocaust. Therefore this book represents only part of the work being in progress.

I am very grateful to the Jewish community Zagreb and their president Dr. Ognjen Kraus and Mrs. Sanja Tabaković, president of the Executive board, for the support in establishing the Center and printing this book.

I am also thankful to Eng. Zoran Mirković for help in database, Mrs. Sonja Makek for the English translation and to all whom helped me collect the documents and data.

My special thanks to Mr. Yechiel Bar-Chaim of the Joint for the support in my research and publishing of this book.

# I. Jewish population in Croatia \_\_\_\_\_

Jews in Croatia are gathered today around 10 Jewish communities: Čakovec, Daruvar, Dubrovnik, Koprivnica, Osijek, Rijeka, Slavonski Brod, Split, Virovitica and Zagreb.

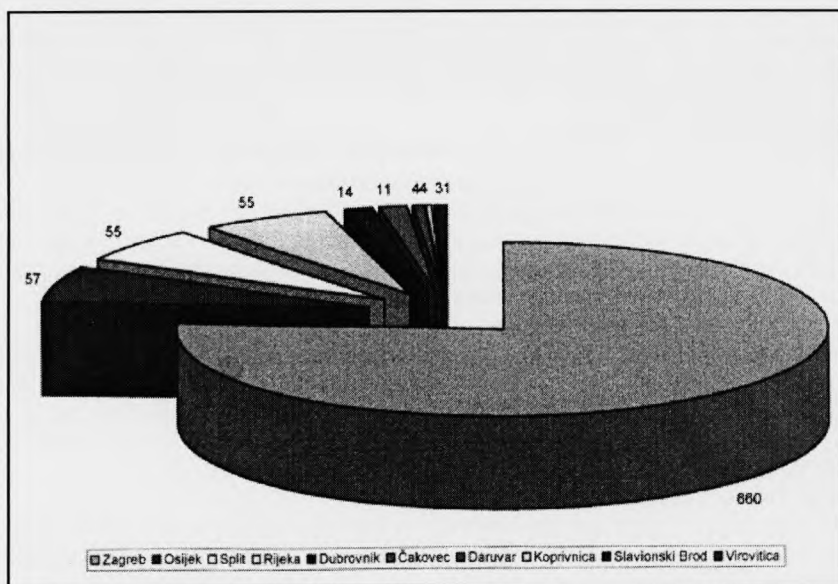
The Jews in Croatia are acting together as the Co-ordination of the Jewish Communities of Croatia; the umbrella organization established (1992) after Croatia had gained independence.

The Jewish population in Croatia amounts to about 2.500-3.000 Jews. A sig-

nificant number (about one fourth) of Jews are not members of the communities.

The main features of the Jewish population in Croatia are as follows:

Concentration (about 75%) in the largest Jewish community in Zagreb and few bigger (Rijeka, Osijek, Split) or smaller towns (Dubrovnik, Čakovec, Daruvar, Virovitica, Koprivnica, Slavonski Brod). In about 50 small places, one or two Jewish families could be found.



Graph No 1: Holocaust survivors in Jewish communities

**Table No 1: Number of Holocaust survivors in town and places**

	Town	Survivors 1999	Before the Holocaust (1940)
1	Bakar	1	
2	Bjelovar	4	Jewish community with 337 members
3	Crikvenica	3	
4	Čakovec	9	Jewish community with 404 members
5	Čazma	1	
6	Daruvar	4	Jewish community with 169 members
7	Donji Miholjac	2	Jewish community with 173 members
8	Drenje	1	
9	Dubrovnik	12	Jewish community with 87 members
10	Đakovo	2	Jewish community with 197 members
11	Đurđevac	1	
12	Gornja Gračanica	1	
13	Hvar	1	
14	Ičići	1	
15	Ivanić Grad	5	
16	Karlovac	1	Jewish community with 297 members
16	Koprivnica	4	Jewish community with 358 members
17	Kostrena	1	
18	Krapina	2	
19	Križevci	1	Jewish community with 119 members
20	Kutina	1	Jewish community with 132 members
21	Kutjevo	1	
22	Makarska	1	
23	Mali Rat	1	
24	Malinska	1	
25	Matulji	1	
26	Metković	2	
27	Mihačeva Draga	1	
28	Mlini	1	
29	Nova Kapela	1	
30	Novalja	1	
31	Ogulin	2	
32	Opatija	10	
33	Oprtalj	1	
34	Orahovica	1	Jewish community (1930) with 20 members
35	Osijek	46	Jewish community with 2.584 members
36	Petrinja	1	
38	Požega	1	Jewish community with 123 members
39	Pula	4	
40	Račinovci	1	
41	Rijeka	34	Jewish community in Sušak 143 members, Rijeka under Italy till year 1945.
42	Sv. Ivan Žabno	1	
43	Semeljci	2	
44	Sisak	4	Jewish community with 258 members
45	Skrad	1	
46	Slatina	1	Jewish community with 136 members
47	Slavonski Brod	3	Jewish community with 423 members
48	Split	49	Jewish community with 140 members
49	Šibenik	1	
50	Tribalj	1	

	Town	Survivors 1999	Before the Holocaust (1940)
51	Umag	1	
52	Varaždin	8	Jewish community with 515 members
53	Vinkovci	3	Jewish community with 630 members
54	Virovitica	1	Jewish community with 204 members
55	Zadar	3	
56	Zagreb and Samobor, Velika Gorica, Zaprešić etc	643	Jewish community with 9.337 members  (two community- Ashkenazim and Sephardim)

The Jews in Croatia are the remainders of a large, developed Jewish community, which before the Holocaust had had 25500 members (quoted by S. Goldstein) gathered in 35 communities. This large community was almost completely annihilated in World War II.

Not only that about 80% of Croatian Jews had been killed in the Holocaust, but also the whole Jewish community was destroyed. The Jewish way of life disappeared, complete families and their property disappeared, friendships broken, the past, the present and the future for so many people had been destroyed in the Holocaust.

The Holocaust tried to erase every track of life and contribution of Jews who lived in Croatia for Centuries. Therefore, in remembering the Holocaust we should include not only victims but also everything that Holocaust destroyed.

Only about 20% of the Croatian Jews survived the Holocaust. There is almost no Jew in Croatia who did not lose someone of his family in the Holocaust. Today the Holocaust survivors represent about 50% of the membership of the Jewish communities.

Half of the survivors immigrated in Israel after the establishment of the State of Israel.

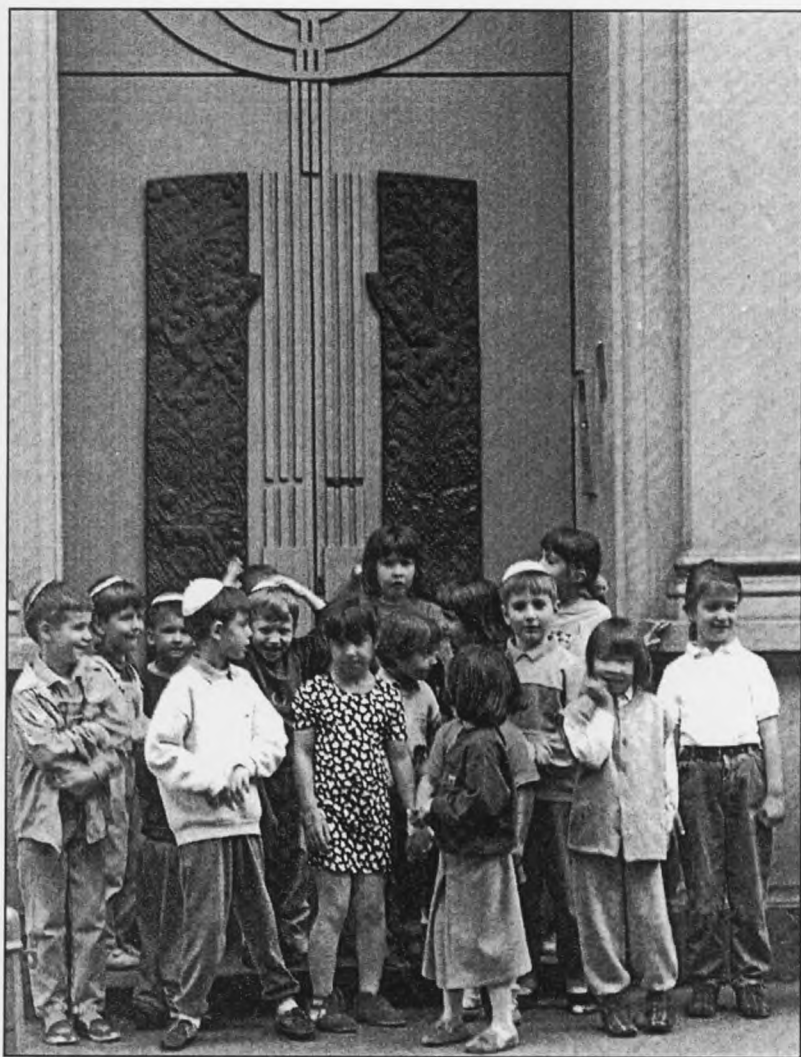


*The first "temple" in Vukovar dating from 1857, demolished after the WW II (in fifties). Today is no Jews in Vukovar*

In the 1948-1953 period 7.739 members of communities in Yugoslavia left for Israel.

In Croatia, today, there are about 900 Holocaust survivors, but from that number 1/3 came from the other countries, mainly from Bosnia and Herzegovina (some of them are refugee from Sarajevo who came during last war in 90-ties).

Just due to the fact that this small community of survivors had the strength to revitalize the Jewish communities, and adjust the Jewish life to the new existing circumstances (communism), to survive also recent war and overcome the changes, deserves a more thorough analysis which we shall present here.



*Jewish children from the kindergarten "Mirjam Weiler" in front of the Jewish community in Zagreb*



## II. History of the Jewish communities in Croatia

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The territory of Croatia was always situated on the boundary of different historical, religious and civilization regions (for example the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, Austrian-Hungarian Empire, Venice)

The frequent changes of the political, territorial and economical circumstances on the region which represents Croatia today, influenced the settling of the Jews, their position, the establishment, number and organization of the Jewish communities.

We can follow Jewish settlements in Croatia as of the first Roman colonies (for example Mursa - today Osijek, Salona near Split etc.). They had settled down in this region long before the Slavic tribe - Croats came in the 7th century.

Jews immigrated to Croatia from various parts of the world and consequently their origin differed as well. This affected the establishment and development of Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish communities in Yugoslavia, where there were separate communities between the two world wars, often in the same town, with their own religious, charitable and cultural institutions.

The Holocaust and later on the communism have eliminated those differences.

In a special demographic research in Yugoslavia (1971), 4.702 members of the

Jewish communities (80% of the total membership) were analyzed.

The percentage of Jews born in mixed marriage was 21%. Marriages between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews have been more rare than the marriages between Jews and Gentiles.

In Croatia (1971) out of 1.241 members of communities, 75% have Jewish parents, 13,7% only father and 5,3% only mother of Jewish origin.

In analyzing the Jewish communities in Croatia, it is necessary to point out that there are two rather different regions in Croatia: Northern Croatia (with Slavonia) and Dalmatia, which have been very long time under different historical and political circumstances.

Dalmatia became part of Venice and northern Croatia became part of the Hapsburg Empire.

### Dalmatia

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We could trace the presence of Jews in Dalmatia as of the times of the first Diaspora (1st century).

Continuous existence of Jews is to be found in Dalmatia, especially in towns of Dubrovnik and Split. Their number did not

change considerably during the centuries, only during the time of Holocaust they accept many refugees.

It is known that from 1420, when **Split** was under Venice authorities, the laws of Venice were applied on the Jews (wearing special cloths, living in ghettos, prohibition of property possession etc.). At that time we could distinguish several groups of Jews, towards whom different limitations had been applied: Levantini - oriental Jews, Tedeschi (Eshkenaz) and Ponentini - Jews that immigrated from Spain and Portugal. This is all mentioned in the Decree of the port of Split, a port built by Daniel Rodriguez in 1590, a Marrano and a known tradesman and diplomat. He was named "the Consul of the Jews".

In 1630 the Consul of Jews in Split was Josif Pezo and Samuel Lima in 1657.

During the attack of Turkey on Split in 1657, the Jews were defending the tower, which was later named "the Jewish station". In addition they helped in providing food for the army and textile for hospital.

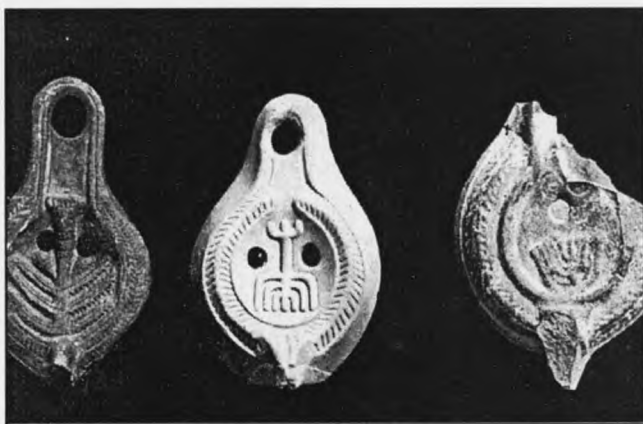
Three Jewish families, Mussafia, Jesurum and Morpurgo are particularly noted for having given outstanding men of letters. Vid Morpurgo published "Dalmatian

Almanac" and his bookstore became a meeting place of Dalmatian patriots.



*Ceremonious opening of the repaired Split synagogue on September 11, 1996, with many distinguished guests.*

The Split Synagogue existed as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The first mention of the synagogue on the present site dates back to the year 1630, although it is certain that it had existed before then. The Split temple got its present appearance in the year 1728.



*Oil lamp with menorah (Solín)*

The Jews had settled in **Dubrovnik** (an independent Republic of Dubrovnik at that time) at the beginning of the 15th century, but were not considered permanent citizens (cives) but foreigners (forester) with a domicile permit. They were important tradesmen, but also diplomats and writers, doctor etc.

The Jewish community was established in 1538 and as of 1571 the Jews had to live in a ghetto. The Ghetto was located along then Lojarska Street with the gate to Stradun, which was locked at night. In 1756 ghetto contained 11 houses with 68 "souls".

The Documents from 1652 mentioned Congregation seu synagoga Hebreorum, later the Jews organized themselves into Scuola degli Ebrei.

The synagogue of Dubrovnik is the second oldest among the preserved synagogues in Europe, which is still in function.

Many eminent Jews lived in Dubrovnik, for example Amatus Lusitanus (a doctor



*Amatus Lusitanus (1511-1568) one of Europe's most eminent doctors and the author of seven books dealing with the ailments he had treated.*

and anatomist) and Jacobus Evorenzis (Didacus Pyrrhus) a well-known poet.



*The festive opening of the reconstructed Dubrovnik Synagogue for Rosh Hashana 5758.*

Their position and survival in the town was often endangered by accusations for ritual murders (1502, 1622). The Turkish sultan had to intervene several times for protecting the Jews.

Jews were engaged in banking and trade, in particular with Italy, Albanian harbors, Balkan centers in Sophia, Skoplje and Sarajevo (Ottoman empire).

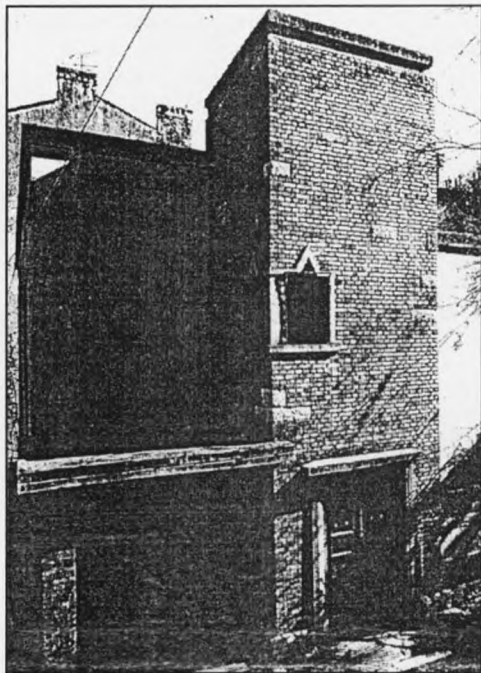
What characterizes the Jews in Dalmatia is that from the very beginning they settled in towns, but their number had not changed significantly throughout centuries.

Dalmatia was under the Austrian authorities from 1797-1805 and their law was applied to the Jews. From 1805-1813 the French governed over Dalmatia and in 1808 Napoleon abolished the Republic of Dubrovnik but gave the order to "open" the doors of the Jewish ghettos. After the Congress in Vienna it was again under Austria (the Kingdom of Dalmatia) until 1918 when the new state - Yugoslavia was established.

In 1569 the brothers Rafael and Gershon Zir arrived to Šibenik. Jewish tradesmen were coming to Istrian towns Rovinj, Kopar and others.

The Jews lived in Rijeka (included in Yugoslavia 1945) from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. They migrated to Rijeka mostly from Italy. They lived in the area named Zuecha or Zudecca. The first Jewish community was founded in 1781. Between 1835 and 1850 Jews from Austria, Trieste and Italy (and later Hungary) migrated to Rijeka,.

Unione degli israeliti ortodossi di Fiume builds a synagogue, which was not destroyed in Holocaust and is still in use in Jewish community.



*The orthodox synagogue in Rijeka*

## Northern Croatia

Medieval Jewish communities in Croatia and Zagreb are hardly known. Discovered documents give evidence that in years 1444 and 1459 Jews lived in Zagreb.

It is known that the Jews were expelled from Zagreb and Croatia in 1527 and they appeared again in the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century.

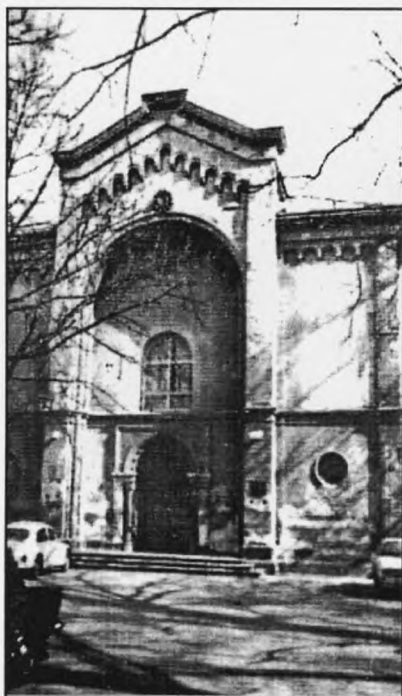
In the process of Jewish settlement in Croatia several periods can be distinguished.

The first period is time of their appearance as peddlers who were allowed to stay for several days and to be present at markets.

In the second period Jews obtained special permits to stay in a certain town. The Jews on the permits were listed by names and other Jews were not allowed to reside in this town.

## Synagogues in the northern Croatia

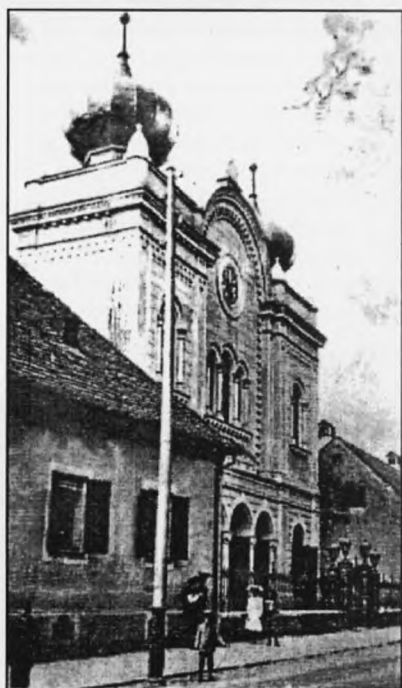
*Synagogue in Sisak*



*Synagogue in Opatija (photo)*



*Synagogue in Kutina*



*Synagogue in Varaždin*

In 1746 the Empress Maria Theresa permitted 11 Jews to settle in Osijek.

In 1807 a decree on the settlement of Jews in Varaždin was issued and comprised 5 chapters and 72 paragraphs.

In the third period Jews were given right to settle down (1840) and to own properties (1860).

The Ashkenazi Jews emigrated from Central Europe to Northern Croatia, especially after the emperor Franz-Joseph II had issued the "patent of tolerance" in 1782 and 1783.

They came over Burgenland and Hungary and settled in small trade towns near by the Hungarian border and later on in bigger towns (Varaždin, Zagreb, and Karlovac). Their number rapidly increased in Zagreb. The Jewish community was established in 1906 by 17 families from "Gradec" and "Kaptol" (bishop's jurisdiction), two parts of town that became united in 1850 into Zagreb. The Sephardi Jews also came to Zagreb and founded their community in 1927 with 120 members.

To Slavonia, Jews mostly came over Hungary, settling down first in villages and later in towns. After the Empress Maria Theresa granted a special permission to the Jews to settle in Osijek, a big community developed during the time.

In the Military Frontier (Vojna Krajina), the zone between Austrian-Hungarian and Ottoman Empire, the settlement of Jews was forbidden until the 80-ties of the 19th century. Later, after the abolition of the Military Frontier, Jews gradually inhabited these territories.

Expelled Jews from Carniola and Styria came to Međimurje and settled in market towns, a large number in Čakovec.

According to the 1857 population census, the territory of Croatia was divided into

the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia (about 1,708.000 inhabitants, 5.846 Jews) and the Kingdom of Dalmatia (about 404.500 inhabitants, 309 Jews). The Jews were registered in 330 populated places and in most of them (240) lived less than 10 Jews. Only in Čakovec, Varaždin, Osijek and Zagreb their number surpassed 300.

The Jews were mixed with other inhabitants, and they lived together with different nationalities or confessions.

## The establishment of the new state after World War I \_\_\_\_\_

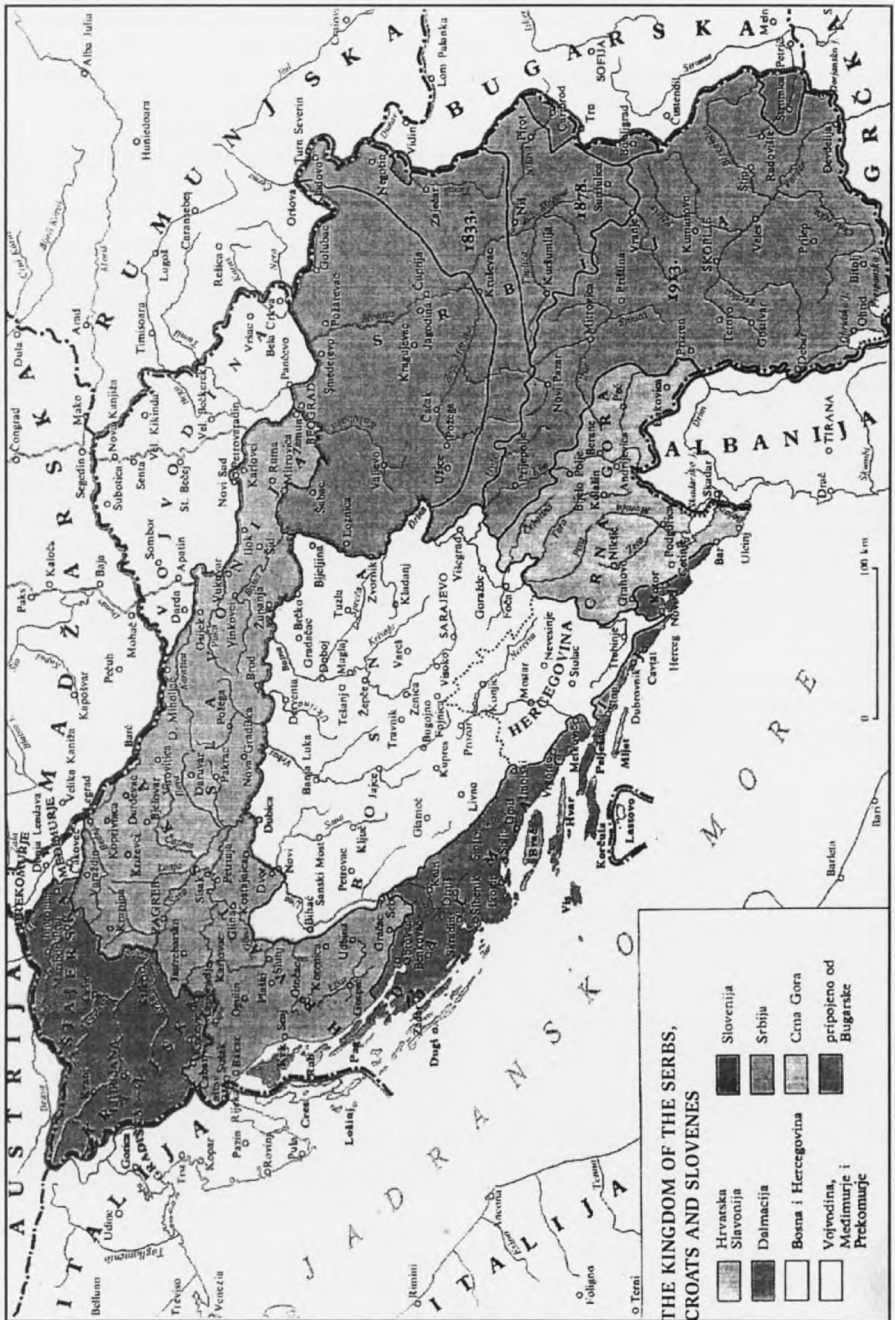
The establishment of the State of SHS (Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia), later on Yugoslavia, after World War I and the falling down of the two great multiethnic empires: Ottoman and Hapsburg, had united the different Jewish communities of Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Monte Negro, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Consequently the common history of the Jews on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia began in 1919 when the Jewish communities of different origin, development, organization, religious and cultural identity and even different language united. The process of their mutual homogenization and coming to understanding had taken a long time.

In the new established state, the Jewish youth, inspired with Zionism, was the connecting link among the communities and the initiator of changes.

A central management of the Jews in Yugoslavia had been established on July 1st, 1919 under the name "The Union of communities of Jewish faith" (Savez jevrejskih veroispovednih opština) which was active until the beginning of Second War II.

Except for the Union of the Jewish communities located in Belgrade, there was



Map No 1: The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918)  
 From Lj. Bobanj : Hrvatske granice (1992)

**Table No 2: Jewish communities in Croatia before and after the Holocaust Number of Holocaust survivors in 1999**

Jewish communities 1930 according rabbi register						1940	1946	1947 community		1999
Community	Members	Souls	Synagogue Year	Jewish Cemetery	Rabbi	members	survivors	exist	not exist	Holocaust survivors
Bjelovar	210	600	1917	1876	+	337	no data		-	4
Brod na Savi	177	418	1896	1880	+	423	16	+		3
Čakovec	211	800	1836	1794	+	404	98	+		11
Daruvar	106	239	1860	1890	+	169	no data	+		4
Dubrovnik	45	101	15cent	15cent	+	87	38	+		14
Đakovo	100	548	1880	1879	+	197	22		-	2
Gradiška Nova	73	220	1925	1800	+	198	23		-	0
Ilok	50	320	1870	1870	+	310	15		-	0
Karlovac	137	400	1850	1830	+	297	39		-	1
Koprivnica	148		1875	1842	+	358	no data	+		4
Križevci	62	210	1894	1840	+	119	no data		-	1
Kutina	75	200	1914	1730	+	132	no data		-	1
Ludbreg	42	74	1895	1890	+	82	no data		-	0
Miholjac Donji	100	224	1860	1860	+	173	no data		-	18
Našice	60	399	1896	1865	+	229	8		-	0
Orahovica	20	53	1911		+	no data	no data		-	0
Osijek	702	3.020	1860	1850	+	2.400	304	+		57
Osijek										
Donji grad	86	160	1903	1860	+	184	no data		-	0
Pakrac	63	209	1875	1875	+	99	no data		-	0
Požega	90	468	1898	1900	+	123	10		-	1
Rijeka under Italy						143 Sušak		+		55
Sisak	230		1880		+	258	no data		-	4
Slatina										
Podravska	80	262	1896	1858	+	136	8		-	1
Split	50	120	1500	1573	+	264	175	+		55
Valpovo	85	157	1898	1858		140	no data		-	0
Varaždin	262	1.400	1862	1810	+	515	42		-	8
Vinkovci	227	995	1922	1870	+	630	35		-	1
Virovitica	102	643	1863	1830	+	213	23		-	18
Vukovar	134	600	1857	1830	+	213	23		-	0
Zagreb aškenazi	2.740	12.000	1867	1878	+	8.712	1.341	+		660
Zagreb sefardi	121				+	625				
Zagreb ortodoksi	130									

**Remark:** According to the some other sources, Jewish communities for some period of time existed also in Cernik, Erdevik, Popovača etc. Data about the years of synagogue and establishment of the cemeteries may be different in other publications.



also a separate union of Orthodox Jewish Communities located in Senta (Vojvodina).

In 1930, according to the evidence of the rabbi, there were 73.362 "souls" registered in 114 Jewish communities. The communities were divided into Ashkenazi (70), Sephardi (38) and Orthodox (6).

In the last census in Yugoslavia before World War II - 1931, there were 68.405 Jews, of which 26.168 Sephardi, 39.010 Ashkenazi 3.227 Orthodox.

On the list of 1940 there were 117 Jewish communities registered

According to data obtained by the Union, in 1941 there were about 75.000 Jews in Yugoslavia, including 4.000 Jewish refugees from other countries.

Already in the 30's, anti-Semitism in Yugoslavia was felt to be stronger.

Jewish organizations reacted and resolution on anti-Semitism was introduced at the 6<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Union (Belgrade, 1936). But at that time Jewish communal leaders still considered that "due to the traditional progressive attitude of the Yugoslav nation, a peaceful life of Yugoslav Jews was not disturbed".

The Government calmed down the representatives of the Jewish organisations stating that there was no reason for any anxiety (Cvetković, 1939).

Table 2. Show the Jewish communities and their organization in Croatia according to the Rabbi register in 1930. Most of the communities shown in the table 2 do not exist any more.

We have chosen these records because except for the number of the community members and "souls" (that is the total number of the Jews including woman and children) one can see that each Jewish community had its synagogue (building), graveyard, rabbi and/or cantor.

We compared in the Table 2. data from 1930 with the official data of Jewish communities in 1940, just before the War. We analyzed also available data from the Special governmental commission for survivors in 1946.

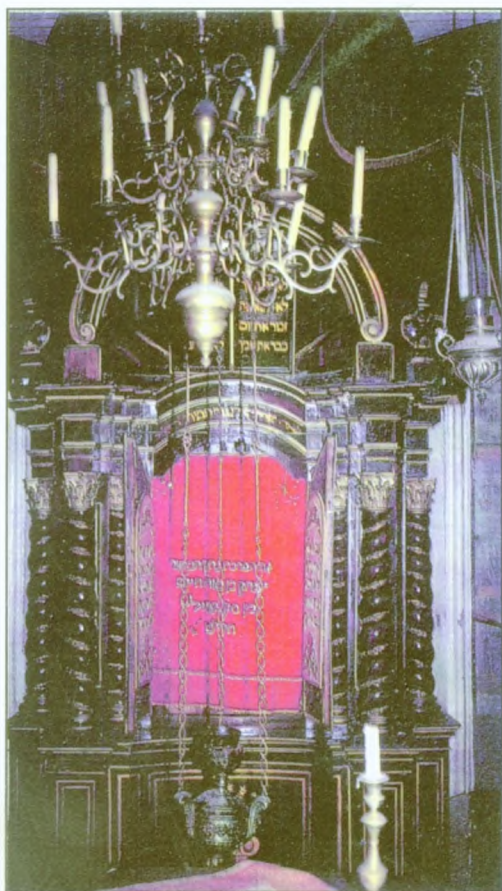
From the community register in 1947 we can clearly see which Jewish community still exist in Croatia and in last column we give the number of Holocaust survivors in 1999.



*Minyan in Vukovar- winter 1996/97. Moshe Meshulam from Israel saying Kadish ovet the grave of the Vukovar rabbi Dr. Diamant*

### III. Jewish communities in Croatia today

#### The synagogue and cemetery in Dubrovnik



*The interior of the Dubrovnik synagogue, dating from the 14th century*



*The Jewish cemetery, Boninovo. Old tombstones were brought here from the former cemetery on the north side of the Dubrovnik walls*

*From the publication "Jewish Heritage in Zagreb and Croatia" (1993)*

## The synagogue and cemetery in Split



*The interior of the Split synagogue built in 1500.*



*"The middle of the Ghetto" a street inside the Diocletian's palace in Split, still called by that name*



*The Jewish graveyard on Marjan Hill*

## The synagogue and cemetery in Rijeka



*The Jewish cemetery Kozala*



*Aron Kodesh in Rijeka synagogue. It was brought to Rijeka from Ancona*

## Jewish community in Zagreb



*The synagogue of the Zagreb, destroyed in 1941/1942*



*The new prayer room in the Building of the Jewish community Zagreb*

*Memorial tablet*



*The statue of Moses on the Jewish cemetery (Mirogoj)*



## Jewish Community Osijek



*The Jewish cemetery in the upper town*



*The interior of the temple in the building  
of the former Jewish school*



*Oscar Nemon "Mother and child". Memorial to  
Jewish victims of the Holocaust*

## Jewish synagogues in Croatia



*The Dubrovnik synagogue (14th century)*



*The Vinkovci synagogue (built 1922, destroyed 1941)*



*Sisak*



*The Vukovar synagogue (1857-1888), later Protestant church. Non existent*

According to the Rabbi register of 1930, each Jewish community had built its synagogue (30 in Croatia) and synagogues exist also in other towns where Jews lived (37).

Sometimes exist two synagogues in the same town (Rijeka, Osijek).

Most of them were destroyed during the Holocaust or after the War. In the synagogues of Osijek and Daruvar is today a Pentacost church.

In the synagogue in Sisak is school.

Only in places along the Adriatic coast: Dubrovnik, Split and Rijeka, the original synagogues exist and are in function (some of them dated from 14. and 15. Century).

In other Jewish communities ( Osijek, Zagreb etc) prayer rooms ( also called "synagogue") were established.



*The Zagreb synagogue (destroyed 1941)*



*The building of the Jewish Community Zagreb, Palmotičeva 16*



*The Rijeka synagogue*



*The former synagogue in the Osijek Down Town (built 1903), now Pentecost church*



*The Nova Gradiška synagogue (built 1924, destroyed 1941)*

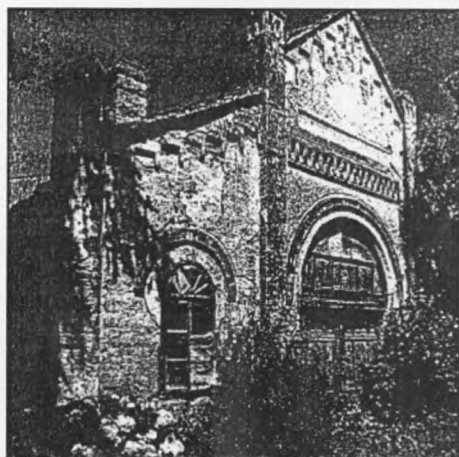


*The synagogue in Našice*

## Neglected cemeteries in Virovitica, Našice and Varaždin



*Našice*



*Virovitica*

Many Jewish cemeteries and other monuments in Croatia have been neglected. Most of the objects were ruined during the Holocaust, but some of them were devastated after WW II.

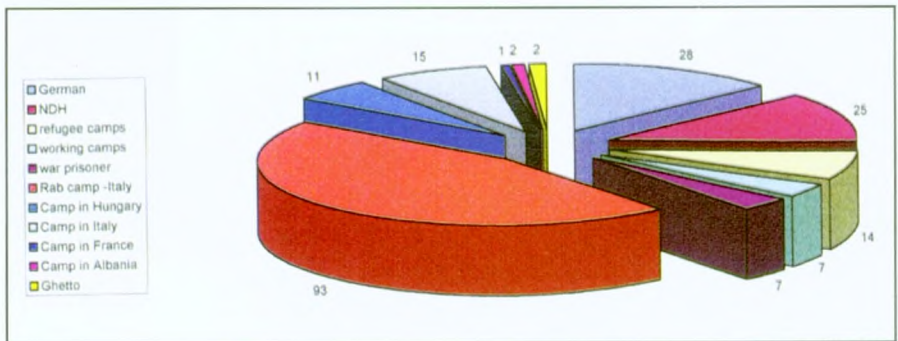
Gradually, and as circumstances allow, we are trying to renew and protect many monuments of the rich Jewish heritage.



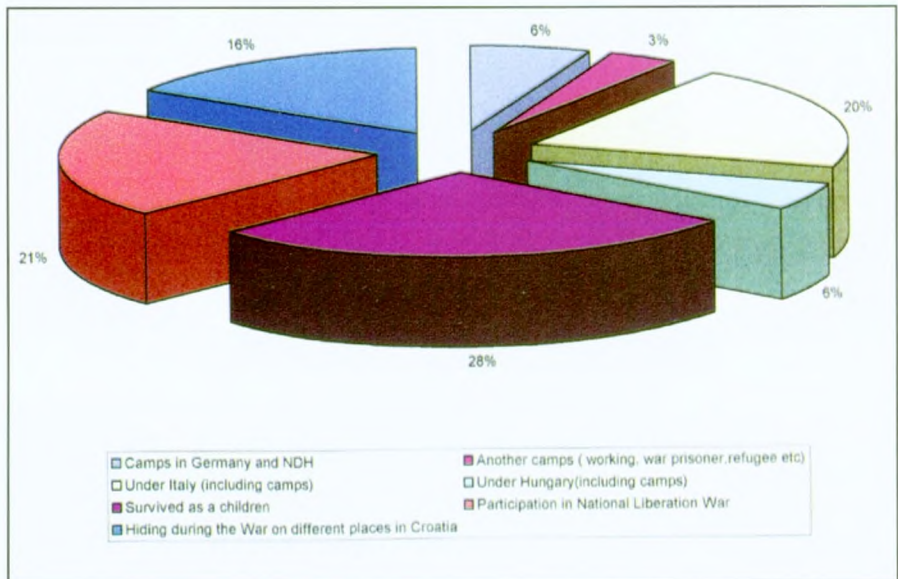
*Varaždin*



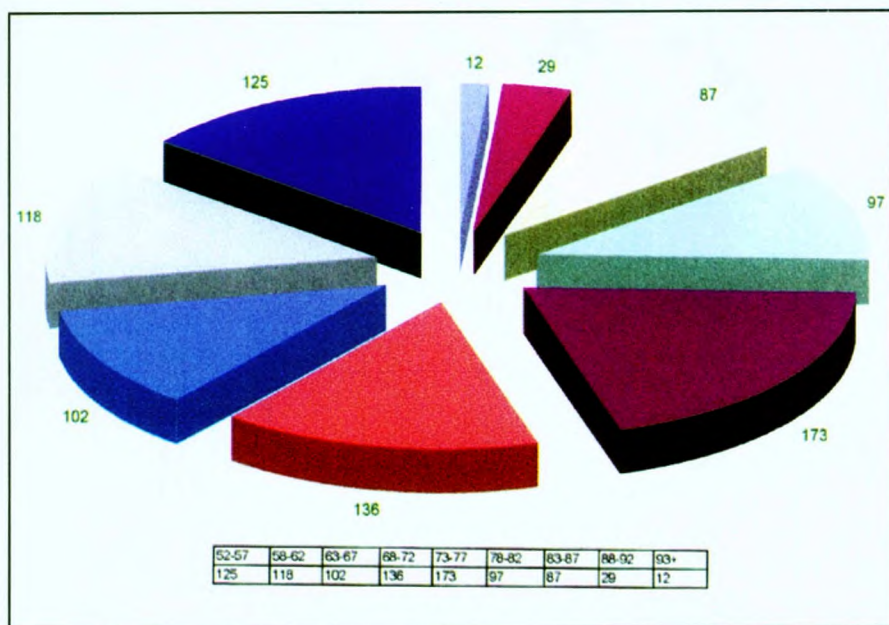
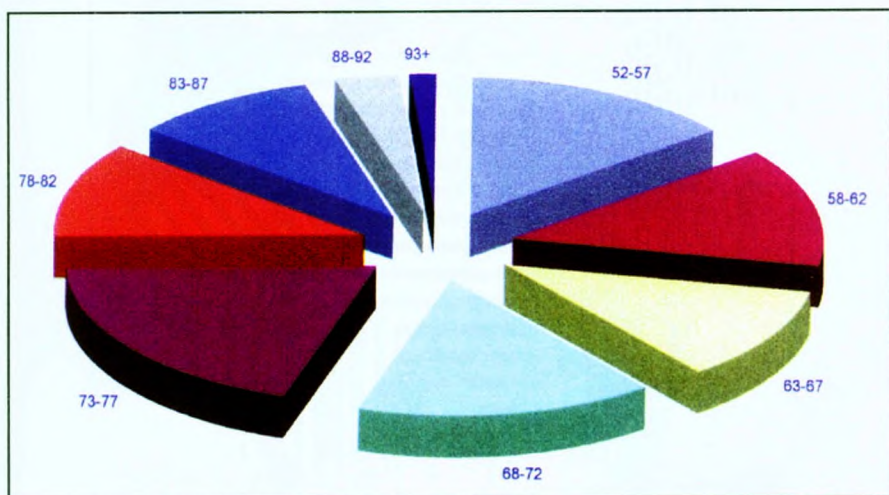
Graph No 2: Holocaust survivors in Croatia  
(camps during the Holocaust)



Graph No 3: Holocaust survivors  
(camps during the Holocaust, in percentage)



Graph No 4: The Holocaust survivors according to the age groups





**Table No 3: Jewish communities (mentioned in rabbi report 1930) which do not exist any more**

Community 1930	members 1930	"souls" 1930	members 1940	survivors 1946	survivors 1999
Bjelovar	210	600	337	no data	4
Đakovo	100	548	337	22	2
Gradiška Nova	73	220	198	23	0
Ilok	50	320	310	15	0
Karlovac	137	400	297	39	1
Križevci	62	210	119	no data	1
Kutina	75	200	132	no data	1
Ludbreg	42	74	82	no data	0
Miholjac Donji	100	224	173	no data	2
Našice	60	399	229	8	0
Orahovica	20	53	no data	no data	0
Pakrac	63	209	99	no data	0
Požega	90	468	123	10	1
Sisak	230		248	no data	4
Slatina Podravska	80	262	136	8	1
Valpovo	85	157	140	no data	0
Vinkovci	227	995	630	35	1
Vukovar	134	600	213	23	0
Varaždin	262	1.400	515	42	8

**Table No 3:** shows the number of survivors in places where the Jewish communities ceased to exist.

In order to get as accurate number of survived Jews in Croatia, we have gathered all available information: The number of Jews (and "souls") according to the Rabbi's register in 1930, members of the community in 1940, number of survivors (a special Federative Commission) in 1946

In the Holocaust the following Jewish communities (that existed before the War) disappeared: Bjelovar, Našice, Đakovo, Nova Gradiška (Cernik), Ilok, Karlovac, Križevci, Kutina, Ludbreg, Donji Miholjac, Orahovica, Pakrac, Požega, Sisak, Slatina (Podravska), Valpovo, Vinkovci, Vukovar and Varaždin.



*Children in camp Jasenovac*

**Table No 4: Jewish communities in Croatia today and Holocaust survivors**

Community 1930	memb. 1930	souls 1930	memb. 1940	surviv. 1946	% of 4	memb. 1969	% of 4	surviv. 1999	% of 4
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Zagreb	2.740 Ask 121 Seph	12.000	9.647	2.214	23,3	1.341	14,1	660	7,0
Osijek	702 G.Grad 86 D.Grad	3.020	2.584	304	11,7	220	8,5	57	2,2
		160							
Split	50	120	284	175	61,6	115	40,4	55	19,3
Dubrovnik	45	101	87	38	43,6	62	71,2	14	13,8
Čakovec	211	800	404	98	24,2	21	5,2	11	2,7
Daruvar	106	239	169	no data	no data	36	21,3	4	2,3
Koprivnica	148		358	no data	no data			4	
Slavonski Brod	177	418	423	16	3,7	32	7,5	3	0,7
Virovitica	102	643	204	23	11,3	34	16,6	1	0,5
Rijeka (Fiume)	Italy till 1945		1.783 (1938)	185	10,4	160	8,9	55	3,1
Sušak	(Today Rijeka)		143	26	18,2				

**Table No 4.** Show records of the existing Jewish communities in Croatia.

Except for the record for the years 1930, 1940, 1946 and 1999 (as table No 3) we have shown information about year 1969 (after WW II).

We also calculated the percentage of the survived Jews in year 1946, 1969 and 1999, in relation to the number of Jews in 1940 (before the Holocaust).

Some of the records for the Jewish community in Rijeka are missing because Rijeka was under Italy till 1945.

If one look in column 5 on the table 4, representing the percentage of survivors in 1946, one gets an unusual picture:

In the Jewish communities that were under Italian authorities (Italian Zones I and II), such as Dubrovnik, Split and Rijeka (Sušak), there were more Jewish survivors and a large number of refugees from

Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and other neighboring countries had found shelter there. Some of them decided to stay in those communities after the War.

From the records about place and country of birth we could conclude that about 30% of the Holocaust survivors were born in other countries, mostly Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, Hungary, but also Austria, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Slovakia etc.

The relatively high percentage of survived Jews registered in Zagreb, could be explained by many survivors from the other places in Croatia who came to Zagreb because they did not have where to return to, no home, no family, only horrible memories.

The place of origin of the proteges of the Old age home "Lavoslav Schwarz" is of all republic of ex-Yugoslavia. There are also about 30 recent Jewish refugees from Sarajevo and other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991)



*The Righteous among the Nations and their children. At a ceremony in Zagreb, the ambassador of Israel in Croatia, Mr. Nathan Meron has awarded with medals for the Righteous their children and members of their families.*

The Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, saved the Jews of the Jewish Old People's Home by transferring them to his estate in Brezovica. He had also put under protection Jews in mixed marriages and helped children.

The large number of "Righteous among the Nations" in Croatia (about 70), honored by Yad Vashem from Israel on the basis of documents and testimonies, is the proof that many Croats had saved Jews in Croatia risking their lives.

During World War II, some of the Jewish communities had been active for a certain period of time, (Zagreb, Osijek, Split, Mostar etc.), for special tasks. They collect taxes, provides equipment for the camps, send of parcels, help the refugees, organize health and humanitarian service etc.

The Union of the Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia had ceased to exist (in 1941).



*The synagogue in Krizevci*



*The protege of the Jewish Old Peoples' Home ( 52) were transferred during the Second World War to Brezovica, which was the estate of the Archbishop Stepinac, where they stayed till the end of the War.*



*The Old Peoples' Home "Lavoslav Švarc" was built in 1957 in Bukovačka cesta as an exchange for the building which was built in 1910 from the foundation of Lavoslav Švarc, a merchant from Zagreb*



*Holocaust survivors from Old age Home on the way from Brezovica to Zagreb ( 1947 ).*

## IV. Holocaust

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During the Second World War Yugoslavia was divided among Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria.

Following the occupation in the April War (8-18 April 1941), Yugoslavia was divided: Hungarian troops occupied Prekomurje, Medimurje, Baranja and Bačka. Germany occupied Banat and Serbia was under German authority. Macedonia was divided between Bulgaria and Italy. Montenegro was under Italy and part of it was incorporated in Great Albania.

On April 10, 1941 a new state under the name NDH (Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska) - the Independent State of Croatia was established. This state covered the territory of the former Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

By the Pact in Rome (May 1941) Italy got the greatest part of Croatian coast and part of the inner of Croatia (see Map 3)

Immediately the Racial Law was issued and implemented and concentration camps founded in Croatia or the Jews had been deported to other Nazi camps.

About 80% of the Croatian Jews had been killed in the Holocaust.

The Ustasha camps in NDH could be divided into transit (assembling) and so-called labor (concentration) camps.

Some of the Jews were transferred from one camp to another and most of them had been killed in the concentration camp.

The most known concentration camps in Croatia: Kerestinec, Jadovno (Velebit), Jasenovac (consisting of 5 camps marked with number I - V — Stara Gradiška) and Lepoglava — former prison. The camps on the island Pag (Metajna and Slano) were under NDH although the Italians were present there.

In many of the “temporary” camps, especially in Đakovo and Loborgrad, the suffering was almost the same as in concentration camps: hard labor, starvation, and sickness.

We assume that in the NDH camps (Jadovno, Đakovo, Loborgrad, Pag, Tenje, Kruščica and other camps and pits) about 5.000 Jews had been killed.

In the concentration camps Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška about 6.000 Croatian Jews were killed (and about 7.000 from Bosnia and Herzegovina). This is only estimation.

About 5.000 Jews from NDH territory were transported to German camps, mainly to Auschwitz.

These figures do not include Jewish losses in other camps, neither the ones who perished in emigration nor in the Liberation war.

There were 1.737 Jewish Partisans fighters from Croatia — 325 had been killed in the War. (quoted by J. Roamano).



## JUGOSLAVIA

In Croatia only 15.000 Jews survived (about 20% of pre-war population), of which half immigrated to Israel after the establishment of the State of Israel (1948-1952).

We assume that about 5.000 Jews survived in the Italian Zones in which until September 1943 (when Italy capitulated) the racial law was not strictly implemented.

In the Italian Zones there were also camps called "Campo di concentramento per internati civili di guerra" (Kraljevica, Brač, Hvar, Dubrovnik etc.), from where the Jews were transferred to the camp Kampor on the island Rab.

After the capitulation of Italy in autumn 1943, Dalmatia came under German authorities; the Jews from this camp organized a Partisan Jewish Battalion and joined the National Liberation War. Women and children joined the masses of refugees on the "Free territory" or had been interned to Italy, Switzerland and Egypt.

When the Germans came, those Jews who stayed on the island Rab (about 200) had been transported to Auschwitz.

Jews from Split (mainly refugees), who ran away to the island Korčula survived fleeing over the island Vis to Italy or to the refugee camp in El Shat.

The Jews who did not manage to run away, the Nazis took on October 13, 1943 - the men to the camp Sajmište in camp Zemun and women and children to concentration camp Jasenovac.

The Jews from Rijeka and Istra were transported to Auschwitz in 1944.

This also happened to the Jews that were on the territory under Hungarian authority (Medimurje, Bačka) and who survived the greatest part of the war in assembling and

working camps in Hungary, but in 1944 the Germans took them to Auschwitz or to Austrian camps. Nevertheless, part of the Jews who were on the territory under Hungarian authorities managed to survive.

Among the survivors are those who ran away from the country in time (some of them to Israel), military war prisoners and those who took part in the National Liberation War.

According to the available data (Romano) 4.556 Jews from Yugoslavia participated in the War of National Liberation. In the Army participated 2.897 Jews (720 fell) and in Movement 1.569 (599 perished).

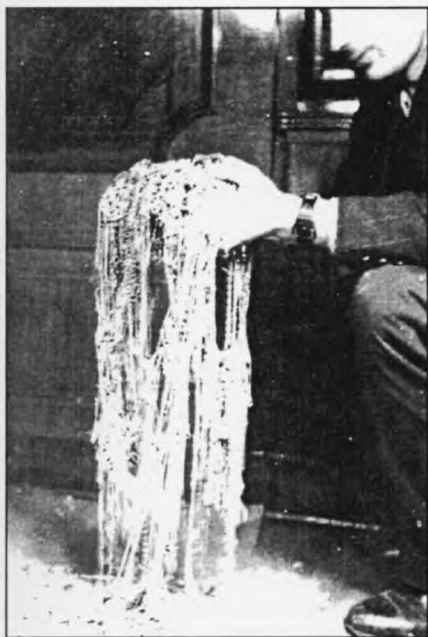
The Jewish Holocaust survivors in Croatia today represent about 50% of the membership of the Jewish communities, 50% of them being over 70 years.

Almost one third of the Holocaust survivors in Croatia belong to the generation that was saved due to being pre-school children (or born between 1941 and 1945) so the Nazi had no evidence of them. They were hiding during the war in villages, refugee camps, under false name, in strange (Croatian) families, very often separated from their parents, some of them never met their parents because they were killed in the camps.

It has been established that in the period of its existence from 1941 to 1945, the ustasha NDH seized property from Jews, the value of which amounted to over 25 billion Dinars (according to some authors) at the price prevailing before World War II.

But this refers only to the property which was established as such in public and the existence of which was of a common knowledge.

On May 13, 1941 counselor Britvić announced to a group of arrested Jews that



*The looted gold, watches and jewellery that was concealed by Ustasha in the Franciscan monastery in Zagreb was found in 1945.*

he was going to set them free under the condition that they organize collecting of gold among the Jews of Zagreb. Consequently, a committee was organized under the name "The Committee for contribution of Jews for the needs of the State".

Almost all Jews followed the invitation of the Committee. First at all, they gave the so-called "invisible property": jewelry and other valuable things.

Among the Jews prevailed the opinion that their lives could be saved by giving away their gold bracelet, rings, diamond brooch, earrings etc, watches and jewelry

(some of them had a unique artistic value), pearl necklaces, even the silver cutlery. The Committee had also the task to collect various household and office furniture.

On October 31.1941 Committee issued a "Joint review of the contributions of the Jews for the needs of the state" (I. Cash, II. Furniture, III. Securities, IV. Gold, Jewels and gold money and V. Currencies and foreign currencies).

From this Report one can see that the Committee had collected valuables in the amount of Kn 106,533.929,667 respectively in gold value of 1.065,339 kg.

## V. Annihilations and camps in Croatia during the Holocaust

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Based on the stories, which we collect from Holocaust survivors, from their documents, from books, archives etc., we constructed the Map No.4.

On the Map 3 and 4 we showed different types of camps in NDH, in zone under Ustasha, Italy or Hungary.

These Maps are part of the investigations about the Jews in Croatia - Holocaust survivors and represent only preliminary data.

Jews in Croatia was also delivered to the Germans and was sent to their camps mainly Auschwitz. We have enclosed in publication also the decision of NDH authority, to pay for each Jew, who will be delivered to German Camp, the amount of 30 DEM.

More than 200 (one fourth) of Holocaust survivors in Croatia have been in different types of camps.

When we were drawing Map No 4 based on gathered data, we obtained a horrible picture showing that during the Holocaust in Croatia was a net of camps. All the camps had been part of one system and under single command.

The Ustasha camps in NDH can be divided into two basic groups: transit (assembling) and labor (concentration) camps.

The first stage in creating the camp system was the establishment of transit camps in which Ustasha authorities, after mass arrest, organized temporary assembling places for Jews.

These were indoors and outdoor-enclosed areas, prisons, deserted factory buildings, schools, Jewish temples, or any other suitable large buildings.

Jews in transit camps (marked with blue color on the map) were exposed to torture, hard physical labor, humiliation, hunger and thirst. There were individual murders but not mass liquidation of prisoners as there were in the "death camps".

Many prisoners died as a results of exhaustion, lack of food, medicinal aid and as a result of epidemics of contagious diseases.

After some time (several or more months), Jew were transported to another camp, and finally ended in concentration death camps (marked black on the map) situated on the territory of NDH (Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška, Jadovno etc.) or in camps organized by Germany (mostly Auschwitz).

We have also enclosed in a publication a copy of the card on which the parcels send to camp Jasenovac, by the Jewish community, has been registered.

Based on the dates of response and dates of delivery of the parcels, it is evident, that

Logor <b>Gredjani</b> <b>Jasenovac</b>	Prezime i ime — Oznaka <b>Kraus Alfred Pinkasa</b> V. gr.	
Datum javljanja	Poslani paketi	Primjelba
18.X.1942	28.X. 11.XI. 2.XII. 25.XII. 13.I. 43	tr.p.
5.I.1943	27.I. 17.2. 3.III. 24.3. 14.4. 26.5. 196	
2.6 "	28.6. 9/7 22/7 7/8 20/8 6/9 11/10 25/10	kakle, rim
22.12 "	8/11 20/11 14/12 3/1 14/2 29/2 14/3 28/3 12/4 4	
23.11.44	19/11 24/11 30/11 8.1.45 16/1 23/1 29/1 7/2 19/2	20/VIII. 43n
22.1.45	19/2 9/3 45, 19/3 19/3 23/3 13/4 6/4 11/4	Jasenovac

Prisoner Card from camp Jasenovac with the date when he received the parcel and the date when he last time send a message.

those prisoners that somehow managed to survive the horrors of the camps were finally liquidated just before the very end of the war in April 1945.

In this camps ended many refugees from other countries, Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina and most of the Croatian Jews.

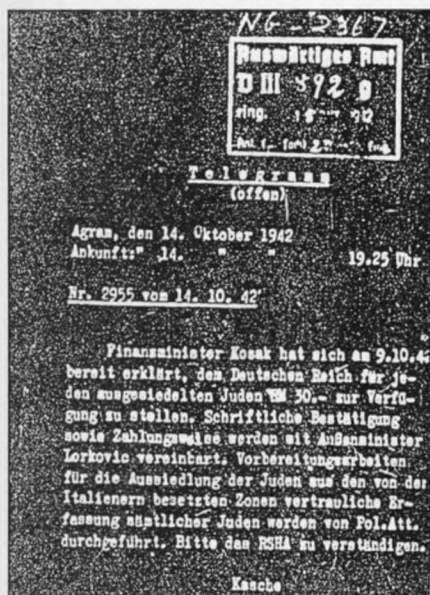
They were persecuted without mercy, because of their racial, Jewish, origin, either by father or mother's side (two-generation back).

In publication we have included the official "Instructions for composing the Statement of racial belonging" had given to us by one of the applicants.

### From the "Instructions for composing the Statement of racial belonging"

... In the section for ancestor, only the non-Aryan ancestor should be stated and that not by their name, but only stating their racial belonging, for example: "father Jew" or grandmother "Gypsy" or "one great-grandfather "Negro", "one great-grandmother Jews".

Only that ancestor from whom the non-Aryan lodge begins should be stated. For example, if the father is Jew, the grandfa-



A facsimile of the telegram concerning the deportation of the Jews in NDH.

ther and grandmother of the father should be stated, since it is obvious that the parents of the Jew are also Jew.

If the grandfather of father's side was a Jew and the grandmother Aryan, the grandfather should be stated and not a father, because it is clear that the father is half-Jew.

That ones that have two or more Jewish ancestors second generations (grandfathers and grandmothers), if they are Christians, along with the religion they should state the date of their baptising.

The religion of the ancestor is not mentioned, only the racial belonging: if all great-grandfathers were of Moses faith, and the grandfather and grandmother and the son baptised Jews, they should only state: "father Jew", since only the racial belonging is carrying weight.

The ancestor of the second generation is considered as Jews if they were born in Moses faith. Therefore, if one grandfather or grandmother is of Moses faith, and it is not known whether one of their parents was an Aryan, they should be racially regarded as pure Jews.

With regards to other non-Aryan communities, a special attention is drawn to the fact that the Hungarian is not a special racial community. The Hungarian, Finns and Estonian belong to the Aryan society as well

as the other European nations, only they speak languages that belong to the so-called Finnish-Hungarian group. The Albanian also belongs to the Aryans, so do most of the Turks. As non-Aryans, beside the Jews, in the first place are regarded: the Gypsies, Tatarsians, Armenians, Persians, Arabs, Malays and Negroes...

\* \* \*

Some of the Jews in mixed marriages survived. It was different if the wife was of Aryan origin of the husband. If the husband was an Aryan, the Jewish woman had to change her religion in the Catholic Church, and the children of such marriage were to be considered Aryans. When the woman was an Aryan and the man Jew, the decisions concerning such marriage were different. It also depended on the fact whether the children were baptised or not.

Some of the survivors were baptised as children born during the war or just before the war. Their parents did it to give them the chance to survive. Many of these parents were killed in the Nazi camps and the children were saved due to hiding under false identity, or adopted by strange families. There were cases when the children were handed through barbed wire over to stranger who saved them.



*A group of prisoners at work in Jasenovac*

# VI. Camps in Croatia during the Holocaust

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## I. Asembling-temporary camps from where the people were sent to concentration camps

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“**Zagrebački zbor**” (Zagreb fair) was a transit camp to other camps for about 2.500 Jews, arrested on other places in NDH (Varaždin, Našice, Koprivnica, Bjelovar, Ludbreg, Sarajevo, Travnik, Osijek, etc). They stay in camp during July and August 1941 on the way to other camps, mostly to the camp in Gospić. Some persons from mixed marriages were released.

“**Danica**”- near Koprivnica ( 29.4.1941-July 1941) There were 5.000 internees, among them about 500 Jews. In this camp were 165 members of youth organisation ( mainly Macabi) and they are moved to camp in Jadovno, where all but 10 of them were killed. The remaining group was taken to Gospić, then to Jastrebarsko and finally to Jasenovac. At the beginning of 1942, those 8 survivors were taken to Stara Gradiška. Probably only one of them survived.

The camp was closed in July 1941 and the prisoners were taken to the camp Gospić and later to concentration camp: Jadovno, Pag, Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška.

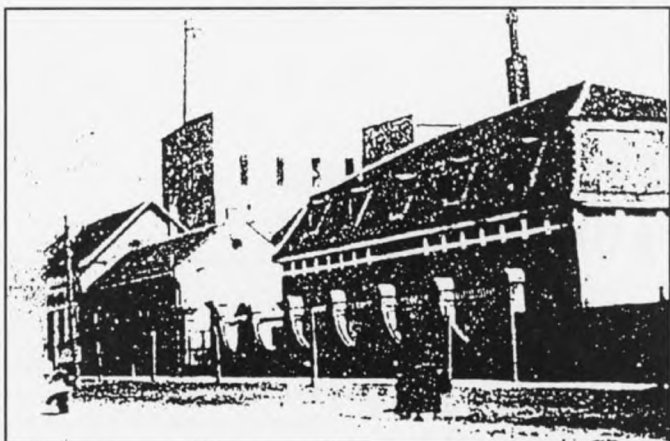
“**The camp in Gospić**” ( June-August 1941)collected prisoners from other assembling camps ( about 2.500 Jews).

It was closed down in August 1941 and the men were taken to concentration camp Jasenovac and the women and children ( via Slavovski Brod) to camp Kruščica” in Bosnia.

In “**Kruščica**” (near Travnik) ( August 1941-October 1941) there were about 3.000 Jews, on 28<sup>th</sup> September the men were sent to Jasenovac and women and children to Lobargrad and finally killed in Auschwitz.

“**Lobargrad**”- The order was given to the Jewish community in Zagreb to adapt a former castle into a camp for about 2.000 women and children (Open in September 1941). Many of them had died due to hard labor, sickness and starvation while survivors were “handed over” to Gestapo and send to Auschwitz, where the majority was killed. First transport was on 24.12.1941, second on 1.8.1942 and last group in October 1942.

“**Dakovo**”. The camp was located in an old mill. The Jewish community in Osijek took care of it. There were women and children mostly from Sarajevo - about 1.865 Jewish women ( 2 December 1941) On February 26 and March 3, 1942 further 1.161 prisoners from camp Stara Gradiška arrived. As a result of a typhus and dysentery epidemic — within 6 months about 569 prisoners died. The camp have been taken by Ustasha and closed down in June 1942. The prisoners were transferred to the camp in Jasenovac ( about 2.800) and killed there.



*Camp in Đakovo*

### **Commemoration in Đakovo.**

The flower wreath was carried to the charnel House by Bjanka Auslender, born Levi, who as a child was taken with her mother and sister from Sarajevo to the camp Đakovo, and Klara Pinto, today retired professor in Osijek. They both had a rare luck and survived. The Jewish community in Osijek, which until March 1942 had control over the internal management in the Đakovo camp, smuggled a group of children to Osijek and accommodated them with Jewish families. Unfortunately, most of these children were killed in August 1942, when they took away the Jews of Osijek.



*Graves of the prisoners in Đakovo*

**“Tenje”.** The first 500 Jews from Osijek were taken in July 1941. In 1942 the Jewish Community was ordered to organize a camp in a former factory in Tenja for about 2.600 Jews from Osijek and places near Osijek and 200 children from Sarajevo. On August 1942. about 1.000 Jews were sent to Auschwitz (about 700 of them children) Other were transferred to Jasenovac and the camp Jablanac and some of them died already during the transport. Some of them were transferred to Loborgrad and Auschwitz where they were killed upon arrival. The camp was closed down in August 1942.

In **Vinkovci** the transit camp was located on a football stadium “Cibalia” for about 400 Jews who had been taken to Jasenovac and Auschwitz. Jews from **Vukovar** were gathered in the synagoge ( 15 August 1941) from where they were taken to Jasenovac ( 8 November 1941).

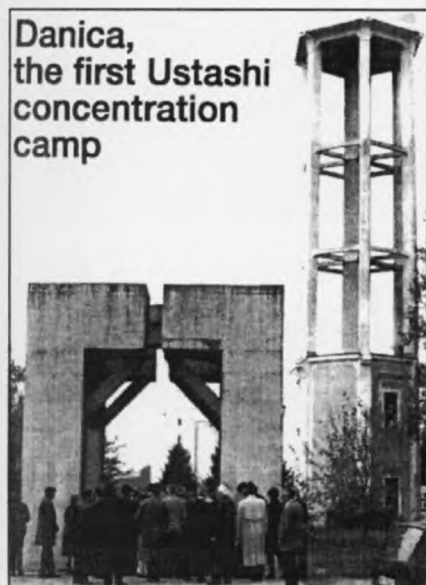
Camp **Sremska Mitrovica** for the Jews from Ruma and refugees ( send to Jasenovac and Auschwitz),

Camp in **Jastrebarsko** was established in July 1941. Trough the camp passed about 1.500 to 1.700 Jews, mostly survivors from another camps. On the end of September they were send to other camps.

In August 1941 a transit camp was established in **“Zavrtnica”** ( part of Zagreb) for 1.000-1.500 Jews from Zagreb. Prisones were taken by the end of September to the other camps.

In November 1941 in **Gornja Rijeka** transit camp was established for about a hundred old woen from Loborgrad. 73 of them, who survived were returned to Loborgrad and send to Auschwitz.

There were camps in **Samobor** (near Zagreb) for refugee Jews (200) from Austria, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Such camps were also in **Pisarovina** ( 47 refugees), **Daruvar** ( about 100 refugees) **Slavetic**, (about 100 refugees) **Draganic** ( 181 refugees), **Lipik** ( 88 refugees) and other places.



**Danica,  
the first Ustashi  
concentration  
camp**



*Commemorative service for the victims of the Danica concentration camp, November 23, 1997.*

*The entrance into the Danica concentration Camp, built in 1981, and reminding of the gallows. On the right the reconstructed water tower of the former factory.*



## 2. Concentration camps in NDH

The second stage, which ran parallel with the first, was the construction of so-called "Labor" but in fact concentration camps which became mass extermination sites.

Some of the Jews were transferred from one camp to another and most of them were finally killed in concentration camps.

*The most known concentration camps were the following:*

The first concentration camp has been formed in **Kerestinec** (near Zagreb) on 19. April 1941 with the "Jewish" part (established on May 1.1941, 487 Jews, mostly refugees). Prisoners were taken to Sarajevo, then to camp Kruščica and in September to Jasenovac (men) and women and children to Loborgrad and finally to Auschwitz. The remaining 44 were taken to Gospić.

In June 1941 the **Jadovno** camp was established in the hamlet, on Mount Velebit. In Jadovno about 3.500 prisoners

were killed, among them several hundreds of Jews. Camp was disbanded on August 19, 1941.

The **Jasenovac Camps** (from summer of 1941 until end of April 1945) was the largest camp in NDH (in area, in the number of prisoners and in number of people who were killed there).

The first parts of the camp system in Jasenovac were organized in summer 1941 (Camp "No I" in **Bročice** and Camp "No II" in **Krapje**. Camp "No III" was founded in **Bačić brickyards**.

Later, other parts of the system were founded: Camp IV (the tannery in Jasenovac) and camp "No V" **Stara Gradiška**.

There were some other temporary camps (Gypsy camp in **Uštica** and labor camp for women in **Mlaka**).

Camp in **Lepoglava** was situated in former prison. To camp Lepoglava were transported prisoners from Stara Gradiška. Jewish women were sent from Lepoglava to camp Metajna on the island Pag.

The camp was closed at the beginning of 1945 and the prisoners were sent to Jasenovac, where almost all have been killed.



*The Jasenovac Concentration Camp in spring 1945, after it was burnt by fleeing ustasha*

On June 25 1941 the camps **Slano and Metajna** on the Island of Pag were established by Ustasha ( although the Italians were present there).. In this camp 407 men, 291 women and 91 Jewish children were killed.

The camp was disbanded on August 19, 1941 and about 450 survivors were taken

to other camps: Jastrebarsko, Kruščica, Loborgrad and Jasenovac. Inmates of the Pag camps, men, women and children were exposed to most cruel tortures, were sent to hard labor in quarries and actually starved to death.



*The Jasenovac concentration Camp. Dr. Ognjen Kraus, president of the Jewish Community Zagreb at the commemoration of the victims, April 22, 1999*

### 3. German concentration camps

The number of Jews that survived German concentration camps (Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Mathausen, Dachau, Ravensbrück and other camps) is only 28. The majority was taken to Auschwitz from Zagreb or the territory under Hungarian jurisdiction (Medimurje, Čakovec, Vojvodina).

4. Jews who were under the **Hungarian** occupation during the Holocaust (today is alive 49) were in Hungarian camps and ghettos (11).

Jews from Medimurje, Prekomurje, Baranja and Bačka were taken to forced labor in Ukraina, Hungary and Serbia (Bor). In 1944 the German took them to Auschwitz.

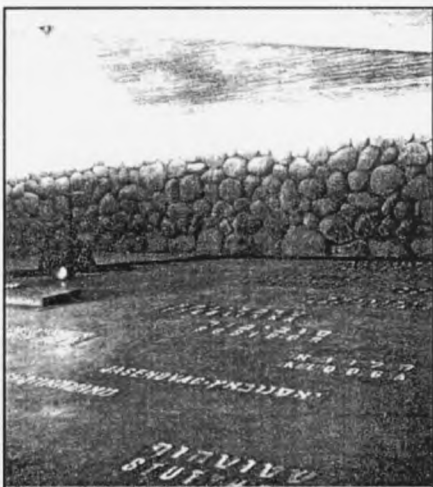
5. From the survivors 7 Jews were in **"working camps"** and several in the **"camps for war prisoners"**.

6. Among the applicants to Swiss fund (Holocaust survivors) 187 persons took parts in **NOB** and **NOP** (National liberation war). From the capitulation of Italy (In Septem-



*Auschwitz, February 1945. A group of survived camp prisoners from the territory of ex-Yugoslavia. Dr. Ljudevit Rosenberg (died in 1998) from Zagreb, is in the centre of the third row.*

ber 1943) till end of 1944, 1203 Jews from Croatia (Italian Zone) and 868 from Bosnia and Herzegovina joined NOB.



*"Ohel- izkor" the interior of the memorial tent, Jeruzalem*

### 7. Camps for Jews under Italy

A number of Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina and from Croatia attempted to escape and reach Dalmatia and Croatia Litoral, i.e. the Zone I. and the Zone II.

The Ustashes insisted in demanding from Italians the handing over all Jews in Zone I.

The Italian 2<sup>nd</sup> Army Command on 27. June, 1942 decided to confine Jews in camps under Italian supervision (to protect them).

At the beginning of November 1942 the Italians organized camps for Jews in Zone I. (Zone I. was annexed) and in Zone II (Zone II was occupied part of NDH). They were called: Campo di concentramento per gli internati civili di guerra.

The first Italian camp for Jewish refugee was on the Island **Korčula**, in town Korčula- (400) and Vela Luka. On 13 De-



*The concentration Camp Kampor, island Rab*

cember 1941 some hundred of internees were shipped from Korčula via Trieste to Modena in Italy.

On the islands **Brač** (211 Jews in places: Sumartin, Supetar, Bol, Postire and Nerežišće) and **Hvar** (404 Jews from Sarajevo and Mostar in places: Hvar, Stari Grad and Jelsa) the camp has been organized from beginning of November 1942.

The **Dubrovnik** Camps were established in the villages Gruž and Kupari (about 1.000) and island Lopud. There were about 1.700 Jews in Dubrovnik, mostly refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

About hundred of the Jews from Dubrovnik and its surroundings were situated in the Wreg and Petak (former hotels) in Gruž.

In camp **Kraljevica** were about 1.250 internees from November 1942 to May 1943.

At the end of May 1943 the inmates of Kraljevica, Brač, Hvar and Dubrovnik camps were sent to the "main" camp on

island **Rab** (Campo di concentramento per internati civili di guerra Arbe).

According to the official Italian documents, in the Jewish camp (there were also other prisoners) Kampor on island Rab were 2.400-2.500 internees, but later investigations showed that there were more than 3.500. About 15% were children under 15 years old, 38% were men and 47% were women.

When Italy capitulated (In September 1943), Jews from the camp on island Korčula (Vela Luka) requested permission to evacuate to Italy via island Visor to El-Shatt. A group of Jews (mainly refugees from other places) was interned in Split by Italian and taken via Bari to various camps in Italy.

In the camp Rab the internee came to negotiation with the Italians. The commander of the camp agrees that the inmates could leave the camp but without weapons.

On September 13, Jews in camp Rab, managed to disarm carabinieri units and



*Rab, 11th September 1993. Alfred Pal, on behalf of the surviving fighters of the Jewish Battalion, reports to Staff of the Croatian Army, his former commander during World War II.*



*The Rab camp, the cemetery. There is a commemorative plaque which reads: On 9 September 1943 Rab Partisan Jewish Battalion was organised on this island and set out to fight for its human dignity.*

formed Jewish military unit (Jewish battalion) which join the People's Liberation Army. There has been 1.339 partisan from the Camp, until the end of the War 119 of them has been killed.

National Liberation Army joined 117 Jews liberated from camp Ferramonti in Italy.

The remaining Jewish inmates (1.812), mostly older men, women and children were shipped to the mainland and evacuated to "Free territory" in Lika, Kordun and Banija.

204 Jews stay in Rab (old and sick) and when the Germans occupied the island, they send Jews to Auschwitz.

When Germans and Ustashas (after the capitulation of Italy) entered the city of Split, Jewish refugees were evacuated to the island Vis and later transported to Italy. 122 persons escaped via Bari to El Shatt in Egypt.

Jews from community in Split, who remained in the city, were deprived of their property, the men were sent to camp and taken out daily to hard labor.

In October 1943 men (and some women) were sent to the concentration camp in Serbia, "Sajmište" and to Auschwitz. On 11 March, women and children were sent to camp Jasenovac and killed.

Almost total Jewish community in Split (148) has been victims of the Holocaust.

In Dubrovnik 17 Jews were killed, as well as refugees who found shelter in Kotor.

Jews from Rijeka and Istra were transported in 1944 to Auschwitz. Jews from Sušak escaped to Italy



*The Jewish combat battalion, Rab, September 1943*

**Table No. 5 (1): Holocaust in Croatia- camps and survivors**

NDH concentration camps			
<i>Camp</i>	<i>No of prisoners</i>		<i>No of survivors</i>
Jasenovac	About 6.000 Jews (Croatia) + 7.000 Jews (Bosnia)		8
Stara Gradiška	Part of Jasenovac-mostly women and children		5
Lepoglava	Former prison		1
Loborgrad	1.700 women and children, transported to Auschwitz		3
Island Pag: Metajna and Slano	Killed about 800, 450 trasported to other camps		2
Jadovno	On mount Velebit, killed about 3.500 persons, about 100 Jews		0
Đakovo	1.830 women and children from Sarajevo + 1.200 from Stara Gradiška		6
NDH assembling camps			
<i>Camps for refugee Jews other countries</i>	<i>No of prisoners</i>	<i>Camps for Jews in Croatia</i>	<i>No of prisoners</i>
Samobor	200	Zagreb fair	2.500
Kerestinec	400	Danica	500
Golenić	147	Gospić	2.500
Pisarovina	47	Zavrtnica	1.500
Slavetić	100	Tenje	3.000
Daruvar	100	Kruščica	3.000
Lipik	88	Jastrebarsko	1.700
Sremska Mitrovica	200	Gornja Reka Vinkovci, etc	100 400



*Osijek, destroyed synagogue, 1941*

**Table No. 5 (2): Holocaust in Croatia- camps and survivors**

German camps 30 survivors		Italian Zone 180 survivors		
Camp	No of survivors	Location	Camp	No of prisoners
Auschwitz	13	Dubrovnik	Lopud Gruž-Vreg Kupari	700 100 1.000
Bergen-Belsen	6	Island Hvar	Hvar	494
Mathausen (Austria)	2	Island Brač	Sumartin, Postire	211
Dachau	2	Island Korčula	Vela Luka refugee from Split to Italy via Vis	1.095
Ravensbrück	3	Drniš , Knin	Refugee from BiH	200
Strasshoff (Austria)	2	Kotor	From BiH to Albany	200
Ghetto Theresienstadt	2	Crikvenica, Novi Vinodol Kraljevica	From Croatia and BiH Porto Re	1.250
		Otok Rab	Kampor (Arba)	About 3.500
		Mostar, Gacko Čapljina	From BiH	800 117
<b>Hungarian " Zone" 49 survivors</b>				
Assembling and working camps and getho			No of survivors 11	
Camps in Hungary: Baja, Segedin, Balčamaš, Pešta			Sent to Auschwitz (1944)	
Sent to forced work in Bor (1) and in Ukraina (1)				
<b>Italy- camps 15</b>				
Bari, Ferramonte (3), Nonandola (1), Campo Carbonare (3) and other places				
<b>Refugee camps</b> in Switzerland (7) El-Shatt in Egypt (7) and other countries Camp in France (1) Camp in Albania — Kavaja (2)				



*Young prisoners from Zagreb in camp Danica*



*An anonymous photographer recorded the various stages of the demolition of the large synagogue (built in 1867) at Praška street in the center of Zagreb. The demolition began in October 1941 and was finished in 1942.*





## VII. Jewish communities after the Holocaust

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Immediately after the Second World War, wherever possible the activity of the Jewish communities was renewed, with old and new members.

The communities had taken over in a way, the role of the refugee camps and centers - they were transformed into shelters, hospitals, public-kitchens, distributors of humanitarian aid, which came from the international Jewish organizations (JOINT). They were the first place where Jews could be accommodated when they returned from the concentration camps, refugee camps and partisans.

Private property was nationalized (double robbery; once by the Nazis and once by communists), families were decimated and the memories of the Holocaust still fresh.

The activities of the Union of the Jewish communities were re-established after the War, first under the same name, and later on the words "of Jewish faith" were excluded and the name remained as the "Union of the Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia". There were 38 communities in 1947.

The change of the name of the Union was not only a formality, but also reflected the process of secularization of the Jews in Yugoslavia and the adjustment to the circumstances (atheistic) in the new Tito's Yugoslavia.

The Jewish communities functioned in a reduced traditional form. The activities in the community had mainly a social character rather than religious one.

The Jewish tradition almost disappeared in Jewish families

In some homes one could find mezuzah and menorah.

Only a small number of observant Jews attended the synagogue on Shabbat, but on high Holidays the number was much and for Pesah a communal Seder was organized. The most celebrated holidays were Chanukah and Purim.

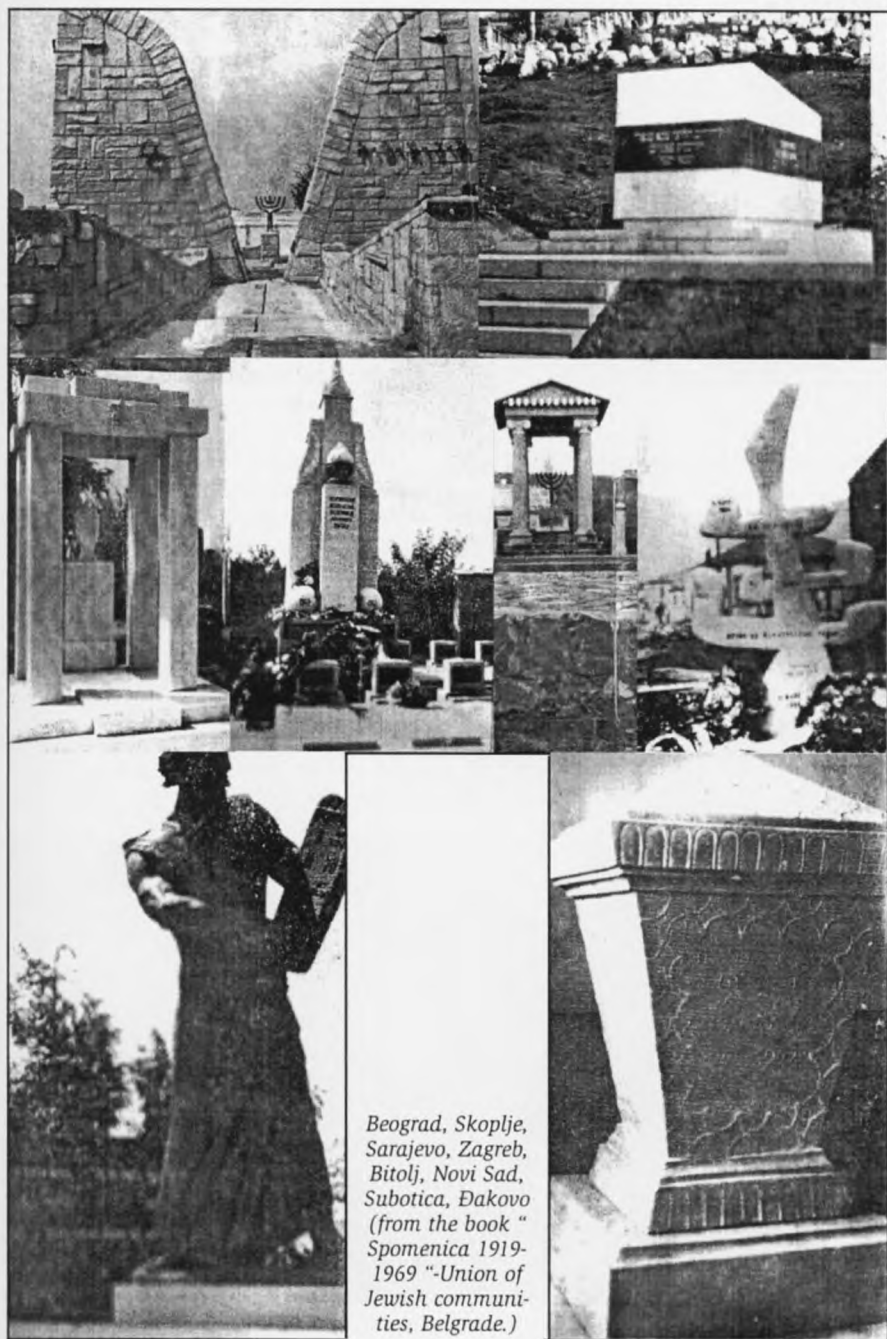
For special occasions Rabbis from abroad had been invited.

The only real remnants of the Jewish tradition were Jewish burials and saying Kaddish.

In such circumstances, the centuries long difference between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews had just disappeared. There were no more various religious groups.

A large number of mixed marriages in the community had made the demographic survival possible. The gentiles-partners were allowed to become members of the community.

## Monuments in Yugoslavia to the Jewish victims and fighters



*Beograd, Skoplje,  
Sarajevo, Zagreb,  
Bitolj, Novi Sad,  
Subotica, Đakovo  
(from the book "  
Spomenica 1919-  
1969 "-Union of  
Jewish communit-  
ties, Belgrade.)*

A large number of Jews participated in the National Liberation War and in the Anti-fascist movement. The annihilations in the World War II and the fight against Fascism, represented for the Jews and non-Jews a common past and a good basis for building up a new society based on a mutual respect.

A great attention was given to the commemoration on Yom Ha-Shoah and the organization of visits and commemorations at cemeteries, former camps and other places where the Jews had been killed during the Holocaust.

The Jews were accepted in the new socialistic society because they had become less and less different from others. Even in the official census, only a part of the Jews declared themselves as "Jews" (either by faith or nationality). Their number was smaller than the number of the members of the Jewish communities.

## Allya to Palestine \_\_\_\_\_

Generally there was a small number of departures from Yugoslavia to Palestine before the Second World War, although the

Zionist movement was developed in Yugoslavia, especially between the two world wars. Only about 60 persons immigrated legally to Palestine and there were also illegal immigrants mainly from Bosnia, Serbia and Macedonia (Bitola).

From the First World War until 1933, only several hundreds young people arrived to Palestine and about 1.500 Jews from Bitola. (quoted by Zvi Loker)

From 1933 to 1940 - 650 Jews from Yugoslavia immigrated to Palestine and just before the Second World War (March 1941) 760 persons from Yugoslavia immigrated in the framework of the immigration quota.

During World War II, there were very little Allyot, although there had been some actions for saving the Jews. In one of this action, the so-called "Kindertransport" eleven children (only) had been saved.

Some of the Jews succeeded to escape to Italy or Switzerland and part of them were in the camp of El-Shat in Egypt.

A larger number of refugees were in Bari, south of Italy. They tried to depart to Palestine and the first group (158 persons) de-

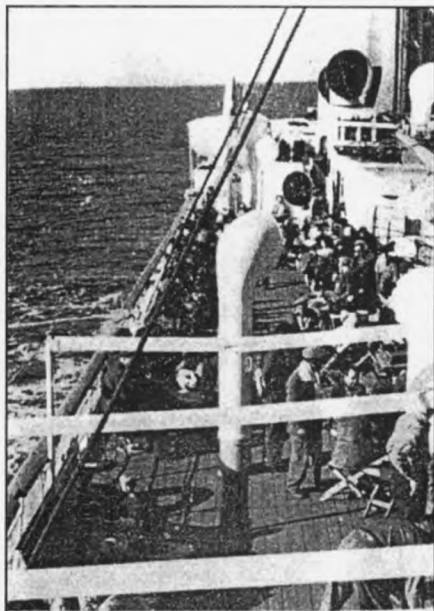


*First group of "Hašomer Haca'ir" in Erec Israel*

parted in spring 1944. In March 1945 a group from Brindizzi went to Palestine and a group of 295 children and youth arrived from Barcelona after a long and tiresome trip.

Yugoslavia was the first socialistic country to allow a free immigration of Jews to Israel (June 21, 1948). She called this action "Repatriation" that is "the return to your own country". They permitted an unlimited number of Allyah, with also non-Jewish family members and children of mixed marriages. Some restriction were to medical doctors.

After the big Allyah to Israel (1948-52), the Jews of Croatia did not immigrate in a large number, although they could freely go out from the country since the borders were open (and not like in the countries "behind the iron curtain").



*Emigrants on their way to Israel*



*Seeing off the emigrants to Israel, 1948*

## VIII. Holocaust survivors

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The age average of the Holocaust survivors is rather high, more than 55% are over 70, and 40% over 75. The majority of the survivors today, belong to the age group of 73-77 years (20%) and 16% belong to an age group between 68-72.

Women represent 63% of the total number of the survivors, but with different distributions in the age groups. Most of them belong to the elder age groups (in average women live longer than men).

The age structure of the survivors their social, economic, family and health situation show that in question was a population that was in great need.

The present demographic structure of the Jewish population in Croatia and the relations between the age groups could be compared with the age structure of the Jewish survivors, known from the year 1946 (for example for Zagreb).

In analysis we had to take into consideration that in the big Aliya has between 1948 and 1952 half of the survivors, mainly the younger age group, went to Israel and that many refugees, belonging to an elder age group came from Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991).

Consequently, we can conclude that the present situation is the result of the losses in the Holocaust and the later migrations.

The demographic aging is much faster and evident within the Jewish population.

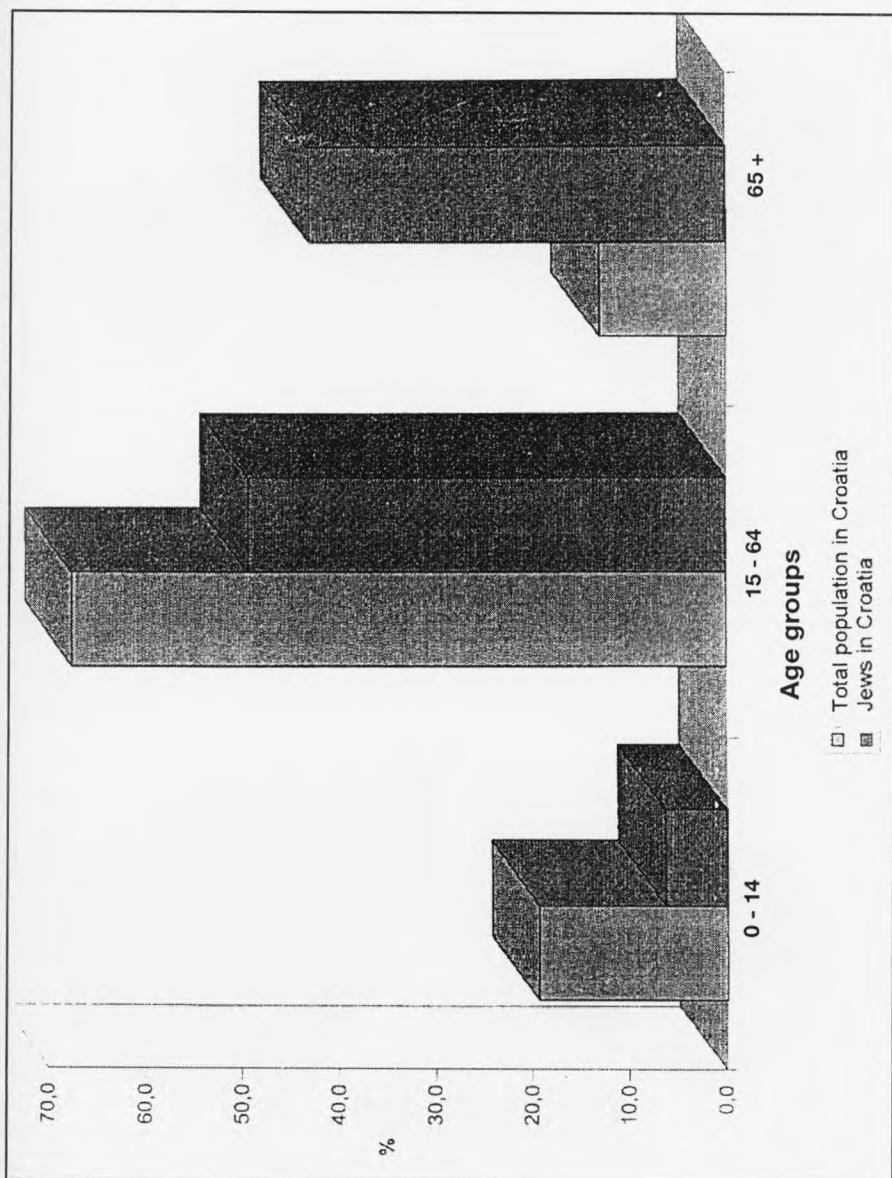
In Jewish population, according to the census in 1991, the percentage of the age group of 65 and over is 43,0%, while it is 13,1% of the total population. The percentage of the age group of 0-14 years in the Jewish population is only 6,3%, and in the total number of Croatian population 19,4%.

The age structure has an impact on the economic "potential" of the community. The coefficient of the age dependency amount to 0,93, what means that on 100 still active persons, there are 93 persons that depend on them (persons of 0-20 years and persons over 65 years of age).

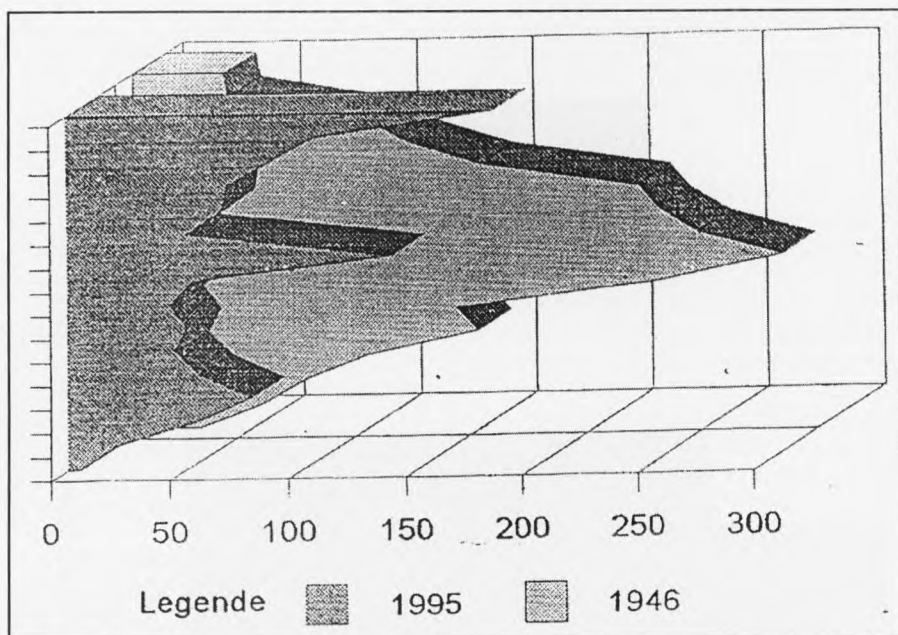
More and more elder persons depend on social and health relief (from the community, Joint and other international organisations and community charity work).

The volunteer and charity activities - the basic principle of Jewish communities - are mainly done by the Holocaust survivors of the old generation.

Graph No. 5. Age structure of the total population of Croatia and Jews according to census in 1991

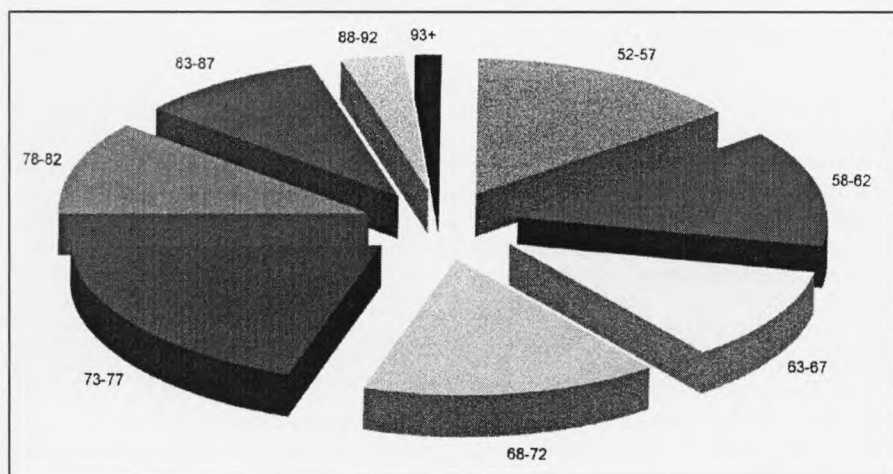
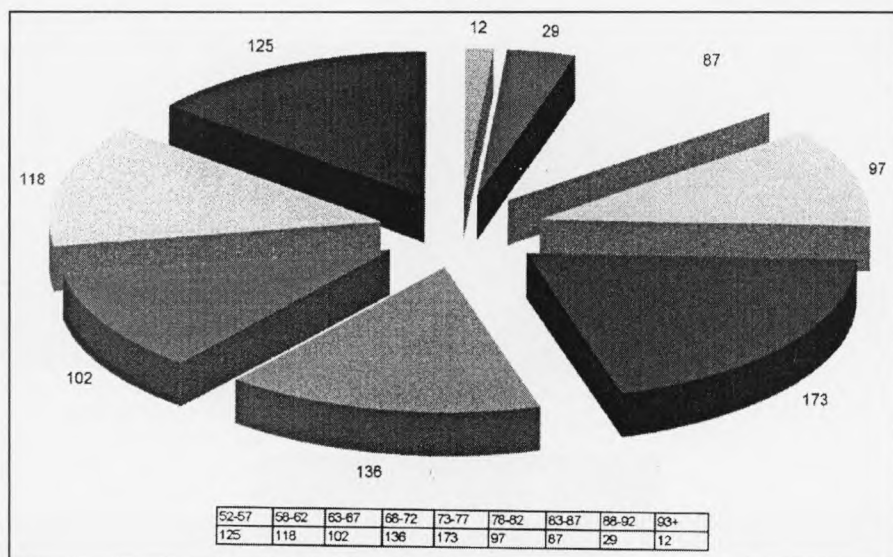


Graph No. 6. Age structure of the Jewish community of Zagreb in 1946 (survivors) and 1995.



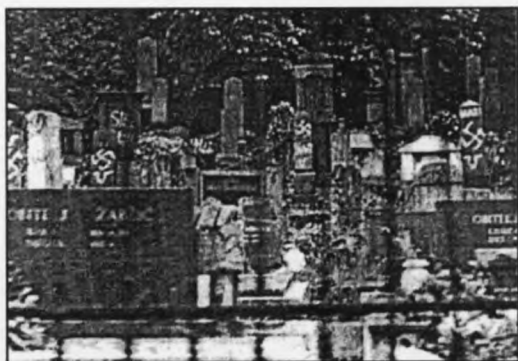
AGE GROUPS	1946 %	1995 %
0-5	1,24	0,46
6-10	2,49	1,83
11-15	3,32	4,95
16-20	4,52	7,05
21-25	6,73	5,03
26-30	6,31	4,12
31-35	10,41	4,57
36-40	12,81	3,93
41-45	11,15	4,76
46-50	10,37	12,53
51-55	9,95	4,57
56-60	6,82	5,95
61-65	5,35	6,13
66-70	4,52	7,86
71-75	2,26	9,60
75 +	1,75	16,65

Graph No. 7. The Holocaust survivors according to the age groups





## Some of the Holocaust locations and their fate



*Cemetery in Karlovac ( May 1997) with "swastika"*



*Demolished tombstone at the Jewish cemetery in Koprivnica (1999)*

The Jewish community protested in some instances against praising of the Ustasha Independents State of Croatia (NDH) such as some TV programs, inscriptions, TV shows and interviews with anti-Semitic message, holding the memorial service for the Ustasha leaders, renaming of streets and squares, publishing of editions which instigate racial hatred or give false information on the NDH and the Holocaust (Mein Kampf, Protocol of the Sages of Zion, Croatian Home Guard in the WW II and other), writing anti-Semitic and Nazi graffiti in the Jewish buildings and cemeteries etc.

Survivors of the Holocaust in Croatia and anti-Fascist fighters in NOB were alar-

med (during the "Tudman times") at the signs of NDH, (the Ustasha state whose racial laws made them loose many members of their families), seemingly revived or praised, and at the number of victims of the Holocaust being reduced.

Jewish community protested against the propositions of the Commission for the War and Post-War victims that the remains of all victims of the World War UU were to be buried in Jasenovac. This change of propose of the Memorial complex of Jasenovac was abandoned.



*The building of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, Plamotičeva street, today*



*Damaged entry staircase to the building of the Jewish Community in Zagreb after explosion of planted bomb on August 19, 1991.*



*Memorial tablet at the place of the demolished Synagogue in Zagreb (1941/42) with "swastika" (15.9.1997)*



*After the bomb explosion in the Jewish community in Zagreb and the damaging of the Jewish grave at the cemetery Mirogoj ( on August 19,1991 by unknown perpetrators) thousand of citizens of Zagreb protested at the cemetery, on the main city square and in front of the damaged building, showing solidarity with Jews and protesting against anti-Semitism and terrorism. Many well-known public officials from cultural, religion and political life took part in the Protests. The building of the Jewish community was reconstructed with the help of the Croatian State and donations by various organizations and individuals.*



*A rally protesting (members of the Jewish community together with other citizens) against the renaming of the "Square of the victims of Fascism" in Zagreb, into the "Square of the Great Men in Croatia".*



## From the many activities of the Jewish community we would like to single out the following:

The number of young members is growing since the second after-Holocaust generation has grown-up and we also have more and more members of the third generation, so that we have a kindergarten calls "Miriam Weiller". We are just establishing now the infant nursery for the youngest ones.

The community dedicates its special attention to the youth and their Jewish education.

The youth has its club, organization, premises, computer Ort Workshop, Sunday school, cultural groups (for example: folk dance group "Or Hashemesh" and music band "Zozeri", sport activities (Maccabi), organized meetings, seminars, summer camps and a very rich international exchange and cooperation, especially with Israel.

The young community members organize Hebrew courses, take care of children (Sunday school) and actively participate in the community life. They publish their magazine called "Motek".

The Jewish Community founded also a cultural society "Miroslav Šalom Freiberg" (president Branko Polić), gathering



The "Or Shemesh" dancing group

many cultural, and scientific and educational workers from Zagreb and Croatia, Jews and gentiles. They organize lectures, concerts, forums, and first presentations of books, film projections and publishing. The society publishes the magazine "Novi Omanut" with the participation of many distinguished writers and collaborators.

We have in Zagreb a large archive and library, the most valuable part of which is the "Dr. Lavoslav Šik Library" with 13.000 volumes, and its core: the Hebraica collection with 3000 rare and unique books.

Jewish community, together with the Cultural society "Miroslav Šalom Freiberg" published a series of books and organized many symposiums and "round tables" about the Holocaust.

The Jewish community published its Bulletin "Ha Kol" every two months in 1000 copies and Journal "Voice" published in English once a Year. (editor Vlasta Kovač)

The Jewish community of Zagreb also founded a tourist agency "Magen" for organizing trips to Israel and other places.

During whole time after Holocaust, JOINT has played a very big role in helping the Holocaust survivors, in revitalization of the communities and their institutions and in the recent economical and political changes. Some other international Jewish organizations have also supported certain programs.

JOINT. (Yechiel Bar-Chaim) organized the reception and accommodation of many Jewish refugees, from Sarajevo and other placed in Bosnia, in Croatia.

JOINT established special offices in Zagreb (with radio-relay) and Split and organized many humanitarian convoys (La Benevolencija) and donations. Today in Old age home in Zagreb live about 30 (one third of all protegees) refugees from Sarajevo.

The B'nai B'rith unit "Gavro Schwartz" was founded in Zagreb on June 26<sup>th</sup> 1998 as the first B'nai B'rith Unit in Croatia after 1940. The president is dr. Dragan Stern. Delegates from abroad were present.

The Union of Jewish women of Croatia (member of ICJW) was established in 1992 with branches in other Jewish communities of Croatia, after the Federative Women Organization (of ex Yugoslavia) had stopped to function.

The Jewish Women Organization has had a long tradition in Croatia (since 1887) and has played a significant role in preserving the Jewish tradition during 50 years of communism.

The work of the Women's organization has been especially noticed in situations of wars and economic crisis. In such situations they accommodated many refugees, took care of the Holocaust survivors and helped the growing number of older community member.

Today, they are very important carriers of humanitarian and social relief actions, active in Social committees, Senior club,



*On the picture: President of Jewish Community Zagreb, dr. Ognjen Kraus, on opening Ceremony.*



*The representative of the Croatian Union of Jewish women at the meeting in Zagreb.*

Field network for helping sick and in Old Peoples Home.

The Women's organization have established many courses and workshops ( for ceramic, foreign languages, recreation etc). They organized the charity parties, actions and bazaar. They have regular meetings with lectures, projections and other programs; organize seminars and cooperate with many organizations (especially Jewish women organizations) in the country and abroad.

Among the leaders of the Jewish communities there are more and more women, who for example are vice presidents of the community, chairman of various committees and delegates of the community ( for example the Committee for Minorities in Croatia) etc.

The "middle generation" (Dr. Šalomon V.) is very active and organizes "Family shabat" and summer gathering of the Jews originating from ex-Yugoslavia.

Summer camp in Pirovac on the Adriatic coast start to work again.

# X. Humanitarian actions for Holocaust survivors

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The recent actions of the Swiss Humanitarian Fund, the Claims conference and other organizations for supporting Jews in East-European countries, have helped the Holocaust survivors in Croatia.

The significance of such humanitarian actions exceeds by far the task of the direct financial relief for the following reasons :

The Jews after so many years could convince themselves that International Jewish organizations take care of their problems and needs, apart from Joint who has helped (during all time) persons in need.

During the action of the Swiss fund we found out that the Jewish population in Croatia is bigger than the official statistics and the evidence show (for a quarter of the total number).

A large number of Holocaust survivors belong to the generation that survived due to being children of pre-school age ( or born during 1941-1945) and they were not in the evidence of the Nazis.

The analysis has shown the scattered state of the Jewish population in many places all over Croatia, where only few Jews or Jewish families live, being the remains of the once big and developed communities. For many of them we had no knowledge and they did not have connections to the bigger Jewish communities.

The number of applications for becoming a member of the Jewish communities has grown.

The action has helped to a closer link between the Jewish communities in Croatia on a joint task, engaged volunteers and renewed the link with the field, and besides collecting data for the Funds, gathered also other information about the situation and problems which will help to organize other actions.

The action had made it possible, even for a short period of time, to change the focus of the reproach to Holocaust and re-direct it from commemorating the victims, to those who are near us, and in us, and who for 55 long years live with their horrible memories.

With some persons, the reminding of the events provoked trauma and shocks, and many applicants insisted on giving information about their family members killed in Holocaust.

Special value of the humanitarian actions is also in renewing of the memories on Holocaust and that the inter-generation gap has been reduces, while the interest in getting knowledge about Holocaust has increased.

Humanitarian relief has arrived "in the last minute" since only during the action itself about 60 Holocaust survivors died.



***RDC Jewish community Zagreb***  
**Research and Documentation Center**  
**of the Holocaust victims and survivors in Croatia**

RDC is established by the Grant No 82-6111-1 Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany

It is a great pleasure to announce to all concerned institutions, researcher and individuals that a Research and Documentation Center for the Holocaust in Croatia (victims and survivors) had been founded.

Recent research on Jewish population in Croatia, and especially recent humanitarian work with Holocaust survivors, has demonstrated that many data, documents and archives about the Holocaust victims and survivors in Croatia are missing, incomplete and part of them are not available.

The specific objectives of the Center are to collect, preserve and research the material and documents about the Holocaust victims and survivors in Croatia, establishment a data base and collect a testimonies and memories of the Holocaust survivors. Center plans to extend activities with education, publicity and research projects that will include a researcher from Croatia and abroad.

*Current research projects:*

- *Data base of the Jews killed in the Holocaust in Croatia (about 12.000 names)*
- *Data base of the Holocaust survivors who now live in Croatia (about 1000)*
- *The Map of the Jewish communities in Croatia that had been destroyed during the Holocaust and the communities that had been renewed (and statistical data)*
- *The Map of the Nazi concentration camps for the Jews in Croatia in NDH and territories that were under Italy or Hungary.*
- *Research of the concentration camps for Jewish women in Croatia and the fate of Jewish women and children in the Second World War*
- *Demographic research of the Jewish population in Croatia ( in the last two centuries)*
- *Research of the humanitarian activities during the time of Holocaust*

We invite all interested Institutions and researcher to give support to the work of this Center, to exchange information, documentation, experience and experts.

Dr. Švob Melita  
Director of the Center

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# Camps in Croatia (NDH)

