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Holocaust With(out) Bullets: The Public and Property of the Jewish People from Šabac and the Kladovo Transport 1941–1944

Abstract: This paper attempts to illustrate the role the municipal authorities in Šabac, which were headed by wartime mayor Branko Petrović, and which were part of Milan Aćimović's collaborationist administration and Milan Nedić's government, played in the process of usurping the right to property of the Jewish people from Šabac and from the Kladovo Transport, initially through the Committee for Registration and Evaluation of Jewish Property, and later through the Commissariat for Jewish Property.

Keywords: Serbia 1941–44, occupation, collaboration, Šabac, Jews, Kladovo Transport, property

'Normalization' of the circumstances

The question of society's attitude towards collaboration during the Second World War is nowadays recognized, in both public and scientific discourses as one what had defined society's towards Yugoslav space in the period between 1941 and 1945, towards socialist Yugoslavia and various forms of fascism in today's society. The analysis of the activities of 'only one' city municipality in the territory of the German occupation zone in Serbia, i.e. of the Municipal Authorities in Šabac, will serve as a case study in order to point out the 'anatomy' of the Holocaust which, regardless of its general features, had certain specific characteristics in different occupation zones across Europe, including those in the Yugoslav state.

Depriving the Jewish people of the right to own property was a part of the official policy of the Third Reich and an aspect of the preparation of 'the Final Solution'. It could be said that *aryanization* of property belonging to the Jews was considered to be one of the first things 'which had to be done'. Although the discriminatory practice against Jews had been present in Germany even before 1935, it was officially legalized by the introduction of racial legislation, i.e. the Nuremberg Laws, on September 15,

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1935 by which the Jewish people were marked as the 'second-class' citizens. The Legislation represented a group of more than 250 laws, regulations and legal acts passed by the official state administration during the existence of the Third Reich and which deprived the Jewish people of their basic civil rights – among others, of the right to property.¹ In this way, depriving the Jewish people of the right to own both movable and immovable property became part of the official policy of the Third Reich that was implemented in all parts of occupied Europe, including the territory of the German occupation zone in Serbia. Since the collaborationist administration in Serbia, initially embodied in the commissariat administration of Milan Aćimović, and later in Milan Nedić's government, was one of the most significant supports in the implementation of the occupier's official policy, it could be said that right after the April War, the re-established organs of the official state apparatus had to take an active role in the implementation of all segments of the occupier's policy. This included the implementation of depriving local Jews, and all those Jews who happened to be in the territory of the German occupation zone in Serbia in April 1941, of the right to own property.

It could be anticipated with certainty that the occupation administration would rely upon the collaborationist apparatus in the implementation of the official policy of the Third Reich on April 17, 1941, when it was pointed out in *The Enforcement Regulations* between the German and Yugoslav armed forces, or to be more precise in Article Twelve of *the Act on the Unconditional Surrender of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*, that the organs of the gendarmerie and police, which had had to leave their peacetime positions, were to be "sent back immediately to their posts and to report for their regular duties to the German occupation troops"². Through Aćimović's commissariat administration, the military commander of Serbia managed to fully re-establish the old apparatus in May 1941. First the municipal administration offices began working,³ including the municipal administration, i.e. the Municipal Authorities, in Šabac, which was headed by Branko Petrović, the war-time mayor of Šabac, until the end of the war. This attitude of the municipal authorities towards the occupiers was likely influenced by the decision of the Yugoslav government, passed during the session of April 11, 1941 in Pale, near Sarajevo, which said that the "Minister of the Internal Affairs" would issue "an instruction to civil servants and citizens to stay in their places". The decision regarding the issuing of 'instructions' became the order of the minister of internal affairs that stated employees of the county prefectures and municipal administrative offices should wait for the German army at their workplaces and that they should be peaceful and loyal to the occupier.⁴

¹ For further information, see: Milan Koljanin, Olga Manojlović Pintar, Radmila Radić, Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Zorica Ivanović, *Poslednje odredište Aušvic*, exhibition catalog, (Beograd: Istorijski muzej Srbije, 2015).

² Muharem Kreso, *Njemačka okupaciona uprava u Beogradu 1941-1944* (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 1979), 80.

³ Group of authors, *Šabac u prošlosti IV* (Šabac: RNIRO Glas Podrinja, Šabac, 1984), 489.

⁴ Ibid.

There are multiple reasons why this paper focuses on analyzing the role of the municipal authorities in Šabac and the citizens who were willing to be at the disposal of the occupation regime in the process of expropriating property that belonged to the Jews and transferring it into the occupier's hands. Firstly, Šabac was a town inhabited by a large Jewish community when Germany and its allies attacked Yugoslavia. Apart from approximately 70⁵ local Jews who were originally from Šabac, a group of more than 1200 Jewish emigrants, who would be remembered as the Jewish people from the Kladovo Transport in *historiography*, had been living in Šabac since September 1940.⁶ Secondly, it was a town that, by June 1941, was registered as the “centre of communist action” in that part of Serbia by the Special Police of the Belgrade City Government.⁷ This and similar estimates, as well as the network of spies established among the local citizens who were supportive of the occupation regime policy,⁸ contributed to the situation in which Šabac was subjected to fascist terror. The activities of the police and security services in the field greatly thwarted the Partisan-Chetnik activity in the autumn of 1941. The joint attack of the Partisans and Chetniks on Šabac in September 1941 was ended by a punitive expedition of the German army, which entered Šabac on September 24, 1941, resulting in massacre of the peasants from Mačva in the town centre at Benska Bara,⁹ establishing the Camp in Jarak¹⁰ and also in establishing the

⁵ According to the data from 1921, Šabac had 9231 citizens, 8430 (91.32 %) out of which were Orthodox Christians. There were 437 (4.73 %) Muslims, 273 (2.96 %) Roman Catholics and 70 (0.76 %) Jews. *Ibid*, 218.

⁶ In historiography, the term Kladovski (Kladovo) Transport is used to denote a group of Austrian, German Jews, i.e. mainly Jews from Berlin, from Danzig (Gdansk) and from Czechoslovakia, who left Vienna in November 1939 in order to reach Palestine on the ships sailing down the Danube and over the Black Sea without a certificate of the British mandate government. They left their countries since, as the members of Jewish population, they had become a target of the anti-Semitic legislation passed in October 1935 (the Nuremberg Laws) and of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration of the Third Reich. When the Second World War started in Yugoslavia, they happened to be in Šabac, where they had been transferred in September 1940, following the orders of Yugoslav authorities. For more information, see: Gabriele Anderl, Walter Manoschek, *Neuspelo bekstvo. Jevrejski Kladovo – transport na putu za Palestinu 1939-42* (Beograd: Jevrejski istorijski muzej, 2004), Andrej Mitrović, ed., *Zbornik radova sa okruglog stola Kladovo transport, Beograd, oktobar 2002* (Beograd: Jevrejski istorijski muzej, 2006), Valter Manošek, *Holokaust u Srbiji. Vojna okupaciona politika i uništavanje Jevreja 1941–1942* (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 2007), Živana Vojinović, *Avramova deca* (Beograd: Orion Art, 2015).

⁷ Istorijski arhiv Beograda, Uprava grada Beograda, Specijalna policija IV – 48, k. 289/12, Komunistička akcija u Mačvi i Pocerini.

⁸ On October 20, 1941, the Department of the Special Police of the Belgrade City Government demanded the Head of the Pocerje County to “act upon the order of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs regarding the central register of the communists in Serbia” and to check 132 people who had previously been marked, primarily based on the pre-war police records and tip-offs of the police spies in Šabac, as “communist leaders in Šabac and in the surrounding area” and to send general and personal information “as soon as possible”. *Ibid*.

⁹ September 29 and 30, 1941.

¹⁰ All male citizens of Šabac between 14 and 70 years of age were taken out of the town on September 26, 1941. They were kept in an improvised camp out in the open in the village of Jarak in Srem until September 30, 1941, when they were taken back into the town and sent to the newly established Camp on Senjak or to Kasarske Livade, where the citizens were to be checked and divided into those who could be sent back home and those who were suspicious and had to be kept in the camp. For more information on the concentration camps in Šabac and the surrounding area during the Second World War, see Stanoje Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu* (Novi Sad: Novinsko preduzeće Dnevnik, 1967).

Concentration Camp on the River Sava in Šabac.¹¹ All these factors, particularly the 'pacification' of the town by mass intimidation and mass executions, the foundation of the Concentration Camp on the River Sava, which was preceded by the foundation of the Jewish camp and later of the Transit Camp in Kasarske Livade, contributed to the situation in which the occupation regime looked for a loyal ally in the municipal authorities of Šabac which would unconditionally implement the occupier's policy.

Collaborators

The first order of the military commander in Serbia that, among others, infringed upon the rights of Jewish people to own property was the *Decree Concerning the Jews and Gypsies*. Issued on May 30, 1941 by the Military Commander of Serbia, the decree usurped the right of Jews to handle their property in the manner allowed other citizens. The decree marked the beginning of the expropriation of property of Jewish people in German occupied Serbia, including Jews who resided in Šabac and the ones who happened to be there at the time. Owing to the collection kept in the Intermunicipal Historical Archives in Šabac, where the documents of the municipal authorities¹² from the wartime period are kept, it is not difficult to establish that the Jewish people in Šabac¹³ registered their property on June 10, 1941.

Putting those Jewish people who happened to be in Šabac when the war in Yugoslavia started into concentration camps was only partly completed by July 20, 1941,¹⁴ when Jewish emigrants were imprisoned in one of the first concentration camps established in German-occupied Serbian territory, the Jewish Camp on the River Sava near Šabac. Soon afterwards, on August 22, dozens of the Jewish people from Šabac¹⁵ who had remained in their houses joined them there. Putting all Jews who happened to be in Šabac in the concentration camp in April 1941 ended in the mass shooting of all male Jews in the village of Zasavica in Mačva on October 12 and 13, 1941 and in suffocating all women and children in a gas van, i.e. a mobile gas chamber, in Belgrade by May 10, 1942.¹⁶ The act of putting these people in concentra-

¹¹ The camp on the River Sava in Šabac was established in the second half of January 1942. Its precursor was the Jewish camp on the River Sava which had existed from the middle of July 1941 to the second half of January 1942. The concentration camp on the River Sava in Šabac existed until the liberation of the town in October 1944. Ibid.

¹² Živana Vojinović, a journalist and screenplay writer for the film *Šabački jevreji* [*The Jewish People from Šabac*, 2011] directed by Stevan Marinković, was the first to point out the significance of the documents kept within the Collection of the municipal authorities of the Intermunicipal Historical Archives in Šabac in her book *Avramova deca* [*The Children of Abraham*].

¹³ The Jewish emigrants did not own any immovable property.

¹⁴ Grigorije – Gliša Babović, *Dnevnik 1941–1945*, (Ruma, Šabac: Srpska knjiga, Šabačko-valjevska eparhija, JIP Glas Podrinja, 2005), 90.

¹⁵ Ibid, 113.

¹⁶ The Jewish women and children from Šabac and from the Kladovo Transport were transferred from the Jewish Camp on the River Sava to the Jewish Camp in Zemun on January 26, 1942.

tion camps, and their subsequent tragic end, represented the first actions in 'finding new owners' for their property.

The Committee for Registration and Evaluation of Jewish Property was established on August 22, 1941.¹⁷ It developed into the Commissariat for Jewish Property by the beginning of September 1941. The position of the supervisor of the Jewish property or the Commissioner-manager of the Jewish property, with a monthly salary of 3000 dinars, was given to Jefta Kujundžić, a clerk of the municipal authorities in Šabac. Kujundžić's task was to "look after the Jewish property and the income from their immovable property".¹⁸ Actually, the task of the Commissariat for Jewish Property was to pay the money obtained by renting and selling the property that belonged to the Jews¹⁹ into the account of the German state on a monthly basis at the State Mortgage Bank, which had its branch office in Šabac.²⁰

August 1942 saw considerable changes as far as handling of the immovable property once belonging to Jews was concerned. On August 28, Nedić's government passed *The Legal Act on Appropriation of Jewish Property by Serbia*. All immovable property that belonged to the Jews that had not been sold by that time fell into the hands of the Serbian state.²¹ It was at that point that Serbian authorities began implementing the *aryanization* of property that had once belonged to Serbian citizen of Jewish origin, on their own volition and without any interference by the occupation apparatus. In accordance with the act, the Serbian state seized 1223 pieces of real estate, 443 out of which were sold to Nedić's associates and supporters for ridiculously low prices at tentative auctions.²² Mayor Petrović himself managed to 'acquire' property, at 36 Karađorđeva Street in Šabac.²³

¹⁷ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 165/1941, Naredenje Predsednika Gradskog poglavarstva u Šapcu o obrazovanju Komisije za popis i procenu jevrejske imovine, Avgust 22, 1941.

¹⁸ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 172/1941, Dopis Predsednika Opštinske uprave Okružnoj komandi 847 u Šapcu, September 5, 1941.

¹⁹ By the Legal Act of July 22, 1941 all Jewish property was confiscated on the behalf of the Third Reich. The general jurisdiction over Jewish property was given to the special trust within the Office of the General Authorized Representative for Economy, which was headed by Franz Neuhausen. The movable property of the Jewish people, i.e. their personal belongings and valuables, were placed under the control of the German operative troop Sipo-SD.

²⁰ The historian Vesna Aleksić notes points out that all money made by renting, selling and from the outstanding debts of Jewish debtors was deposited at the Bankverein Bank A. G. (a domestic bank which became a branch office of the Deutsche Bank in Serbia in 1941), <http://www.novimagazin.rs/vesti/arizacija-i-holokaust-pljacka-jevreja-u-srbiji>, accessed June 2017.

²¹ *Službene novine*, 69, August 28, 1942.

²² <http://www.novimagazin.rs/vesti/arizacija-i-holokaust-pljacka-jevreja-u-srbiji>, accessed June 2017.

²³ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 224/1943, Dopis Feldkomandanture 816 u Šapcu Jefti Kujundžiću na ime predmeta: Upravljanje jevrejskom imovinom, February 23, 1943.

Bystanders

Analysis of the collaborationist administration's attitude towards the property of citizens of Jewish origin raises another important issue – that of the attitude of the wider community of so-called 'ordinary citizens', i.e. bystanders, both in regards to Jewish property and to the Holocaust itself, the latter as genocide against Jewish people in the Second World War. It is essential to introduce the concept of *bystander* into the analysis of the role which the Šabac municipal authorities played as a part of the collaborationist administration in usurping the right of the Jewish people to own property in order to draw attention to the process of the normalization of crime which was committed under the circumstances of anti-fascist rebellion and brutal terror²⁴ on the one hand, but which, on the other, was a precondition for 'accepting the destiny' of Jewish people as a normal part of the occupation.

Anti-Semitic propaganda, i.e. messages, directed against citizens of Jewish origin, was present in public space from the very beginning of the war. The first message of this kind appeared in Šabac on May 9, 1941, when all Jewish shops were marked with special markings and symbols.²⁵ A month later, i.e. on June 13 of the same year, the citizens of Šabac stopped being treated by the doctors and dentists of the Jewish origin. This message was particularly noticeable in public, as all doctor's' and dentist's' offices 'owned by Jews' were affixed with signs informing that from then on they could only be visited by other Jews, i.e. that the 'Aryans' were not allowed to go into them.²⁶ At the same time, people from Šabac employed as civil servants stopped seeing their Jewish colleagues at work. A month later, on July 14, 1941, it was clear to the citizens of Šabac that after they could no longer see their Jewish neighbours at green grocers, markets, hairdressers, barber shops and dentists' and doctors' offices, they would also no longer see them in public places such as restaurants, theatres, cinemas, and sporting events.²⁷ Taking the first group of the Jews to the Jewish Concentration Camp on the River Sava in mid July of that year intensified anti-Semitic propaganda in public space. On July 30, Grigorije Gliša Babović, a chronicler from Šabac²⁸ and the author of one of the most important historical sources used for the reconstruction of the life of its citizens during the occupation, wrote: "Yesterday the Germans started painting the sign of their victory in Šabac as well: Victoria, i.e. the V sign". Under the same date Babović observed that the entirety of "Šabac was covered by posters". Describing the subject matter of one of the posters he wrote: "Tree stumps and below it says: This is what a forest looks like after the

²⁴ For more information, see: Milan Ristović, "Progonjeni i njihovi saučesnici. Solidarnost i pomoć Jevrejima u Srbiji 1941–1944," in *Izraelsko-srpska naučna saradnja u proučavanju Holokausta*, (Jerusalim: Jad Vašem, 2008), 169–208.

²⁵ Babović, *Dnevnik 1941–1945*, 67.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 77.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 85.

²⁸ Sanja Petrović Todosijević, ed., *Letopis Šapca 1933–1944* (Beograd, Šabac: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, Biblioteka šabačka, 2010).

Jewish people have gone through it”²⁹ Only a few days later, on August 6, a caricature showing a Jewish man keeping Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt on a leash was painted on the facade of the National Bank building in Šabac, in the very centre of the town.³⁰

From the beginning of the war, men and women from Šabac were witnesses to the anti-Semitic propaganda directed towards the Jewish people and intended for the needs of ‘pacification’ and preparation of the local populace for what was about to happen. Public humiliation and physical violence against the Jews occurred in front of everybody. Starting from May 10, 1941 the citizens of Šabac saw their Jewish neighbors wearing yellow armbands, with a drawing of the Star of David, everywhere in public.³¹ In less than a month Jews were taken out and subjected to forced labour.³² They could be seen doing so until the end of January 1942, when Jewish women and children were sent to the Jewish Camp in Zemun. In August 1941 the citizens of Šabac became witnesses to the first act of the fascist terror inflicted on both Jewish people and those who held different political views when, on the morning of August 21, they saw the dead bodies of their fellow citizens hanging from lampposts and telephone poles in the town centre. Among the dead was the body of Dr Alfred Koen, a distinguished Jewish doctor from Šabac, which hung right in front of the caricature depicting a Jewish man holding the anti-fascistic coalition leaders on a leash. That same day citizens observed Jewish people performing their forced labour, which included hanging the bodies of the shot people from the lampposts before taking them down again and transporting them in an open wagon to the cemetery in Donji Šor.³³ On the very next day, citizens witnessed the remaining Jews from Šabac, being taken away to the Jewish Concentration Camp on the River Sava³⁴ where the Jewish people from the Kladovo Transport had already been for a month. The citizens of Šabac could also hear quite accurate ‘rumours’ about how their former neighbours, colleagues and school friends died. Babović noted in his journal only two days after the execution of the Jewish men in Zasavica that “there has been a rumour round the town that all Jewish men over the age of 14 were taken away in a train through the village of Klenak and further away and shot down”. On May 14, 1942 Babović wrote: “For a while, the news has been spread round Šabac that even the Jewish women – who were sent from Šabac to the Concentration Camp near Zemun this winter – were all dead. That so many of them had died due to harsh winter spent in wooden huts and poor food (three potatoes a day), that they had taken them out in trucks and buried. And those who survived – they were killed by suffocating gas.”³⁵

²⁹ Babović, *Dnevnik 1941–1945*, 94.

³⁰ Ibid, 96.

³¹ Ibid, 67.

³² Gliša Babović wrote about the Jewish people he saw doing forced labour on several dates: on June 8, 1941, July 5, 1941, August 21, 1941, November 6, 1941, and December 13, 1941.

³³ Babović, *Dnevnik 1941–1945*, 110–11.

³⁴ Ibid, 113.

³⁵ Ibid, 349.

In the years of poverty and deprivation, the property of Jews from Šabac and from the Kladovo Transport was not only very tempting, but it also seemed to be a significant source of income. The very fact that it was the property of individuals who had been outlawed as members of the Jewish people, and then taken to the concentration camp to be killed, i.e. of the people who could not defend their right to own property, encouraged many people to adopt a more 'flexible' attitude towards it.

Serbian refugees from the Independent State of Croatia are mentioned as the first users of the property left behind by primarily Jewish people from Šabac; there were approximately 2000 of them in the town in June 1941.³⁶ For this reason, one of the first tasks of the Committee for Registration and Evaluation of Jewish Property was to lock the apartments, and then rent them to the refugees, before deciding upon the rent amounts. The refugees who rented the Jewish apartments were obligated by law to "take Jewish things in their custody and look after them" until the decision was made about "collective storage of all Jewish thing which had been left behind and registered in Jewish apartments". Renting the apartments of Jewish people from Šabac was a significant contribution to 'solving' the problem of refugees, which is why the municipal authorities in Šabac resorted to it for a long time. Refugees used both immovable and movable property that had belonged to the Jews, which was largely sold out by the end of June 1942. On June 12, 1942 the head of the mayor of Šabac ordered the Commissioner of Jewish property to organize a sale of the remaining movable property that had belonged to the Jews according to the "verbal order by Feldkomandanture" with a remark that he should 'do his best' to sell the property "to the refugees, who have already been using this property,³⁷ and then to the people whose property burnt down during the communist attack on Šabac".³⁸

Men and women from Šabac were also interested in buying the movable property that had belonged to the Jews at the sale organized in Šabac in the second half of June 1942.³⁹

Many pieces of real estate seized from the Jews of Šabac, many of which were sold later, had been a regular source of income for some of the towns people, who performed maintenance work on them. The obligations of the municipal authorities, i.e. the Commissariat for Jewish Property, regarding the property of Jewish people from Šabac were numerous. Apart from the fact that they were responsible for renting the immovable property, they also had to maintain it. In addition, they were required to maintain the movable property, which they were planning to sell. Property maintenance required a large number of citizens to be hired to do certain jobs for certain

³⁶ Most of the refugees came from the territories which were a part of the Independent State of Croatia (Bosnia, Srem, Croatia), but there were also a significant number of refugees from Bačka. *Ibid*, 76.

³⁷ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 192/1942, Naređenje Predsednika Gradskog poglavarstva u Šapcu Jefiti Kujundžiću, činovniku Gradskog poglavarstva i upravniku jevrejske imovine prema usmenom naređenju Feldkomandanture u Šapcu u vezi sa rasprodajom zaostale jevrejske pokretne imovine, June 12, 1942; It was the movable property which was in the Jewish apartments which the refugees rented.

³⁸ *Ibid*; September 1941.

³⁹ Vojinović, *Avramova deca*, 442.

wages. The money needed for paying the wages for jobs done on various Jewish property was made by renting said properties. Based on the saved the “account statement showing the income and expenses of the Jewish property in Šabac in December 1941” it can be concluded that all ‘Jewish property’ for which the rent had been paid for December 1941 fully covered the monthly salary of the Commissariat for Jewish property.⁴⁰ Apart from that, the money earned by renting the property was used to finance all ‘unexpected’ expenses of the Jewish community that had been in the Jewish Concentration Camp on the River Sava since August 1941. The costs of making the coffin for Rašela Adižes,⁴¹ a daughter of the rabbi from Šabac, who had died in the Sava concentration camp in winter 1941, were paid with the rent collected from the Jewish property in December 1941. Itemized expenses including the commissioner’s salary for December 1941 amounted to 3790 dinars. Bearing in mind the fact that the rent money collected for the same month and from which the expenses and the Commissioner’s salary were paid amounted to 14380 dinars, it can be concluded that more than a quarter of the money collected from renting and selling the property of the Jews from Šabac and the Kladovo Transport was spent on the salary of this municipal employee, the Commissioner, and on the fees paid to the local people.

Maintenance work done on the immovable and movable property of Jews from Šabac and the Kladovo Transport required hiring local people to do various jobs for certain fees. Based on the saved receipts issued by the Commissariat for Jewish Property, we can see that the fees ranged between 20 and 900 dinars, depending on the type and difficulty of the service provided. None of the fees paid amounted to the average clerical salary, which ranged between 2000 and 4000 dinars. Depending on the amount, the fees paid could cover some expenses, primarily everyday expenses.⁴² The amount of 20 dinars was paid on several occasions for: “fixing the lock and making a new key to the office of doctor Alfred Koen at 3 Masarikova Street”,⁴³ “sweeping and cleaning the chimney of the former Jewish Community Church building in Šabac,

⁴⁰ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 175/1941, Izvod računa o kretanju prihoda i rashoda u mesecu decembru 1941 godine sa Jevrejskih imanja u Šapcu, December 31, 1941.

⁴¹ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 192/1942, Umrlica Rašele Adižes, December 20, 1941; Rašela Adižes died of pneumonia and peritonitis in the Jewish Concentration Camp on the River Sava in December 1941. The autopsy was performed by the specialist for internal diseases and roentgen, Dr Manojlo Stojanović, who issued a death certificate on December 20, 1941. The death certificate was issued for the purpose of ordering a coffin, i.e. organizing the funeral, which was prepared and paid for with the money made from the Jewish property. The funeral (without ceremony) was held at the Jewish cemetery in Šabac.

⁴² According to Gliša Babović, the prices of victuals were: bread with 60% of corn four was 4.5 dinars, wheat flour bread was 5 dinars, a litre of milk was 4 dinars, 1 kilo of strawberries or cherries was 6 to 10 dinars, 1 kilo of pears was 6 to 8 dinars, a melon was 10 dinars, a watermelon was 20 dinars, 1 kilo of grapes was 25 dinars, one beer was 10 dinars, a litre of wine was 18 to 20 dinars, a litre of grape-brandy was 26 dinars, a litre of extra strong brandy was 45 dinars, 1 kilo of beef was 33 dinars, 1 kilo of pork was 35 dinars, a pair of chickens was 50 to 70 dinars, a pair of geese was 160 dinars, a pair of turkeys was 240 dinars, lard was 70 dinars, 1 kilo of coffee was 400 dinars, a cord of wood was 850 to 1000 dinars, a pair of peasant footwear was 700 to 800 dinars, shoes were 1500 dinars, etc.; See in: Babović, *Dnevnik 1941–1945*.

⁴³ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 175/1941, Priznanica, January 2, 1942; The money was given to Živan Novaković.

which was at number 7 Vlade Jovanovića Street”⁴⁴ and “evaluation of the immovable properties – the things of the late Naum Gidić, the former salesman from Šabac, which were kept in the storehouse at 98 Masarikova Street”.⁴⁵ The two highest fees were charged by Svetozar Trifunović, in the amount of 800 dinars for “the work done on insuring the Jewish property”⁴⁶ and by the agent of the insurance company called “Jugoslavija”, in the amount of 899 dinars “paid on the account of the fire insurance for the Jewish property of Dr Alfred Koen” in Masarikova Street in Šabac.⁴⁷

Conclusion

Depriving Jewish people of the right to own property, and confiscating their property, represented one phase in implementing the Holocaust throughout Europe, including occupied Serbia. The policy formulated in the phrase ‘the Final Solution’ represented a segment of the official policy which the occupier implemented in Serbia from April 1941 until the liberation in October 1944. Serbia’s collaborationist administration provided significant support to the occupation regime in the realization of the official policy of the Third Reich, including policies directed against Jewish people. As a part of the collaborationist administration, the Šabac municipal government played an active role in implementing the official policy of the occupation regime, including the process of usurping the right of the Jewish people from Šabac and the Kladovo Transport to own property, and actively confiscating their property. The activities initially performed by the Committee for Registration and Evaluation of Jewish Property, and later by the Commissariat for Jewish Property, point to the role of the municipal authorities in the implementation of one of the phases in the realization of the Holocaust in German occupied Serbia. The employees of the commissariat played a significant role not only in registering and evaluating the Jewish property, but also in its exploitation, which started with the act of taking all Jewish people from Šabac and the Kladovo Transport to concentration camp at the end of August 1941. All activities regarding renting and selling the property that belonged to Jews were done through the institution of the municipal authorities, i.e. the Commissariat for Jewish Property, initially to the benefit of the Third Reich, and starting from August 1942 to the benefit of the Serbian state as well. The analysis of the activities of the domestic authorities in usurping the basic human rights of their ‘former’ fellow citizens, colleagues and neighbours sheds light on the aspect of the Holocaust which is often overlooked but which unequivocally shows the power of the Holocaust as a normalized crime, the one which was to be represented to contemporaries as a completely ordinary segment of the occupation in the years of radical terror and anti-fascist resistance, poverty, deprivation and famine.

⁴⁴ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo, Priznanica, May 15, 1942.

⁴⁵ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 175/1941, Priznanica, November 21, 1941.

⁴⁶ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 174/1941, Priznanica, October 18, 1941.

⁴⁷ MIAŠ, Gradsko poglavarstvo 228/1943, Priznanica, February 10, 1943.

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