

TEACHING MODERN SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN HISTORY
ALTERNATIVE EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

WORKBOOK 4

The Second World War



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Alternative Educational Materials

The Second World War

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Alternative Educational Materials

WORKBOOK 4

The Second World War

Edited by

KREŠIMIR ERDELJA

Series editor

CHRISTINA KOULOURI

SECOND EDITION

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Introduction

According to the historian Mark Mazower, “no experience was more crucial to the development of Europe in the twentieth century [than the Second World War]... it was a struggle for the social and political future of the continent itself... We cannot hope to understand the subsequent course of European history without attending to this enormous upheaval and trying to ascertain its social and political consequences. The years of Nazi occupation, followed by the chaos of the immediate post-war period, sundered human ties, destroyed homes and communities, and in many cases uprooted the very foundations of society.”

Although historians take a number of factors into account when examining the events that lead up to World War II; namely that, after World War I, the populations of the countries that had lost believed that they had been treated unjustly by the victors, that democracy in many European countries was fragile and that the international economic crisis of the 1930s struck the continent severely. However, the aggressive imperialist policy of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Japan is considered to be, by almost all historians, the main cause of World War II.

The focus of this collection of historical sources has been chosen through geographically defined parameters and is limited to the region of South-East Europe. Unlike Mussolini, in whose plans for the expansion of the Italian Empire, the Balkan territory was an essential, if not major part (the Italian army invaded Albania in 1939 and Greece towards the end of 1940), this region didn't stand high on Hitler's list of priorities, at least not where the potential engagement of the German army was concerned. Bearing in mind the great Nazi plans for expansion to the east and the occupation of greater swathes of territory, a military operation in South-East Europe would have meant an unnecessary expenditure of men and resources. Diplomatic pressure on the countries intimidated (or impressed) by the strength of the German Blitzkrieg should have been enough to ensure German supremacy and collaboration. Matters seemed to be developing in that direction at first: German control was established over the Hungarian and Romanian resources through diplomatic pressure, and Bulgaria and Yugoslavia entered the Tripartite Pact at the beginning of 1941. Political orientations, the reopening of accounts by extreme nationalists and the fears of war or communism led these Balkan countries to shift from a position of neutrality to a pro-Nazi stance.

Albania was left to Italy, and Greece was finally placed under Nazi control. Hitler's military operation became inevitable after Mussolini's failure to subjugate Greece and the British decision to send troops. When the armed forces staged a successful coup in Belgrade overthrowing the government that had signed Yugoslavia into the Tripartite Pact a few days earlier, Hitler ordered the Wehrmacht to invade it along with Greece. Simultaneously, and to some extent, prior to the coup, a portion of the population expressed their frustration through public demonstrations towards the preparations made by Yugoslavia to enter the Tripartite Pact and, later on, towards the act itself. These events carry both symbolic and moral significance by providing us with the first example of public opposition towards the decision of a government to join the Tripartite Pact. In addition to the moral and symbolic importance of these public protests, the unprecedented events had military ramifications. According to some historians, Hitler's decision to attack South-East Europe was actually a nervous reaction to these protests. To a certain extent, this reaction changed the direction of World War II by delaying the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. Therefore, a hypothetical question can be asked: what course would the war have taken had German troops arrived in Moscow in September 1941 and not in November 1941?

By the middle of 1941, all of the Balkan States except for Turkey were either under Nazi occupation or allied to the Nazis. Yugoslavia was fragmented: Croatia (with Bosnia-Herzegovina as one of its regions) became a puppet-state of the Axis powers, while the rest of the country was divided into occupation zones under Italian, Ger-

man, Hungarian and Bulgarian rule. Greece was also divided into three occupation zones under Italian, German and Bulgarian rule. The fact that Turkey tried to retain its neutrality by signing the Turkish-German Amity Treaty in June 1941 suggests that it had adopted a position leaning towards the Axis powers.

Hitler's racial beliefs and the idea of industrialising mass murder led to the killing of five to six million European Jews by the end of the war. Other ethnic groups such as the Roma and the Slavs were also included in Hitler's racial policies, but the systematic nature of what he called the "Final Solution" demarcates the Nazi approach to "the Jewish Problem" from the general treatment of minorities making it a case apart, worthy of separate examination. In the Balkans, as in other European countries, the Nazi occupation brought to the surface and deliberately exploited the tensions simmering between different ethnic groups and offered some minorities the opportunity to avenge their oppression or redress grievances. Thus, the Independent State of Croatia, for example, which won independence by becoming a puppet-state of the Axis powers and was ruled by an extreme nationalist party, the Ustasas, persecuted the Serbs and Jews. This phenomenon was not limited to one area; elsewhere too, extreme nationalist groups embarked on programmes of demographic "engineering". The Nazis and those supporting them in the Balkans led to a transformation of the ethnic composition of the area. The Jewish population dropped from 856,000 in 1930 to under 50,000 in 1950. After the war, hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans were expelled from Yugoslavia and deported from Romania, while Slavs and Albanians fled northern Greece.

By the end of the 1930s, right-wing dictatorships had replaced democratic governments everywhere in the Balkans and the Communist parties had been banned. But Balkan dictatorships differed from the fascist regimes in that mass parties failed to survive in the region, perhaps with the exception of the only real grassroots movement and fascist appeal in the region – that of Codreanu in Romania. The devastating shock of total war and the flight of some heads of state into exile swept away the pre-war political elites. The Nazi occupation underlined the inability of the state to protect its civilians from violence, malnutrition and deprivation. The shock of living under a regime of unprecedented and systematic violence coupled with the intensity of suffering and destruction which struck civilians over the six-year period, profoundly transformed all European societies, but particularly those of South-Eastern Europe, where the Nazi policies of expropriation and reprisals led to terrible conditions. Thus, it was mainly hunger and terror that initially drove many to fight against the Nazis, but these spurs to action were later supplemented by ideological and political considerations. In addition to their military importance (although different in each country), resistance movements had an enormous political and moral impact. An egalitarian and morally elevated vision of the post-war world and the goal of a fairer distribution of wealth were shared by the majority of resistance movements. Resistance movements, however, were fragmented, and under the conditions of uncertainty and ideological confusion which the war produced, infighting ensued within almost every group, often to the point of civil war. As resistance movements burgeoned after 1943, they provoked reprisals by collaborationist militias thereby inciting another sort of civil war in many countries. However, by 1944, mass resistance movements, dominated by communists, seemed ready to take over power once the Nazis withdrew in many countries.

Powers outside of the South-East Europe region, however, were working towards their own ends, and despite the growing strength of the resistance, had other plans for the Balkans which held little regard for the self-determination of the States or people. In October 1944, at the same time as these mass movements were poised to take power, Churchill and Stalin agreed on postwar spheres of influence in South-East Europe. Greece was to come under British control; the rest, with the exception of Yugoslavia for which the deal was 50:50, would be left to the Soviet Union. The Greek communists were finally defeated after a long civil war (1946-1949). In Yugoslavia and Albania, communist partisans quickly seized power. Bulgaria and Romania suffered under the occupation by Soviet troops who imposed communist regimes. By the end of the 1940s, the division of Europe into two zones was complete and wartime enmities had been transmuted under the pressure of the Cold War.

From today's perspective, it is obvious that World War II was much more than a series of battles and diplomatic negotiations (although unfortunately, this is very often the main, and sometimes the only, impression that students get from their textbooks). Apart from the military component, World War II displayed some of the characteristics of religious, ethnic and racial conflict. As mentioned previously, in some countries this led to civil war. The conflict between the resistance movements and the collaborationist forces who often propagated Nazi methods, cruelty and ideology was often a causative element. Such examples can be also found in South-East Europe and thereby, in this collection of historical sources. This, however, does not mean that we may, even for a minute, forget who the main villains were, neither can we allow them to abnegate responsibility for the evil done to the Balkan nations and peoples. The Nazi accountability for starting the war and, thereby, its consequences, cannot be diminished, not to mention, disputed. However, bearing in mind the criminal character of the Nazi regime that started the war, the fact remains that the political elites in many countries leaned towards the Nazis. It is evident that many among these elites exploited the opportunity (under Hitler's cover) to settle old disputes with their neighbours, revise the order installed by the Versailles Treaty, dispose of an "embarrassing" minority, or enlarge their own lands and accumulate assets. It is also apparent that these elites did not suddenly appear out of nowhere, nor could they have emerged from a vacuum. There were open, as well as, hidden Nazi sympathisers in most of the countries of the region along with levels of tacit consent for Nazi ideology, and a latent predisposition towards racially divisive philosophies. When a country either joined the Tripartite Pact, or was occupied by Nazi-Fascists, sympathisers would seize the opportunity to show their loyalty to the Nazi regime and their acceptance of the foundations of Nazi ideology. This uncompromising consent paved the way for the Nazis and contributed to the ensuing brutality.

Our intention here is to provide students with a multi-layered presentation of World War II. Consequently, a comparatively small number of sources within this Workbook deal with war operations. In taking this approach, we had no intention of minimising the military importance of the resistance movements in South-East Europe, nor the great contribution made by the region in the overthrow of Fascism and Nazism. Our aim was rather to shed light, at least partially, on the aspects of life during war which are not often presented in students' textbooks in accordance with the wishes and suggestions of the teachers who use them when teaching. Namely, it is well known that in most textbooks in South-East Europe, political history is given pre-eminence and this is generally the case with World War II. Other aspects that are at least equally important and definitely more interesting to students, such as, for example, everyday life, the status of women and children, cultural life, the echo of the war on literature and the other branches of art, love in wartime, and so on, are mostly neglected and we find only traces of them.

This collection contains sources from 11 countries of South-East Europe. This has its advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage in collecting historical sources conceived as such, is that it enables students to gain a multi-perspective insight into this historical period. The view of a certain historical period, from two or more different points should be, not only interesting, but also explicitly useful. Students are offered the opportunity to read and analyse how the same problem, incident or process is/was looked upon in their regional neighbourhood.

On one hand, through the analysis of the sources, students will find striking similarities, in many cases, of poverty, famine, uncertainty, and of the great suffering that marked the whole of South-Eastern Europe during that period. On the other hand, they will also come across some opposing and contradictory sources which treat the same issue from completely different points of view or in a quite different way from the one found in their textbooks. In such cases, our suggestion is not necessarily to ask students to judge which source is correct, truthful or at least closest to the truth. It will be sufficient for us to see students becoming aware of the fact that some historical incidents and processes are not unambiguous, as they might be presented in their

textbooks. Namely, in some countries of South-East Europe, the teaching of history (and history textbooks have this conception) is subsequently based on the notion of a single truth, so it is an exception for students to have contradictory sources. With this in mind, we are aware that among those teachers and students who may be unaccustomed to finding contradictory, opposing sources in their textbooks and/or history teaching in general, a collection of sources based on a multi-perspective approach might provoke a certain disorientation, even rejection. We are, however, of the opinion that without a multi-perspective approach there is no real, high quality study, comprehension and knowledge of history. Without this approach, the latter becomes merely data memorisation.

Nevertheless, the collection of sources conceived in this way has a significant defect. Taking into consideration the fact that in the restricted area of this collection there are textual and visual materials from 11 countries of South-East Europe, it is obvious that it does not provide a complete picture of World War II. To expect it to do so would be pretentious at the very least. We were aware of this since the very beginning of this project, it was therefore necessary to make a selection of topics, e.g. choose only some of the numerous aspects of World War II, and neglect others, though not any less important, by not mentioning them. Besides choosing topics which are seldomly presented in textbooks, the other significant criterion concerning the selection of sources was a methodological one. We tried to include as many sources as possible which could provoke some sort of emotional reaction in our students (anger, shock, sympathy, admiration, laughter...). Common people's destinies – tragic, heroic, funny – often give us a better, more lifelike picture of cruel times than proclamations, political statements or diplomatic reports. The latter are, however, a part of this collection and we naturally have no intention of depriving them of their value.

In short, our intention is to offer our students and fellow teachers a somewhat different multi-perspective view on a gloomy period of our history, hoping that this collection of sources will also lead to a better understanding because, in spite of transparency and the simplicity of the events in World War II, (where the moral component - the obvious distinction between good and evil is concerned), some South-East European countries still create artificial doubts on this matter given that the leading roles in most of the resistance movements were held by communists. In addition, in both world and European history, the Western perspective has marginalised the role played by South-East Europe in World War II and has sometimes subordinated it to long-lasting stereotypes on the region. We think that this collection of documents will contribute to a more comprehensive discernment of our history as part of the history of humanity.

Chronology

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1939	April		7 Italians invade Albania. 12 Albanian Constituent Assembly proclaims the Personal Union with Italy and Victor Emanuel III as King of Albania. The Italians set up a puppet fascist government under Shefqet Verlaci and soon absorbs Albania's military and diplomatic service into that of Italy.
	August	23 Soviet-German "Ribbentrop-Molotov" Pact includes a secret agreement to future Soviet occupation of Romanian Bessarabia.	
	September	1 Germany invades Poland. 3 Britain and France declare war against Germany. 17 Soviet Union invades Poland.	7 Romania declares its neutrality. 15 Bulgaria declares its neutrality.
	October		19 Turkey, France and Britain sign the Ankara Treaty to aid one another if they were attacked by a European power in the Mediterranean.
1940	February		15 New royalist government of Bulgaria led by Professor Bogdan Filov.
	April	9 Germany invades Denmark and Norway.	
	May	10 Germany invades Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg; Winston Churchill becomes Prime Minister of Great Britain. 12 Germany invades France.	
	June	10 Italy declares war on Britain and France. 22 France signs armistice with the Axis powers.	26-27 Romania cedes Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, subsequent to a Soviet ultimatum.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1940	August		10 Antisemitic law in Romania. 30 Under German and Italian pressure, Romania surrenders northern Transylvania to Hungary.
	September	13 Italy invades Egypt. 27 Japan joins the Axis Alliance.	4 Ion Antonescu is appointed President of the Council of Ministers of Romania. 6 Charles II abdicates in favor of his son Michael I; the <i>de facto</i> ruler of Romania is 'Conducator' Ion Antonescu. 7 Craiova agreement. Rumania returns South Dobruja to Bulgaria.
	October		12 The German Army enters into Romania as "military advisors". 28 Italy invades Greece using Albania as a base.
	November	5 Roosevelt reelected US President. 11 British defeat Italian fleet at Taranto. 20 Hungary joins Axis Alliance.	Bulgaria refuses to join the Axis, to attack Greece and to sign a guarantee pact with the USSR. 14 Greek troops counter attack on the Albanian front taking all major towns in Southern Albania from the Italians within a month. 23 Romania joins the Axis Alliance. 25 Turkey declares Martial law in a zone covering Istanbul, Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, Çanakkale and Kocaeli. 30 Blackout starts in Istanbul.
	December	9 British troops begin to drive the Italians out of Egypt.	Pro-fascist bills are voted by the Bulgarian Parliament: Bill for the Organization of Bulgarian Youths and the Antisemitic Bill for the Protection of the Nation. 19 Assistance materials sent from Turkey to Greece via Kurtuluş (Independence) Cargo Boat.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1941	January	19 British invade Eritrea	20 Bulgarian Cabinet votes for signing the Tripartite Pact. 21-23 Iron Guard (fascist) rebellion in Romania, defeated by General Antonescu.
	February		8 Germany and Bulgaria sign military pact. 17 Bulgarian-Turkish declaration of neutrality.
	March	11 U.S. starts supplying war materials to Britain and other allies. 24 Rommel commences first offensive in Libya.	1 Bulgaria joins the Axis; German armies enter Bulgarian territory. 24 Turkish-Russian Declaration: in case Turkey is attacked by a third party, Soviet-Russia shall maintain its neutrality. 25 Yugoslavia joins the Axis Alliance. 27 Following mass protests, Yugoslav government overthrown in a military coup d'état.
	April	11 German siege of Tobruk begins. 13 The Soviet Union and Japan sign a five-year non-aggression pact.	Failed attempt for a pro-British coup by the leftist Agrarians in Bulgaria. 6 Germany invades Yugoslavia and Greece. 10 Creation of the Independent State of Croatia (ISC), a puppet state under German/Italian domination. 11-15 Hungarian army occupies Bačka in Northern Serbia (Vojvodina). 17 Yugoslav army surrenders. 19 Bulgarian army enters Macedonia, South Eastern Serbia and Aegean Thrace. 23 Greece signs an armistice with Germany. 30 Ante Pavelić issues several decrees on race in the Independent State of Croatia.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1941	May	27 Bismarck sunk; Roosevelt proclaims national emergency because of events in Europe and Africa.	12-13 A group of officers and soldiers of the Second Army, headed by Colonel Dragoljub Mihailović start organising a guerrilla movement on Mt Ravna Gora. 17 Failed assassination attempt on King Victor Emanuel III by the young revolutionary Vasil Laçi (1922-1941) in Tirana. 18 Pavelić and Mussolini sign agreement in Rome: ISC surrenders most of the Croatian coast to Italy. 21-31 The Battle of Crete. The Greek cabinet and the King leave the country and settle in Cairo; Greece is divided into three occupation zones controlled by the German, Italian and Bulgarian armies. 31 Removal of the swastika from the Acropolis: first symbolic act of resistance.
	June	22 Germany, Italy and Romania attack the Soviet Union; Turkey declares its neutrality. 26 Finland declares war on the Soviet Union.	5 A spontaneous uprising against the violence of the Ustasha authorities begins in the vicinity of the town of Gacko, Herzegovina. 18 Turkish-German Amity Treaty of Friendship and non-aggression signed. 22 The first Yugoslav Partisan unit established near Sisak (Croatia), uprising in Croatia begins. 24 Bulgarian Communists start armed resistance. 25 Turkish-German Treaty ratified unanimously by the Turkish National Assembly. 29 Mussolini decrees a "Greater Albania".

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1941	July	12 Britain and the Soviet Union sign a treaty assuring British aid to the Soviets. 24 Japan occupies French Indochina. 26 U.S. halts trade with Japan.	7 Partisan uprising in Serbia begins. 13 Partisan uprising in Montenegro begins. 22 Partisan uprising in Slovenia begins. 27 Partisan uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina begins.
	September	8 Germans lay siege to Leningrad. 19 Germans capture Kiev.	Formation of the three main resistance organisations in Greece: National Democratic Greek Union (EDES), National and Social Liberation (EKKA) and National Liberation Front (EAM). The Ustashe open concentration camp of Jasenovac approximately 100 km south of Zagreb. In Romania, the deportation of more than 100,000 Jews to Transnistria begins, with a large part of them dying due to bad living conditions.
	October	17 Hideki Tojo becomes Prime Minister of Japan.	Mass reprisals of the German occupation authorities against civil population in Serbia. 11 Partisan uprising in Macedonia begins.
	November	18 British launch offensive in Libya.	Beginning of the civil war between the Partisans and the Chetniks in Serbia. 8 Communist party of Albania founded. 13 Germans refuse Chetniks' terms for collaboration against Yugoslav Partisans, in spite of which the Chetniks continue fighting against the Partisans and avoid fighting against the Germans.
	December	5 German march to Moscow halted. 7 Japan bombs Pearl Harbor. 8 Japan declares war on the U.S.A. and Britain. 11 Germany and Italy declare war on the U.S.A.	12 The Independent State of Croatia declares war on the U.S.A. and Britain. 13 Bulgaria declares war on the U.K. and U.S.A.

Year	Month	World		Southeast Europe
1942	January	21	Rommel's Afrika Korps launches counteroffensive in Libya.	
	February	15	Singapore captured by Japan.	EAM decides to form armed guerrilla groups (National Popular Liberation Army - ELAS).
	June	4-6 21	Battle of Midway. Rommel captures Tobruk.	
	July			The armed section of EDES is formed.
	August	12 13 19	Churchill and Stalin meet with U.S. and Free French Representatives to discuss the creation of a Second Front. General Montgomery takes command over the British forces in Egypt. Allied cross-channel raid on Dieppe ends in disaster.	German occupation forces "solve the Jewish question" in Serbia by killing almost 90% of the Jewish population by the end of summer 1942. 25 First issue of <i>Zëri i Popullit</i> ('The Voice of the People'), a periodical representing the Albanian communist movement's ideology).
	September	22	Germans reach the centre of Stalingrad.	A British task force lands secretly in Greece. 16 Conference of Peza: creation of the Albanian Antifascist National Liberation Front.
	October	23	Montgomery's forces attack at El Alamein, Egypt.	Creation of the political organization "Balli Kombëtar" in Albania, with an anti-communist programme.
	November	8 13 19	First major Allied invasion takes place in Morocco and Algeria. Tobruk retaken by British. The Soviets launch a counteroffensive in Stalingrad.	12 Introduction of the Turkish Capital Tax. 25 Dynamiting of the Gorgopotamos railway bridge (Greece) by joint British, EAM and EDES guerrilla forces. 26 In Bihać (Bosnia and Herzegovina) Partisans establish their highest political body - AVNOJ (Antifascist Council of Peoples Liberation of Yugoslavia).
1943	January	31	General Paulus surrenders the German Sixth Army at Stalingrad.	

Year	Month	World		Southeast Europe	
1943	March	5	Allied bombing of the Ruhr begins.	5	A general strike in Athens prevents the conscription of Greek workers. March-May: Bulgarian society successfully opposes the “ <i>Final solution</i> ” and the deportation of Bulgarian Jews. March-June: deportation of about 50,000 Jews from Thessaloniki to Auschwitz.
	June	13	Axis forces defeated in Tunisia; African campaign concluded.	14	In Otočac, Partisans establish the highest political body of Croatia – ZAVNOH (Antifascist Council of Peoples Liberation of Croatia).
	July	5-17 9 25	Huge tank battle at Kursk on the Eastern Front: Soviet victory. Allies land in Sicily. Mussolini is overthrown and arrested, succeeded by Pietro Badoglio.	10	National Liberation Army of Albania formed.
	August			2 28	Mukje Agreement between the National Liberation Army of Albania and Balli Kombëtar signed. It is rejected only a few days later by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania (CPA) and the National Liberation Council. Bulgarian King Boris III dies in Sofia; proclamation of King Simeon II.
	September	3 8 12	Allies land on the Italian mainland across the Strait of Messina Italy surrenders to the Allies. Mussolini freed by the SS and taken to Germany.	8 9 9	Partisan units temporarily capture Split (Croatia) and an enormous Italian supply depot located there. Election of a Regency in Bulgaria: Prince Kiril, Professor Filov and General Mihov. October 10 - Yugoslav Partisans disarm ten Italian divisions, two divisions join the Partisans.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1943	September		17 British-American military mission to Yugoslav Partisans arrives in liberated territory in west Bosnia and Herzegovina 20 ZAVNOH proclaims reunification of the territory occupied by Italy with Croatia and Yugoslavia.
		13 Italy declares war on Germany.	
	November	7 Kiev liberated; German defenses on Dnieper begin to crumble. 28 December 1 - Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin meet in Teheran to plan the invasion of France; Yugoslav Partisans recognized as Allies	20 King Zogu's followers headed by Abaz Kupi found the "Legaliteti" Party which aimed at re-establishing the Zogu's monarchy after the war in Albania. 25-26 Partisans establish ZAVNOBiH as the leading political institution for Bosnia and Herzegovina. 29 In Jajce (Bosnia and Herzegovina), AVNOJ establishes the Partisan government (NKOJ – National Committee of the Liberation of Yugoslavia).
	December	24 Eisenhower called upon to direct the invasion of Europe.	7 Roosevelt, Churchill and İnönü meet in Cairo.
1944	January	27 The Soviets defeat the Germans at Leningrad.	Formation of a Gendarmerie in Bulgaria to fight the armed resistance. 8 Churchill, in his letter to the president of NKOJ (Yugoslav Partisan government), states that Britain will stop sending aid to the Chetniks. From this point on, all help is given exclusively to Partisans.
		15 Japan invades India.	10 EAM sets up the Political Committee for National liberation (PEEA), a second Greek administration parallel to the official government in Cairo.
	May	9 The Soviets recapture Sevastopol. 18 The Germans withdraw from Monte Cassino.	A convention in Lebanon leads to an agreement on the formation of a Greek national coalition government with G. Papandreou as Greek Prime Minister.

Year	Month	World		Southeast Europe	
1944	May				Deportation of more than 100,000 Jews from (Hungarian-ruled) Northern Transylvania to the German extermination camps. 24 The Albanian communists at the Congress of Përmet, elect a National Liberation Antifascist Council as the highest legislative body and form a Committee with the attributes of a provisional government.
	June	6	D-Day, Allied landings in Normandy.	1	New royalist government created in Bulgaria, led by Ivan Bagryanov.
	July	20 25	An attempt on Hitler's life fails. Allies begin breakout from Normandy.		
	August	15 25	Allied landings in southern France. Paris liberated.	2 12 23 26 29	Turkey resolves to discontinue relations with Germany; First Assembly of ASNOM (Antifascist Assembly for Liberation of the Macedonian people) which was proclaimed the supreme legislative and executive people's representative body of the Macedonian State. Churchill and Tito meet in Naples. Coup d'état in Romania: King Michael supported by a coalition of the major parties and communists arrests Antonescu and his government; Romania surrenders to the Soviets. Bulgarian Prime Minister Bagryanov proclaims neutrality, makes first attempts to negotiate with the USA and the UK in Ankara and sends a delegation to Cairo. Yugoslav King Peter II disowns Draža Mihailović and recognizes Tito as leader of the resistance in Yugoslavia.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1944	August		30 Pavelić prevents coup d'état in the Independent State of Croatia and remains loyal to the Axis powers.
	September	3 Brussels liberated. 19 Armistice between Finland and the Allies. 25 The Allies break through the Gothic Line in Italy.	Beginning of the fighting for the liberation of Serbia by partisan and Red Army units. 2 A government of pro-Russian political parties is appointed by the Bulgarian regents, led by Konstantin Muraviev (first government formed from the political parties since May 1934). 3 Formation of a new Greek national coalition government under G. Papandreou. 5 The Soviet Union declares war on Bulgaria. 8 The Red Army enters Bulgaria; Armistice between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria; Bulgaria declares war on Germany. 9 Communist takeover in Bulgaria - government of the Fatherland front led by Kimon Georgiev (leader of the Zveno party) dominated by the Communists. 12 Romania signs an armistice with the Allies: acknowledges Soviet rule of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina and the supreme authority of an Allied Control Committee, dominated by the Soviets.
	October	2 The Germans crush a revolt in Warsaw while the Soviet armies pause and refit a few miles away; the Allies penetrate the West Wall into Germany. 9 Churchill-Stalin "Percentage agreement" in Moscow.	5 British forces land in Greece. 8 Bulgaria starts war operations against Germany. 12 The German army leaves Athens. 14 The British enter Athens. 18 Greek government enters Athens 20 Belgrade liberated by the Soviet Red Army and Yugoslav Partisans.

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1944	October	23 The Allies recognise Charles de Gaulle as the temporary head of the provisional French government.	23 Anti-Fascist Committee of National Liberation becomes the Provisional Democratic Government of Albania, with Enver Hoxha as Prime Minister. 25 Transylvanian territory is freed of the Hungarian Army by allied Romanian and Red Army. 28 Armistice between the Antifascist coalition and Bulgaria.
		7 Roosevelt wins fourth term as U.S. President.	13 Partisans liberate Skopje. 29 Albania liberated from the Germans.
		15 U.S. landings on Mindoro, Philippines.	3 EAM organises a demonstration in Athens which ends in bloodshed; fighting between EAM-ELAS and the government forces aided by the British begins.
1945	January	17 Warsaw occupied by the Soviets. 19 Germany in full retreat on the Eastern Front. 20 Hungary signs an armistice with the Allies.	About 70,000 ethnic Germans from Romania are deported to the USSR.
		4-11 Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin meet at Yalta. 8 The Allies launch a major offensive to reach the Rhine. 13-14 Allied firebombing destroys Dresden. 19 U.S. landings on Iwo Jima.	Signing of the Agreement of Varkiza on organising general elections and a plebiscite about the monarchy in Greece, the disbandment of guerrilla organisations and the surrender of ELAS arms. 23 Turkey declares war on Germany and Japan.
	March	3 Finland declares war on Germany. 9 U.S. firebombs Tokyo. 22 General Patton crosses the Rhine at Oppenheim. 23 General Montgomery crosses the Rhine north of the Ruhr.	6 The Soviets impose the appointment of a coalition government in Romania led by Petru Groza, but controlled by the Communists. 7 Provisional Government of Democratic Federative Yugoslavia formed with Tito as Prime Minister and Partisan domination over the members of the Exile Government (23:5).

Year	Month	World	Southeast Europe
1945	April	12 Roosevelt dies, Harry S. Truman becomes President of the USA.	6 Sarajevo liberated.
		23 The Soviets enter Berlin.	14 Communist-dominated Government of Federative State of Croatia created.
		25 U.S. and Soviet forces meet at the Elbe River; the San Francisco Conference on the United Nations begins.	15 At Bleiburg, Yugoslav Partisans kill a number of prisoners of war (Ustashas and some Chetniks and Slovene Domobranici) and civilians, and the rest are taken on "The Way of the Cross" where most did not survive.
		28 Mussolini executed by Italian Partisans.	28 USA recognises Tito's Provisional Yugoslav Government.
		30 Hitler commits suicide in Berlin.	
	May	1 Berlin surrenders to Soviet forces.	2 Yugoslav Partisan army enters Trieste creating a tense partition (later into Zone A & B) between Italy and Yugoslavia.
		7 Germany formally surrenders.	6 Pavelić and his government and a large number of soldiers and civilians flee from Zagreb towards Austria.
			8 Partisans liberate Zagreb.
	June	5 The Allies divide Germany into four occupation zones.	10 AVNOJ becomes the Provisional People's Assembly of Yugoslavia.
		26 The United Nations Charter is signed by representatives of 50 countries, United Nations established.	
	July	17 August 2 - Churchill, Stalin and Truman meet at Potsdam to plan for peace in Europe and the final assault on Japan.	
	August	6 Atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.	
		9 Atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki.	
		14 Japan surrenders.	

Map 1: World War II, 1939-1942

Policies

The purpose of this first chapter is to provide readers with a particular framework, since, unlike all the other chapters, most of the selected documents belong to political history. The descriptions of a few eminent political leaders of the time are introduced in the beginning. This provides valuable insights into the subjects of the descriptions as well as the authors. The material is therefore considered to be relevant and of analytical interest. These outlines are followed by some distinguishing ideological statements used by governing structures to try to justify their actions and/or their actual existence, as well as some ideologically-coloured statements belonging to resistance movements.

The subchapter *Armies and soldiers* is, understandably, somewhat large. This is due to the fact that in some countries, numerous armies (occupying forces, collaborationist armies, resistance movements) met in comparatively small areas. We tried to clarify, to a certain degree at least, their activities, their ideological backgrounds, their aims and their (often very complicated) mutual relationships. Further to this, there are documents which deal with the relationships among the different sides in the war and the neighbouring countries.

The concluding sub-section to chapter I, *Religious organisations*, sets out documents which deal with the activities of the religious organisations during the war, how openly and clearly the religious organisations showed their attitude towards the war itself, towards the parties involved, towards the members of the other nation/religion, towards wartime suffering and war crimes etc.

Ia. Leaders and ideologies

I-1. Fitzroy MacLean, Churchill's delegate to the Partisans, about Tito in 1943

Tito is of medium height and carefully shaved. His face is sunburnt and his hair is steel-like grey. His mouth is very firm and his eyes are lively and blue. (...) I was wondering what impression I would get of this man when I compared him to a communist that I met in Russia. (...) One thing struck me immediately: his readiness to consider the problem from all sides and, if necessary, to make an immediate decision. He seemed to me quite confident. That man is a senior, not a junior. It was completely new for me – to discover such confidence and self-reliance in one communist.

Fitzroy MacLean's conversation with Tito in Partisan Belgrade in 1944¹

On that occasion I informed Tito what anger he provoked in the Allies when he secretly left Vis. (...) I told Tito that Churchill was very offended by the manner he had left. I also informed him of the unreasonable behaviour of some of his subordinates, as well as of the disagreements and the numerous small difficulties we had during his absence.

It obviously made him sincerely sad. He told me

¹ Their first meeting after Tito's secret visit to the island of Vis (where he was protected by the British forces) in order to meet Stalin.

he was sorry to hear that his subordinates had treated us unreasonably but he added that everything would be made right immediately. (...)

I replied I was glad. "However", I added, "it seems that you don't understand that the main cause to all was your disappearance and the fact that you didn't tell us where you were going... But Tito either couldn't or didn't want to understand it, so he innocently said: "Not long ago Churchill went to Quebec to meet president Roosevelt and I was informed of that only after his return. However, it didn't make me angry".

MacLean, pp. 14-15, 240-241.



Josip Broz Tito was born in Kumrovec near Zagreb in 1892. He learned a trade and worked as a locksmith and a factory worker. The start of World War I, saw him drafted into the Austria-Hungarian army and sent to the Eastern frontline. Taken prisoner by the Russians, he spent a couple of years in Russia where he became acquainted with Bolshevik ideas. He then returned to his homeland, the newly-founded state of Yugoslavia, in 1920. He joined the Communist Party; and spent several years in prison after being arrested on a couple of occasions. In 1937, he took over the head of the Yugoslav Communist Party. From 1941, he became the main coordinator of the resistance movement, and later on, "Commander-in-chief" of the Partisan forces. After the war he became the President of Yugoslavia and ruled in a totalitarian manner until his death in 1980.



What did MacLean like about Tito? What did he dislike about him? Why did Tito make a good first impression on MacLean? (What was his reputation as a communist?) What soured their relations? In your opinion, did Tito behave incorrectly towards his British allies? Tito's 'rascal' behaviour at the last meeting with MacLean is appreciated by his fans because they look upon it as a confirmation of the enduring spirit of Yugoslav independence. What do you think? Were the British asking for a relationship based on an equal footing or did they want to dominate the alliance with the Partisans?

► **v1. Leader of the Partisan "People's Liberation Movement", Josip Broz - Tito, and Commander of "The Yugoslav Army in the Homeland" ("Chetniks"), General Draža Mihailović**



National Library of Serbia, Belgrade.



Translation: "100,000 gold Reichsmark award! 100,000 gold Reichsmarks will be awarded to the one who brings communist leader Tito dead or alive."
"100,000 gold Reichsmark award! 100,000 gold Reichsmarks will be awarded to the one who brings gang leader Draža Mihailović dead or alive."

I-2. Pavelić's photographer gives evidence of his personality in 1961

Taking Pavelić's photo portrait was nothing but trouble, as in all photographs he came out just as he really was: gloomy and with that well-known gangster-like expression. Of course, his wife, 'Pharaoh's wife Mara', didn't like the photos so the shooting was repeated indefinitely on her explicit orders. (...) Finally, she arrived at a solution about how best to make her husband look gentle in front of the photographers; she ordered that jokes be told to him while posing.

Vojinović, p. 16.



Ante Pavelić was born in Bradina (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1889. He was a lawyer by training and a member of the Party of Right from a young age. After the establishment of a dictatorship in Yugoslavia in 1929, Pavelić emigrated and with his Ustaša movement argued strongly for the overthrow of the dictatorial regime and the dissolution of the state of Yugoslavia. He gained sympathy from the fascist leaders, most of all from Mussolini who thought that through helping Pavelić he could annex the coastal parts of Croatia to Italy. After the collapse of Yugoslavia, Mussolini and Hitler enabled Pavelić to set up a puppet state, the ISC (Independent State of Croatia; hereafter: ISC). At the very end of the World War II, Pavelić fled abroad (Argentina, Spain). He died in 1959.



Study the photograph. Did the photographer tell the truth? Is it possible to gather information on one's character by using photographs? What does the fact that he couldn't smile tell us about Pavelić as a person? (Did he think of himself as a very serious leader?) The photographer gave his evidence long after Pavelić's fall; would this evidence have been different had it been given to the photographer at the time when Pavelić was in power? What did the photographer want to say about Pavelić when he spoke of his relationship with his wife? Can gossip be considered a historical source?

► v2. Ante Pavelić



www.pavelicpapers.com



Refer to the questions connected with the testimony of Pavelić's photographer (text I-2).

I-3. Descriptions of Mehmet Shehu and Enver Hoxha

Some days later McLean returned and we received the first of many visits from Shtab - the General Staff of LNÇ², of whom the two leading members were

² LNÇ – Levizja Nacional Clirimtare (National Liberation Movement) was the organisation led by the communists during World War II in Albania. It organised the biggest armed resistance in the country. Having eliminated all the other political groups during and after the war, they took all the credit for the liberation of Albania and, as a result, became the leading force in the country after the war.

Mehmet Shehu³ and Enver Hoxha⁴. Mehmet Shehu was a short, wiry, dark, sallow-faced man of about thirty who seldom smiled except at other people's misfortunes. He spoke good English, was very capable, and had far more military knowledge than most other Albanians.

Enver Hoxha was an entirely different character – a big man with too much flesh and a flabby handshake. He was not a military man although he had military pretensions, but he was more sociable than Shehu, and spoke with us in fluent French. He may have disliked us, but at least he concealed his feelings, whereas with Shehu you could feel the hostility. Hoxha was about thirty-five years old. He had been educated in Gjirokaster Grammar School, the *lycée* in Korçë, and at University of Montpellier in France, which he was compelled to leave for failing his exams. He went on to Brussels and Paris to study law, though he never graduated, and returned to Albania to become a French teacher at the State Gymnasium in Tirana; he was later transferred to the *lycée* in Korçë, still as a teacher of French. We always knew him as 'Professor' Enver Hoxha – presumably he derived this title from his teaching appointments. He gave up teaching in 1940 to run a tobacconist's shop in Tirana which became a Communist cell and ren-

3 Mehmet Shehu was born on 10 January 1913 in Çorush, South Albania. From 1937 to 1939 he fought in the Spanish Civil War in the Garibaldi International Brigade. From 1944 to 1945 he was a member of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation (the provisional government). After the liberation, Shehu was regarded as Enver Hoxha's right-hand man and held in esteem as the "second person" of Albania. It is claimed that in 1981 Shehu opposed Enver Hoxha's isolationism and, following this, he was accused of being a Yugoslav spy. On 17 December, 1981 he was found dead in his bedroom with a bullet in his head. After his death, it was claimed that Shehu was an agent of, not only the Yugoslav secret services, but also both the CIA and the KGB.

4 Enver Hoxha was born in Gjirokastër on 16 October 1908. From 1930 to 1936 he studied and worked in Paris and then in Brussels. In 1936, he returned to Albania and taught in the middle school of Tirana and then in the *lycée* of Korça. In 1939, he was fired with the reason given as "subject against the regime". On 8 November 1941, when the communist party of Albania was founded, he became First Secretary of the party's Central Committee and Political Commissar of the Army of National Liberation (LNÇ). He became Prime Minister in 1944 and ruled Albania as a dictator until his death on 11 April 1985.

deavour for anti-government elements; after the founding of the Albanian Communist Party in 1941 he became the Secretary-General to the Party Central Committee which was probably the position he still held when we first met him.

Smiley⁵, p. 56.



What differences can you see between the two leaders described above? Do you think that their differences in character were related to their success? How does the author give the reader clues about his feelings towards Shehu and Hoxha?

I-4. An English spy on the leader of the political opposition in Romania - Iuliu Maniu

Maniu (...) was one of the least flamboyant heroes any country has ever produced—honest, prudent, too often right and completely lacking the fashionable bombast of war. Slightly built with mild, intelligent eyes, rather formally dressed, he had the air of a provincial notary, rather than the popular idea of a wartime resistance leader. He must have been sixty-eight in 1938, but looked younger (...)

From the start he set himself and his party high standards of conduct. Measures were taken to prevent any anti-Semitic demonstrations. He encouraged foreign investments and although some of his colleagues undoubtedly lined their pockets, the idea of Maniu himself taking a bribe of any kind was inconceivable. He and his close collaborators - men like Ion Mihalache and the economist Madgaru - were among the most distinguished Romanians of the century.

Porter, pp. 18, 20.

5 David Smiley was a captain of the British Army who volunteered to join the Special Operations Executive in the Balkans and particularly in Albania. He gives a vivid account of World War II and his assignments with the communists, and then the royalists, in organising the Albanian antifascist resistance.

I-5. Metaxas' address to the editors and publishers of all the Greek newspapers (30 October 1940)

Turkey is not, as she was in 1916, an ally of the Germans, she is an ally of the English. Bulgaria, of course, is awaiting her chance now, as then, but in any event, at this moment, and at least for the time being, does not dare to move. Time, however, is not working for the Axis. It is working for the Axis' opponents. Finally, Germany victory would, in any event, only be possible if she achieved world domination. But world domination became definitively impossible for Germany at Dunkirk (...)

Already now, after Italy's unjust attack, the policy I am following is the policy of Venizelos of eternal memory. For it is the policy of identifying the policy of Greece with the fortunes of that Power for which, as for Greece, the ocean has always been, not a barrier which divides but a sea-lane that unites. (...)

For Greece, England is a natural ally and has repeatedly proven herself to be a defender, and at times, even the only defender. Victory will be, and cannot but be, hers. It will be a victory of the Anglo-Saxon world, at whose hands Germany, since she has not been able to achieve a final result by this date, is condemned to be crushed. For, from this point on, the horizon for the Axis must not be considered cloudless even in the direction of the East and the East is always a place of mystery. It has always been so, but today, more than ever, before it is full of unexpected developments and of mysteries. Thus in the end we shall triumph...

There are moments when a people owe it to itself, if it wishes to remain a great people, to be able to fight even without any hope of victory. That is what it should do.

Metaxas, pp.525-526.



On 28 October 1940, Italy gave Greece an ultimatum. Ioannis Metaxas, Greece's Prime Minister and Dictator since 4 August 1936, at once replied "OXI" ("NO"), and "OXI" day remains Greece's second national holiday, even though his dictatorship is still unpopular. On 30 October, with Italian troops still advancing and

Italian planes bombing, Metaxas addressed the editors and publishers of all the Greek newspapers, under threat of censorship. This address follows below. Metaxas died on 29 January 1941, with Greek troops deep into Albania, and did not live to see the German invasion on 6 April.



Comment on the last paragraph. What kind of effect did Metaxas want to achieve?

► v3. Lottery ticket for the gathering of money for the families of soldiers fighting in the Albanian front against the Italians in 1940-41



IEEE, To epos tou '40. Laiki Eikonografia, 166.



Translation:
Greeks,

Our heroic soldiers, who follow on the steps of Leonidas, have entrusted the defence of the interior front to you.

One of the weapons of this defence is

THE GREAT WAR LOTTERY

Half of the revenues from this new Lottery will provide winter care, clothing, mess kitchens, medical care, etc. to the children and aged parents of our fighters. The other half offers major prizes to the buyers, who can win 10,000,000 Drs. every month

1st Prize 2,500,000 Drs.

200, 100 & 50 Drs. tokens available.

I-6. Hitler's Directive No. 26 (3 April 1941)

Cooperation with the Allies in the Balkans

1. The tasks of the Southeast European States in the military campaign against Yugoslavia are given by the following political objectives:

Hungary, which shall get the Banat, will likewise have to occupy this region, but has made the commitment to provide additional assistance to destroy the enemy.

Bulgaria shall get back Macedonia and therefore will most likely direct its attention to the attack of this region, without putting special pressure from the German side. Additionally, the Bulgarians will be in charge of providing backing, supported by the German tank division, against Turkey. For this operation, Bulgaria also will call in the three Divisions posted at the Greek border.

Romania will limit its task in its own, as well as in German interest, to the safeguarding of the Yugoslavian and Russian borders. The Head of the German military mission has to arrange that the readiness to provide defence against Russia has to be enlarged and that the Romanian Forces situated around Temesvar are to be brought further East, in order not to disturb the connection between the Hungarian Second Army and the German forces.

The mutual movement of Hungarian and German Missions has to be able to cross the Romanian/Hungarian border without difficulties.

2. Concerning the military cooperation and the organisation of the Commando for the up-coming Operation, the following guidelines will be in force:

The corporate Guidance of the military campaign, as far as the operative setting of targets for the Italian and the Hungarian Forces are concerned, will remain within my responsibility. It has to be done in a manner which takes into account the sensitivities of the Allies and which enables the heads of the Italian and Hungarian States to appear in front of their nation and their military forces as independent military leaders.[...]

Hitlers Weisungen für die Kriegsführung 1939-1945
(ed. W. Hubatsch), pp. 108-109.

I-7. Ion Antonescu⁶ about the "Jewish problem"

1940, September 17

Propaganda, the press and radio will work in perfect harmony, both on internal and external levels. The action must be unitarian and problems are to be avoided.

On an external level, it should be made known that our only point of support from the perspective of external politics is: the Axis. General Antonescu will not lead the politics lead by his predecessors; General Antonescu has chosen a single road he will walk on. Romanian politics are one hundred percent with the Axis. We will maintain a loyal, total correctness to the powers of the Axis...

The Jewish problem is a vital problem. I will try – with civilised means – to gradually remove the Jews from the Romanian economic structures. All Jews who have come clandestinely and installed themselves after the Union in the country, in any form and under any pretext, will be invited to liquidate their belongings and leave. Ignoring the Jewish problem or concealing it with apparent solutions would mean betraying the notion of being Romanian. As the violence of the gesture or the word does not solve this problem, but degrades the one who practices it, General Antonescu took the responsibility of solving this problem methodically and progressively, so that it does not misbalance economic life. The removal of the alien element is conditioned by its replacement with autochthonous forces.

Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944, vol. II, doc. 44.



These are the directions to the press, the radio and the telegraph agency. Specifications were made concerning the „Jewish problem”. This was how the political censorship on press, installed by the former regime, continued.

⁶ Ion Antonescu (1882–1946), military man and politician. He held important positions in the Romanian Army. Prime Minister (4 September 1940 – 23 August 1944). Leader of the State (1940–1944). Allied with Hitler's Germany. Convicted and executed as a Criminal of War in 1946.



Who was Romania's main ally from Antonescu's perspective, in 1940? What were the means of solving the "Jewish problem" in Romania, in Antonescu's opinion? Compare this situation in Romania with that of other States during the same time. Do you think that the "Jewish problem" was really "a vital problem" for Romania in 1940 (when it had already lost 1/3 of the territory and was on the way to being dragged into the war)?

I-8. The Proclamation of King Mihai⁷ to the Country (August 23, 1944)

Romanians,

In the most difficult moment of our history, I consider, together with my people, that there is only one way to save the country from a total catastrophe: and that is for us to get out of the alliance with the powers of the Axis and to stop the war against the United Nations immediately.

Romanians,

A new government of national union was charged with accomplishing the country's decided will, to conclude peace with the United Nations. Romania accepted the armistice offered by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America. From this moment on, any fight or act of hostility against the Soviet army has to stop, as well as the state of war against Great Britain and the United States of America. Please receive the soldiers of these armies with trust. The nations have guaranteed our country's independence and are not interfering in our internal concerns. They have recognised the injustice of the Vienna dictate, by which Transylvania was taken away from us ...

Romanians,

The dictatorship has come to an end and, together

⁷ Mihai I (1921 –) King of Romania (1927–1930; 1940–1947). On 23 August 1944, sustained by the political opposition, he arrested Ion Antonescu, and decreed the war against the United Nations over. In 1947, he was forced, under threat, to abdicate, and Romania was proclaimed a popular republic.

with it, all oppression ends. This new government is the beginning of a new era, in which the rights and liberties of all citizens of the country are guaranteed and will be respected."

Istoria României între 1918–1944 (culegere), p. 261.



What are the main items on the new Romanian Government's agenda? How is the former Government regarded? At first, King Mihai supported the pro-fascist leader Antonescu. Why did he change his mind? Was he sincere or just opportunistic? Compare him with another leader who also changed his political orientation.

I-9. The communist ideology of the LNC, displayed by Sejfulla Malëshova⁸

"Until today, the Albanian people, fighting the occupiers and the reactionary clans, are becoming politically educated, gaining the consciousness of their interests, and understanding that there is no other true way except the one that leads to the Peoples' Democracy. The nature of the future regime in Albania and the people's democratic movement are in direct relation to the activity and the contribution of our people in today's war. Today, in the battles of the National Liberation War, is decided the fate of tomorrow's Albania. The fact that the majority of Albanians are gathered around the National Antifascist Liberation Front; the fact that we could organise free elections in the most developed regions and hold a Congress with representatives from all over Albania; the fact that today we have an Antifascist Council that represents the political power of the people and Albanian State; the fact that today we

⁸ Sejfulla Malëshova was born in Malëshovë near Përmet in 1900. When he was 24 he began to write poetry and his first articles. Later, he went to Moscow as a member of the Comintern. He participated very actively in World War II. After the war, he was appointed Head of the Writers League and later Minister of Education in Albania. He translated works of Gëte, Nekrasov, etc. He imprisoned by the communist regime for these liberal political views and was sent to jail for 20 years. Sejfulla Malëshova died in 1971 in Fier where he was sent in exile.

have an army made of brigades and divisions, an army of peoples, able to resist the German divisions and the reactionary bands and destroy them, are the first guarantees for the triumph of a democratic peoples regime in Albania. (...) Our people, actually together with the whole progressive world, will not let the others, who oppressed and exploited them until now, collect the harvest of its blood. What has happened until now will not be repeated; that people are killed and that the others, who work against its interests, take the leading positions."

Bashkimi (The Unity), June 1944.



Sejfulla Maleshova was one of the most prominent communist leaders of the Albanian antifascist resistance. The communist ideology of the LNC, displayed in the source, puts forward their manifesto for leading the country after the war, framing their statement within a rationale that paints all the other political groups as collaborators and traitors. One can gain a realistic view of the communist propaganda during the war by reading this article.



Analyse the language being used in this extract. Which elements of this article could be considered as propaganda?

I-10. A leaflet of the District Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Macedonia to the Macedonian people

1941, November

...The Bulgarian government has committed massacres in Kumanovo, there were seven to eight dead people, among them some women, (...). Our cities have been surrounded and occupied and the people

have been held at their homes for days. In Prilep (and some other places), there have been hundreds of people arrested, spat on, beaten in the streets. In the streets you can very often see honest Macedonians being taken into prison by the Bulgarian fascist police - the best sons of the Macedonian people.

Who is doing all this, Bulgarians? No. The Bulgarian people have nothing in common with this; it has been done by the traitors of the Bulgarian people, who are selling themselves for a hand full of the dirty fascist's silver. These traitors are doing everything in their power to obey the monster Hitler and to get us Macedonians to fight and hate the Bulgarians, the Russians, the Serbians and the other Slavic people. Bloody Hitler wants to clear up the Slavic people and to make them feudal slaves who will plough and dig the land for the German counts and barons. Mindless, Hitler yells that four to five million Slavic people should leave, so as to create a place for the German plough, and that's why he goes against Soviet Russia, the land of socialism, the protector of all the people without rights, especially to the small Slavic people.

Today, the heroic battle of the Soviet people is a battle of all the Slavic people against a mutual evil. Their victory is our victory too, a victory which will put an end to the slavery, the hunger and the terror that the fascism has brought.

Sources for the liberation war and revolution in Macedonia,
pp. 28-29.



What were the aims of this leaflet? What is the attitude of the DC of CPY for Macedonia towards the Bulgarian people? Explain the role of the USSR in the struggle of the Macedonian people. Compare the language being used with that used in the previous source.



Overall questions on subchapter Ia.

Do the sources present the political leaders realistically? What similarities can you find in the descriptions of the leaders? What differences can be seen in the descriptions of the leaders?

Find descriptions of leaders in your country from the same period. Can you identify similarities between them? Find different descriptions of the same leader. Why do you think the same person is described in different ways?

What could you conclude about the propaganda pictures, what do they show? What did they want to say to people? Try to find out for each source: What ideology did it support? Why was propaganda so important during the war? Can you identify the main political and ideological conflicts in each country? Can you find common trends in all of the countries?

Ib. Armies and soldiers

I-11. American report on the activities of the Albanian resistance

The Ballists⁹ have shied from fighting either Italians or Germans. Their principal policy in their early days has been, "Let the Allies do our fighting for us". Now that the LNC¹⁰ has strengthened its position to a point where it looks as though it stands a fair chance of dominating the country at the end of the war, the Ballists are becoming skittish and call in the Germans to do their fighting for them in an attempt to wipe out the LNC without doing any fighting themselves. Whatever happens, it looks as though the Gentlemen Ballista, as he is called by the LNC, is determined to do no honest-to-goodness fighting. They will do some refined sniping, and fancy assassinations, probably, and some folks will call it civil war, but they are not going to stand up and fight. At least all the signs point that way.

Costa, p. 166.



This extract is part of an official report, dated 23 December 1943, sent by the American representative of the Office of Strategic Services and those of the Special Executive to his command headquarters, concerning the activities of the Albanian resistance. It makes it easy to create an idea of each group's war strategy and it gives a comparative perspective.

I-12. Allies' representatives in the Balkans on guerrilla strategies in Albania

BK says, in effect, "Let us organise now but fight later"
Or as an additional report put it,
"We will go into action when the British land at Durazzo"

The LNC said, in effect "Let us organise now and fight now. Let us keep on fighting as long as there is an Axis soldier on Albanian soil"

Costa, p. 167.

⁹ Ballista: members of the Balli Kombetar.

¹⁰ National Liberation Movement, led by the communists.



This is an excerpt from reports on the Guerrilla war and the war strategies of Balli Kombetar¹¹ and LNC during 1943, written by the Allies' representatives in the Balkans.



Do you approve of the tactics described in previous sources? Are "small nations" really supposed to remain hidden while the Great Powers fight? Explain your position.

I-13. Croatian military deputy in Sofia about the situation in Macedonia

[...] The relations between the Bulgarians and the Germans are good. Some time ago, an incident of a political nature took place in a night club in Skopje, and on that occasion some German officers intervened. In that same club, the music band played the Macedonian anthem, to which one Bulgarian lower officer applauded. Then a higher-ranked Bulgarian officer approached him and asked why he was applauding, to which he replied: "What is Macedonian is also Bulgarian." Upon hearing these words, the Bulgarian officer slapped him. This event was noticed by some German officers, also sitting in the same club, and they asked the Bulgarian officer why he slapped the other one but he did not answer and left the place. The German officers followed him and beat him up outside. This incident caused a certain dissatisfaction among everybody who was there and who loved Macedonia. [...]

Dokumenti za borbata na makedonskiot narod za samostojnost i nacionalna država, pp. 308-309.

¹¹ Balli Kombetar (The National Front) was a political and military organisation during World War II in Albania. It wanted to establish a republic after the liberation. It fought the occupiers but, at a certain point in the war, collaborated with the Germans in order to destroy the communists. This was used by communist propaganda to discredit them among the Albanians.



The following is a fragment of a wider report about the situation in occupied Macedonia, submitted by the Croatian military deputy in Sofia to the Ministry of Defence of ISC. This somewhat bizarre story shows some aspects of the relations between the Bulgarian and the German army personnel in Vardar Macedonia, which was officially Bulgarian territory at the time.



Describe relations between the German and the Bulgarian army personnel in Macedonia.

► **v4. The replacement of the German armies with Bulgarian armies, after the fascist occupation of Yugoslav Macedonia (April 1941)**



**I-14 and I-15.
Declaration (tract) of the National Liberation Front (EAM), Committee of Sterea Ellada**

PROCLAMATION
To the People of Roumeli

Brothers,

The mask has fallen and the true face of the EDES organisation is revealed. Sections of this organisation made a cowardly attack from behind against our own forces in Epirus, and captured higher members of the National Liberation Front without provocation. Their aim is clear: in co-ordination with their German partners [...], to disband the National Liberation Front, the pioneering organisation of the Greek people which struggles to liberate Greece.

Brothers,

We knew the EDES organisation. We knew they collaborated with the traitorous scoundrels [...]. We knew of their aim: to massacre Greece, to break down the national liberation movement, to subdue the Greek people and impose a dictatorial regime. We knew it all. Yet we did all we could to preserve unity as much as we could, because it was in the interest of the Greek people, because that was what the struggle for freedom demanded.

But now that the EDES organisation is openly collaborating with the Germans [...]; now that they organise joint operations against the Greek people in order to slaughter them and divide its fight for freedom, we declare, in the name of the interests of the Greek people, that we shall break them and render them unable to harm the gigantic task the Greek people have undertaken for freedom and which they have nurtured and still nurture today with their blood.

Brothers,

Have total faith in EAM-ELAS.

Join its Ranks.

Only EAM was born from the people and fights for the people.

We call upon any persons who may have been led astray by the unpatriotic EDES organisation, to open their eyes and join us in the sacred struggle for FREEDOM. Long live EAM. Long Live ELAS.

Death to the invaders, the traitors and the killers of their own nation.

EAM COMMITTEE for STEREA HELLAS

Fleischer, Stemma kai svastika, 2, p. 229.

Declaration (tract) of the National Democratic Greek Union (EDES) 1943

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
GREEK UNION [EDES]
PROCLAMATION

The Communist Party, having sacrificed this country, having masterly and craftily usurped its sacred and holy traditions, having needlessly created vic-

tims upon victims, having organised assassinations and terrorist attempts everywhere, having extorted the good citizens, having exploited everyone and everything, is now surpassing all limits of affront and shamelessness by daring to accuse EDES, saying that it consists of Germanophiles, Gestapo agents and murderers!!! [...]

EDES stands too high for this wretched libel to reach and affect it. EDES includes, in its ranks, the entire military glory of modern Greece, all moral political figures and every progressive element in this country.

The banner of EDES is Popular Socialist Democracy, and this banner it holds high and firm and will continue to hold it until Popular Socialist Democracy is established and becomes the source of happiness for all Greeks.

EDES is the genuine torchbearer of genuine patriotic spirit. Its origins and long tradition, the personal history of its members make it a sworn enemy of all the enemies of Greece and the bloodthirsty wolves from Sofia. [...]

Greek Democrats and Patriots!

Stay away from the traitors and the slanderers. Away from those who want to poison the joy of our liberation. Away from those who denounce the bloodied Northern Epirus and continue to flirt with the bears of Bulgaria. Away from the enemies of your peace and happiness. In one word, away from the Communist Party. Join EDES, the Noah's ark of purity and superiority. Join EDES, the powerful tidal wave of genuine Popular Power.

Fleischer, *Stemma kai svastika*, 2, p. 230.



By the beginning of June 1941, the whole of Greece was under a tripartite German, Italian and Bulgarian occupation. The Germans imposed a harsh occupation regime, plundering the country's agricultural resources, its industry, and requiring Greece to pay for the costs of the occupation. A devastating famine followed during the winter of 1941-1942, which claimed hundreds of thousands of victims. The communist party moved to establish the National Liberation Front (EAM)

in September 1941. It had two declared aims: the organisation of the resistance and a free choice as to the form of government after the eventual liberation of Greece. Other small agrarian and socialist groups were also parties in the establishment of EAM. A military arm (ELAS) was created shortly after. The inability of the traditional "political world" to offer leadership was perpetuated under the occupation. The political void that had been created during the Metaxas dictatorship was aggravated by the fact that a large segment of the country's liberal leadership was in exile. The communists, a marginal force during the inter-war period, were quick in filling this vacuum. They were offering a vision of a better and more just future. Besides, having survived earlier persecution, especially under the Metaxas dictatorship, they had gained experience and ability in operating underground. Although the party leadership kept a firm grip on the leadership of both EAM and ELAS, the overwhelming majority of the rank and file was not communist. A number of non-communist resistance groups also came into existence, the most important of which was the National Democratic Greek Union (EDES) set up by former liberal officers. In 1943, large areas of mountainous Greece were under resistance control.



Compare the previous two sources. What ideologies do the two proclamations represent? What kind of arguments do they use? Do you think that choosing a side was merely a matter of ideology? Was it easy for the majority of the population (bearing in mind the average level of education of the people of that time) to choose a side?

► v5. Photo of partisans (men and women) of the left wing resistance in Greece



Athens, War Museum; British Collection (IEE-IST, 16-17, 21).



ELAS forces marching. EAM/ELAS was reinforced by large numbers of Greeks who sought to resist the invaders, and it was the strongest opponent of the occupation forces in Greece throughout the country's occupation by the Axis powers.

I-16. Basic points of the Osvobodilna Fronta (OF) - The Liberation Front of the Slovenian Nation

1st of November 1941

1. A merciless armed battle against the enemy is to be carried out.
2. This activity represents the foundation for the liberation and unity of all the Slovenians.
3. Understanding the community of Yugoslav nations as a natural and historic one, the Liberation Front (OF) does not recognise the break-up of Yugoslavia. It will use all its efforts to fight for the understanding and unity of all Yugoslav nations. At the same time, it strives towards a union of all the Slav nations under the leadership of the Great Russian nation on the grounds of the right of self-determination of every nation. (...)
5. All the groups participating in the Liberation Front have agreed to be loyal to each other. (...)
7. After the liberation, the Liberation Front will consequently introduce a people's democracy. All the questions exceeding the national liberation will be solved in a democratic way. (...)

Repe, *Sodobna zgodovina*, p. 187.



Shortly after Germany, Italy and Hungary occupied Slovenia in April 1941, the Communist Party of Slovenia (CPS) organised an Anti-Imperialistic front, whose aim was to liberate Slovenia with the help of the Soviet Union. Such an organisation did not extend to the other parts of Yugoslavia. In addition to the CPS, other founding groups of the Anti-Imperialistic front were the Christian Socialists, a liberal group named Sokol (Falcon) and various left and liberal oriented cultural intelligentsia groups. After Germany's attack on the Soviet Union (22 June 1941) the organisation was renamed the Liberation Front of the Slovenian nation (Osvobodilna fronta slovenskega naroda – OF). In the summer of 1941,

OF called for an armed resistance against the occupiers. Many people of different political persuasions joined the Partisans. In the autumn of 1941, it drew up a statement of ideals, called the "basic points of the OF". Although the OF included political groups of different ideologies, the CPS had taken control. Beyond liberation, the goal of the CPS was also revolution, and this was what repelled many people and provoked a civil war in parts of Slovenian territory. But, in general, the majority of Slovenians supported the OF, which joined the Antifascist Council of the Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), and together they laid down the basic principles of the new federal Yugoslavia. In October 1944, at the OF Congress, attended by delegates from all over Slovenia, a National Liberation Committee was elected. A year later, it was renamed in parliament, and became part of the provisional government. The OF, as part of the People's Front of Yugoslavia, seized power during the first elections after the war in 1945.



Look closely at point 7. Was this aim reached?

I-17, I-18 and I-19.

Extract from the Diary of a Partisan Commander

1 November (1941)

A few nights ago, fighting broke out with 500 Chetniks from Draža Mihailović's units. They were defeated and about 140 of them were arrested. Our forces have liquidated the Chetniks in Požega. Our Partisans sustained enormous casualties in this battle. The commander of the battalion, Comrade Kapelan, was killed, and so were two company commanders and many partisans. (...)

It so happened that instead of fighting against fascist aggressors, we fight against our brothers; instead of spilling enemy blood, we feud among ourselves. Instead of Draža Mihailović's people intercepting enemy trucks and looting them, they intercept our trucks and loot what the Serbian people have pinched and scraped to donate to the people's struggle; instead of intercepting Germans and killing them, they intercept our people and kill them in ambushes.

Dudić, pp. 230, 231.

Extract from the minutes of a meeting between D. Mihailović and representatives of the German command in the Serbian village of Divci

11 November 1941

Draža Mihailović: As a soldier, I am not ashamed of being a nationalist. In this capacity, I only want to serve the people. In doing this, I have not put myself on the side of those who want to drive the Germans out. But, I will not permit, taking into consideration weak German forces in the country, Serbia becoming communist. Struggle was under way with certain commissioned and non-commissioned officers, but only a minor number are involved. Our duty as soldiers is that we do not surrender as long as we can endure. Therefore, we cannot be criticised for not surrendering.

(...) Struggle against the occupiers was a necessary evil to prevent popular masses from siding with the communists. To me, as a soldier, the situation is quite clear. I would never engage in attacks unless communist attacks occurred and the Germans surrendered cities and villages.

Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević, pp. 529-530.

Extract from the instructions of Draža Mihailović to Major Djordje Lašić and Captain Pavle Djurišić

20 December 1941

(...) The goals of our units are:

- 1) To struggle for the liberation of our entire nation under the sceptre of HRH King Petar II.
- 2) To create a Greater Yugoslavia and, within it, a Greater Serbia, ethnically homogenous within the borders of Serbia – Montenegro – Bosnia and Herzegovina – Sirmium – Banat and Backa.
- 3) To struggle for the incorporation into our State of all occupied Slavic territories under the Italians and the Germans (Trieste – Gorizia

– Istria and Carinthia) as well as Bulgaria and northern Albania including Skadar.

- 4) To clear the state territory of all ethnic minorities and non-national elements. (...)

There can be no cooperation with the communists or Partisans because they are fighting against the dynasty and are carrying-out a social revolution. (...)

Procedure: concerning the Albanians, Muslims and Ustashas, they will be treated according to their merits - for their loathsome crimes towards our population, i.e. they should be left to the "People's Court". As for the Croats, who are under the Italian occupation, they should be treated according to their attitude at the given moment.

Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o NOR naroda Jugoslavije,
XIV, book 1, doc. nr. 34.



These three sources are attempts to shed light on the role and position of the Chetniks and their relationship with the Partisans and the Germans. The Chetniks were led by the Colonel of the defeated Yugoslav army, Dragoljub Mihailović. The summer of 1941 saw the Chetniks and the Partisans cooperating, and together they succeeded in liberating some towns in western and central Serbia. From the very beginning of the uprising, the Partisans and Mihailović's units fought for the control of the towns they liberated. By the start of November 1941, the conflict between the two movements grew into an open civil war. Both armies claimed that they were the only real fighters against the occupying forces, and that their rivals were collaborating with the occupiers. Up until the conference in Teheran, the Allies had looked upon the Chetniks as their allies and it was only after this, that the Partisans started receiving some help from the Allies.



How did Mihailović explain the Chetniks' attacks on the Germans, to the German Commander in the first months of the occupation? In your opinion, did he really believe that the Partisans were a greater threat than the Germans?

Notice the attitudes and prejudices towards other nations in source I–19. Which parts of the instructions are, in fact, an invitation to commit war crimes?

► v6. Serbian poster



Nicolić, p. 37.



Translation: Serbia is a part of the anti-communist front

I-20. Collaboration between the Ustashas and the Chetniks

Testimony by Savo Predja

Under the pressure of the Germans, the Ustasha's authorities have begun to change their policy towards the Serbian inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the German occupiers, it was very important for there to be peace in order for them to be able to exploit the natural resources and use them for the front. Pavelić's government has brought in a series of measures. They have introduced some Serbian representatives into the "Croatian State parliament"; they have established the "Croatian Ortho-

dox Church" and some of the young Serbian recruits were called in to join the Croatian army. Ustasha's leadership has accepted the policy of collaboration with the Chetniks. The first agreements with the Chetnik commanders were made by the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia (ISC) at Ozren and Trebava. With this agreement, the Chetniks have recognised the ISC and expressed their loyalty to the head of the Croatian state. All hostilities towards the military and civil authorities of the ISC have ended; this will be recognised by the whole territory where Chetnik units are present. In order to lead a common fight against the Partisans, the Chetniks will keep their fighting formations, arms and commands and, in actions against the Partisans, they will be supplied by military units of the ISC. Wounded Chetniks will be treated in hospitals which belong to the military forces of the ISC.

Albahari et al, pp. 398-399.



Although the forces of the Independent State of Croatia were in a state of war with the representatives of the Serbian ultra-nationalists (the Chetniks), resulting in many victims among innocent civilians, in 1942, under German pressure, the Croatian and Serbian nationalists were brought together to lead a common fight against the communists.



What made the enemies (the Chetniks and the Ustashas) cooperate? In your opinion, was it only due to German pressure?

I-21. Beginning of the insurrection in Bosnia

Testimony by Žarko Zgonjanin¹²

We were enthusiastic about the creation of the first

¹² Žarko Zgonjanin, a Bosnian Serb, was born near Prijedor (northwest Bosnia) in 1916. He was one of the organisers of the insurrection in the Kozara mountain and in Bosanska krajina in 1941. After World War II, he was one of the leaders of the state police in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He died in Zagreb in 1970.

Partisan group, and very satisfied with our efforts, but suddenly there was a change of situation in the whole of Kozara¹³. Between 28-30 July¹⁴, there were many appearances of well-informed messengers who spread the news of the beginning of an insurrection and who called on everybody to rise.

Rebels from Dubica's¹⁵ district, probably self-initiating, have attacked and liquidated the police station at Knezica, the approximate geographical centre of Kozara, so the word spread all over the mountain that the insurrection had started. We have the task of advising people to return to their houses until we ask the leadership¹⁶ what should be done. Some people have agreed, some not. I have gone there and found Shosha¹⁷. I have informed him of the present situation and have asked him if there is a new directive. Shosha has responded that neither he knows what is going on. The folk just arise massively and fire on all sides.

Albahari et al, p. 101.



After World War II, the communist authorities insisted that the insurrection began as a movement inspired only by the Yugoslav Communist Party. However, this source shows that the insurrection was inspired by the instinct for survival as well.



Why did the Partisan leaders of the Kozara region suggest that the people return to their houses and remain there until further notice? Why was it important that they (the communists) organise the insurrection? How and why does the interpretation of the historical event(s) sometimes differ from the event itself?

¹³ Mountain in northwest Bosnia.

¹⁴ 1941.

¹⁵ City in northwest Bosnia.

¹⁶ Communist leadership.

¹⁷ Famous partisan hero from Kozara.

I-22. The foundation of the SS -“Handžar division”¹⁸

Testimony by Džemal Bijedić¹⁹

That is the period in which the enemy leads the propaganda-mobilisation action in Sarajevo with the goal of forming the XIII SS-division, called the “Handžar division”. That is the reason why the German agent El Huseini, Palestine’s religious leader, has come to Sarajevo. He has established contacts with the group of reactionary Muslims. We have had information about the objects of their discussions, because one of our infiltrated men was present during their meetings. El Huseini has insisted that the Muslims give their contribution to the German victory and intends to form the aforementioned special SS-unit, the “Handžar division”, along with another division. The most reactionary Muslims, oriented towards an Independent State of Croatia and Germany, have said that such a unit can be the force for Muslim calculations during the time.

Taking advantage of the already extremely difficult position of the Muslim refugees, the enemy has succeeded in its attempts to involve a large number of them (refugees) in this SS-division. The “Handžar division” was formed in number and organisation like the other German troops and the Nazis sent divisions on training exercises to France and Germany. In the beginning of 1944, this unit arrived in Srem first and, after that, in the eastern part of Bosnia, where they committed numerous crimes. The division was composed of bloodthirsty Ustashas and a rabble, and was supported by the most reactionary Muslims towards fascist oriented circles.

¹⁸ Handžar is the name for a long battle knife used during the Ottoman period.

¹⁹ Džemal Bijedić was born in Mostar in 1917. He was a member of the Yugoslav Communist party from 1939 onwards, and a member of the communist partisan movement from 1941 onwards. During, and after World War II, he was one of the key people in the Yugoslav political hierarchy. Although he was a Bosniak-Muslim, he never hesitated to write about examples of Bosniak collaboration with the Nazis (for example, a story about the Bosniak SS-division “Handžar”). He died in an airplane crash near Kreševo (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1977. At the time of his death, he was still one of the main Yugoslav political leaders.

We can see what kind of milieu members of this division were recruited from, from the preserved data of the Third Reich's military and police institutions in the Independent State of Croatia. When recruiting "volunteers" into the Muslim SS-division, a certain amount of money and food, equivalent to the amount which German soldiers received during the war, was "guaranteed" to every family with at least one "volunteer". However, this was never fulfilled because the relatives (of the volunteers) – wives, parents or children – had to fill out certain forms, which they were not able to do because they all were illiterate.

Albahari et al, pp. 398-399.



What, in your opinion, were the motives for joining the SS? Do you think that the food and money promised to the volunteers' families was never given due to the reason given in the text?

I-23. Darko Stuparić writes about the establishment of the first Croatian Partisan unit near Sisak (Croatia) in June 1941

That night, about ten communists and the members of the League of Young Communists gathered in the yard of the Lasic's family house in Žabno. They walked about a hundred metres from the village and under an oak tree they had a meeting. They talked until midnight. Then the members of the Party from the nearby villages left in order to complete some tasks that same night. Capo and Marijan stayed alone under the oak tree, spread a tent and lay down. It was their first Partisan night. They were the first Yugoslav Partisans.

In the first days of the Partisan war ... everybody wanted to know how long the war would last. That is, how long we would fight, if there was any chance for a rebellion, etc. (...) Some asked: "If we hide in the barn and stay there for five to six weeks, will it be over?" We used to reply that it was not likely to finish so soon, that the most important thing for us was to oppose with arms, that it was now our decision and that such a decision would be made by the whole Party.

Dedijer, p. 397.



What was Partisan reality in the first days of the resistance movement? What do you think of the "barn" aspiration?

I-24. Testimonies about how Ohrid saw the coming of the Germans, the Italians, the Bulgarians and the Partisans during the Second World War

THE ARRIVAL OF THE GERMANS IN OHRID, 10 APRIL 1941

On Thursday evening, at around five o'clock, all of the bells began to ring, because that was when the German units started to arrive... Some people waited for them in the centre and they were offered bread, salt and water by Panto Rilkoski. Because they were afraid that it might be poisoned, Panto would try it first, and then they would eat it as well. Afterwards, a Serbian navy officer led them to the navy and handed it over to them. He knew German and was probably a Croat. After taking a walk through the city, they sat to eat their dinner, and it was canned food... The shops were closed. Only two coffee-bars were working, but were not offering drinks, coffee or tea, because there was no sugar...

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ITALIANS, 11 APRIL 1941

On Friday night, the Italian units came with cars full of soldiers and armaments... The Italians were quite hungry and were asking the population for eggs, chicken, bread and such. The children were selling them food, receiving money – liras and Albanian leks.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE BULGARIANS, 12 MAY 1941

On 12 May, at five o'clock in the afternoon, the Bulgarian police came. They were received by the President of the municipality, Ilija Kocareski. Fifteen days later, the rest of the Bulgarian troops came as well. The German General Lindeman gave a speech, which was translated, saying that he had handed over the town to the Bulgarians because it had been theirs and that they should govern it. Then the Bulgarian general gave a speech saying that we had been the slaves of the Serbian people and expressed gratitude to the German liberating army.

That is how Ohrid changed masters three times in one month...

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PARTISANS, 15 OCTOBER 1944

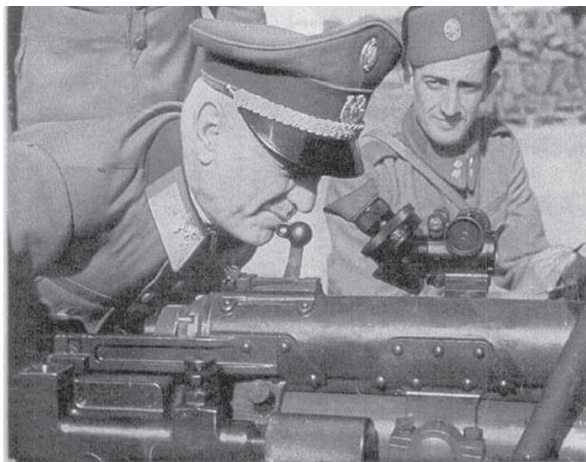
On 15 October (1944), Sunday morning, the Partisans came. The people knew they were coming. When they came, they were riding horses. The people gave them a magnificent reception. There were many people, young and old (...). The next day more partisans came. Amongst them were women armed with bombs, machine guns, bullets and wearing trousers, which was quite new...

Mitreski, pp 230-232, 280.



What are the similarities and differences between these descriptions? Is it possible to discern the author's attitude towards the different armies that went to Ohrid?

► v7. Bosniaks in the Ustasha forces



Krišto, p. 257.



Usthas paid special attention to Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims). Pavelić used to explain that the figures of 7,5 million Serbs and only 2,5 million Croats were wrong; there were 5,5 million "Catholic and Muslim Croats". In order to get the Bosniaks on their side, the Usthas called them "the flowers of the Croatian people". Bosniaks formed separate units in the Ustasha forces. They differed from other units by the "fez", a traditional Muslim cap.

I-25. A child about the rivalry of the political groups in Albania

"The next trick they tried was to have the Partisans, dressed in German soldiers' uniforms, visit us and denounce the communists to us, to see if we would agree with them. The German sympathisers pulled the same trick on everyone in Arza. The three factions pulled the same trick on everyone in Arza. The men who came to the houses were always from some other section of the country, and no one knew them in Arza. In this way they found out how everyone felt about each faction."

Hysolli, p. 58.



How were the factions trying to discover who really supported them and who did not? What does this extract tell you about the everyday life of civilians? In your opinion, what would have been the best way of answering the questions about the different armies/factions?

I-26. LNC Central Council circular letter to all the regional committees in Albania (dated 9 September 1943)

"In case of an Allied landing, the National Liberation Council must be the real power. They must mobilise the whole people around them and should not allow other forces, such as the Balli Kombetar, to exert any influence over the people (...) The National Liberation forces must begin, from now on, to as-

sert themselves everywhere and, when the landing takes place, they must present themselves to the Allies, through the National Liberation Councils, as the only power of the Albanian people (...) The administration of Albania should be entirely in the hands of the Liberation Councils.”

Smiley, p. 89.



What kind of behaviour, in the case of an Allied landing in Albania, does this letter propose? How they should try to avoid the representation of other political forces? What was the attitude of the LNC towards the rival political groups in Albania? Was the final, or even the main goal of the resistance movements, to come to power?



Overall questions on subchapter Ib.

Make a table with three columns. Write the names of the occupying armies in the first, the names of the communist armies in the second, and in the last column the names of the anticommunist armies from each source. Describe the relations between the communist and the anticommunist armies operating in the same country. Make a list of the armies that existed in your country. Find out more about their leaders and their aims. How were the Partisan armies organised? What kind of problems did they have? Resistance armies didn't fight only for freedom but for several other aims as well. What were these aims?

Ic. Relations with the two coalitions and with the neighbouring countries

I-27 and I-28.

News report on the military coup and overthrow of the pro-Axis Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This took place on 27 March 1941, following Yugoslavia's entry into the Tripartite Pact

Coming from peripheral streets, processions merged with one another, growing into a mighty river. The procession included a mixture of workers, employees, youth, citizens, peasants and women. State flags were carried in front of the procession... All the time, people were demonstrating their mood. They cheered: "Hooray for the people's government!", "Hooray for the people's army!", "The military is with the people!", "We demand democratic people's rights!", "Amnesty for political convicts!"

(...) Representatives of youth and workers, as well as Dr. Dragoljub Jovanović²⁰, spoke on Slavija square. They all voiced their content at the fact that the former government had been overthrown and stressed Belgraders' desire not to stop halfway, to preserve peace and to preserve the nation's independence.

²⁰ Dr. Dragoljub Jovanović (1895-1977), a University Professor, was the leader of the left wing of the Farmers' Party. After World War II, Tito's regime sentenced him to a long imprisonment for his activities in the opposition.

(...) Several speeches were delivered in front of the monument to Vuk Karadžić. University Professor Sima Milošević, Ph.D., was among the speakers. The Yugoslav people, according to Mr. Milošević, want to preserve the nation's independence, freedom and to secure democratic rights.

Politika, 28 March 1941.

The report by the chief Rabbi of Yugoslavia, Dr. Isak Alkalaj, to the Yugoslav government in exile on the events between the end of March and the end of June 1941

On that day (26 March), riots broke out in all secondary schools simultaneously... Chanting: "Better war than pact, better grave than slave" could be heard from all the classrooms... Classes in all schools have been called off and in the evening, demonstrations erupted in Kalemegdan and in Slavija ... The Greek Consulate was swarmed by young people between 17 and 20 years of age who wanted to transfer to Greece and fight there as volunteers. (...)

As soon as the people heard the news about the turnaround, all the streets were decorated with flags and many also with flowers. Already at six o'clock in the morning (on 27 March), the streets were filled

with people, peasants in festive clothing coming from nearby villages, workers, intellectuals, students and citizens, young and old. They all came out to express their joy; they all hugged, cried, sang and chanted. The greeting on that day was: "Long live the King, hooray for Yugoslavia" (...). The English, American, Russian and Greek embassies were practically besieged. Groups of people went from one embassy to another, made their way to the yards and danced in "kolo", welcomed by deeply moved heads and staff of these missions. (...) Processions were preceded with flags, Yugoslav flags and those of the Allies, heading towards the center of the city, cheering for the King, Fatherland and the army, shouting against Hitler and his mercenaries. (...) Around noon, massive demonstrations occurred in front of the German Traffic Office... A man stood at a window holding a large portrait of Hitler's which he then set on fire. The picture burned slowly while the frantic applause of the crowd below roared and could be heard even in remote parts of the city. Then two men pulled out a German flag with a swastika and tore it apart with their teeth."

Tokovi istorije, 1-2/1997, pp. 181-182.



What was the population's reaction to the signing of the Tripartite Pact by the Yugoslav Government and the military coup that followed? Which detail shows us the awareness of the demonstrators that the events could cause a German attack on Yugoslavia?

► v8. 27 March 1941 - Mass anti-Axis demonstrations in Belgrade



Petranović-Žutić, 27 March 1941.



Hitler's fierce reaction to the military coup, organized by a group of Yugoslav officers as a reaction to the accession of the Yugoslav government to the Tripartite Treaty on March 25, consisted of an attack on the Yugoslav capital on 6 April 1941 and the destruction of the first Yugoslav State.

I-29. Extract from the memoirs of Konstantin Katsarov²¹, a famous Bulgarian lawyer, on the first year of World War II

During this phase of "drôle de guerre" the war could hardly be felt in Bulgaria, at least on the surface, both in a political and military sense. The internal situation was under the Czar's authority, which depended on the army cleared of officers dealing with politics, and on the ministers, who were not members of any party. The external policy of the country was one of waiting, of "passing unnoticed"(...)

Bulgaria was neutral.

This word held a special fascination for the Bulgarians. We had waged three wars and suffered two national catastrophes, which had buried the national ideals inspiring our generation. The Bulgarians did not believe that through a war or by participating in a big international combination, they would improve their living conditions.

A typical example of their loss of faith on their success in the international politics at the time can be seen in the following joke, which was very popular:

"Pizho meets the village teacher and asks him:

"Teacher, we are going to stay neutral this time, aren't we?"

"No, no", replies the teacher, who was a specialist in international politics, "this time Bulgaria won't be Germany's ally. Now we are going with England."

"That's good! Let England be beaten for once as well!"

Katsarov, pp.547-548.

²¹ Konstantin Katsarov was born in Sofia in 1898, he was a Professor at the Law Department of Sofia University (1931-1953), unjustly convicted in 1953. He was released from prison, because his sentence was later found to be a miscarriage of justice. Following the overturn of his conviction, he emigrated to Switzerland.



Why did the majority of the Bulgarians want to avoid a new war? Did they expect to receive any benefits for themselves from the subsequent world conflict?

I-30. A famous Bulgarian journalist Danail Krapchev about the accusation against Bulgaria of not offering resistance to the German army

Why Didn't They Stop the German Army?

Some countries criticise Bulgaria for allowing the German army, its ally in the World War, to pass through its territories. We must point out that these countries are Great Powers. We, the Bulgarians, have every right to ask them:

Why did those, who criticise Bulgaria for letting the German army pass its territories, not stop the same army in their march last year or the year before? (...) Why didn't they go to the lower part of the Danube to stop the Germans? They want the seven million Bulgarian people, who were allies of Germany during the World War and shared its fate, to prevent them from crossing the big river?

After all, it should not be forgotten that Bulgaria is a victim of the Versailles system that started in Bucharest and ended in Neuilly. Why should the seven million Bulgarians be obliged to stop the eighty million Germans in their onset to build a new Europe? Bulgaria and Germany are both victims of the victors in the War two decades ago and we are waiting for the victory of justice (...)

The 'Zora' Newspaper, Sofia, 6 March 1941.

Krapchev, pp. 210-211.



What are the author's arguments? Are they convincing? What is Krapchev's attitude towards Germany and the German people?

I-31. Danail Krapchev commenting on Germany's swift victory over Yugoslavia in April 1941

Ruined is the country, which, in 1885, attacked the Bulgarian Principality because South Bulgaria had joined the Northern one. Ruined is the country,

which in 1913, perfidiously renounced the allied treaty between Bulgaria and Serbia and caused the War between the Allies (the Second Balkan War). Ruined is the country, which at the peace negotiations in Bucharest wanted to have Tsarevo Selo as well to "break our teeth in Sofia" as the Serbian representative Spalaikovich declared. Ruined is the country, which had given to the Greeks the motherland of St. Cyril and Methodius. Ruined is the country, which inspired the murder of the Austrian Crown Prince, thus, starting the World War. Ruined is the country, which helped Bulgaria to be thrown out of the Aegean region. We say the country, and not the Serbian people, because the people are not guilty; it is their governing intelligentsia who is guilty and who has always hated Bulgaria...

Not only did this country oppress more than one million Bulgarians by separating them from us and by trying to take their hearts, souls and mother tongue, but it also undermined Bulgaria from the inside...

Jesus Christ rose from the dead! From now on, every Bulgarian citizen will breathe more freely. Be happy!

Krapchev, pp. 145-146.



What are Krapchev's reasons for being joyful at this event? Does his joy concern the whole of Yugoslavia, or only a part of it? Why? What does this article tell us about the author?

► v9. Romanian newspaper: King Michael, General Antonescu, Mussolini, Hitler (1941)



„Universul”, no. 130, 15 May 1942.

► **v10. Romanian newspaper: King Michael and Generalissimo Stalin (1945)**



„Universul”, 26 October 1944



Compare this illustration with the previous one. What is your opinion on the Romanian Army and on politicians changing sides? Do you think the new “comradeship” was a sincere one? Explain your answer.

I-32 and I-33.

Extract from the Mnemonio to the British (18/10/1941) of the then Prime Minister Emmanouil Tsouderos - formerly a banker known for his liberal views and his opposition to the Metaxas regime - on the official Greek government in Cairo

The return of the King and his Family to our country is a matter of honour, not only because he followed a correct and brave policy but also because it is in our best interests and those of our allies. Any question of regime, which might arise after the war would throw Greece into controversy and anarchy with no end. If our friends are looking forward to a post-war Greece capable of continuing her foreign policy and remaining a useful political influence in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, they must already prepare the ground which will make it impossible for such anomalies to happen in Greece.

Fleischer, *Stemma kai svastika*, vol. 1, p. 181.



How is Tsouderos trying to persuade his allies that the return of the King is in their best interest? What do you think of his arguments?

Message from the British Foreign Office to the British Minister in Cairo 14 August 1944

“What would better serve our interests would be for the surrender of the Germans to be arranged once the British forces are ready to move to Greece, on condition that they also hand over all German weapons and supplies in such a way as not to fall into the hands of EAM, and so that there will be no hiatus from which EAM might benefit. This would be undoubtedly better achieved if the material could be handed over in ports, which we can reach easily. Of course, the Field-Marshal for the Middle East is considering various ways and means and will take into account the above considerations”.

latridis, p. 227.



The German army's invasion of Greece was launched in April 1941 and both the Greek and British forces were rapidly overcome. Three days before the fall of Athens on 23 April, General Tsolakoglou, without government authorisation, negotiated an armistice with the Germans. The King and his government withdrew to the Middle East. In Greece, a collaborationist government was established. In March 1944, EAM established the Political Committee of National Liberation, which constituted a direct challenge to the government-in-exile. A new Prime Minister of the government in exile, George Papandreou, under British aegis, set about constructing a government of national unity. He finally gave five secondary ministries to EAM in the new government. The Papandreou government returned to liberated Athens in October 1944, accompanied by a small British force. Demands for the punishment of the collaborators were not given priority by Papandreou. But the main problem was the demobilization of the guerrilla armies and their replacement by a national army. EAM's nominees resigned from the cabinet and a few days later, on 3 December 1944, EAM organised a mass demonstration. The police fired, leaving about 15 dead. ELAS units attacked police stations and there was furious

street fighting between the ELAS units, and the British and government forces in Athens. Ultimately, the British troops won the upper hand in the battle.



What kind of a hiatus was the British Foreign Office afraid of? Why?

I-34. Brigadier E.C.W. Myers, Commander of the British Military Mission to Greece, assesses the impact of the resistance against the Nazis on the overall evolution of the war

Soon after its occupation, Greece became of considerable strategic importance to the enemy. Not only was the country bled white to provide the maximum local produce, but its ports, in particular Piraeus, were used both to supply the enemy's island air bases in the Eastern Mediterranean and to slip supplies across by sea to North Africa.

In the autumn of 1942 just as we broke out of the El Alamein line, the destruction of the Gorgopotamos viaduct resulted in the only railway to Athens being cut for six critical weeks²², during which the enemy was unable to use Piraeus to reinforce his troops in North Africa with more than such small reserves as already happened to be in Southern Greece. The widespread sabotage of communications in June and July, 1943, temporarily diverted two German divisions from the main battle-front in Sicily. It contributed to no small extent towards the overall cover plan, the success of the landings and the capture of the island. It has been estimated that between 1941 and 1944 over twenty-five thousand casualties were inflicted upon the enemy by the *andartes*²³. It is known that over one hundred and fifty locomotives were damaged or destroyed. Over a hundred bridges were blown up. Over two hundred

²² The destruction of the Gorgopotamos railway viaduct in November 1942, which carried the Salonica-Athens railway line, was one of the most spectacular acts of resistance in occupied Europe. It was achieved by guerrillas drawn both from ELAS and EDES and saboteurs parachuted into Greece by the British Special Operations Executive.

²³ Partisans.

and fifty ships of about sixty-eight thousand tons in all were sunk or damaged by sabotage. During 1943 *andarte* action necessitated the retention of thirteen Italian divisions in Greece. After the Italian capitulation, the Germans were forced to keep six divisions there. Had the enemy weakened his army of occupation before civil war broke out in the mountains, they would have run serious risks of a nation-wide Greek rising against them.

Myers, pp. 280-281.



Why was Greece of strategic importance to the Germans? What was the importance of the destruction of the Gorgopotamos viaduct?

► v11. Romanian newspaper photo: comradeship between Romanian and Red Armies: officers at the Front



„Universul”, Bucharest, 6 October 1944.



What year might this photograph have been taken? Explain why.

I-35. The treatment of the English prisoners, Romania (1944)

Antonescu informed Chas that, although I had come here as an enemy, he will protect us against the Germans. They did not need to offer the Germans any pretexts to take us under their protection and this is

why, professor Mihai Antonescu... will help us set up our declarations. We were by no means to admit that we were sent to sabotage the oil, since such an act against strategic merchandise would have offered to the Germans a valid argument to take us over ... This is how one of the closest allies of Hitler — a Quisling — would arrest 3 British parachutists, then offer them his protection, send his own minister of External Affairs to instruct them how to do at the interrogation of the Germans. How many of those back home — used to judge war in the most general and less equivocal terms — would have thought something like this to be possible?"

Porter, p. 161.



This account was written by Ivor Porter, an English spy sent to Romania with the mission of contacting Iuliu Maniu²⁴, the leader of the democratic opposition. The treatment that the prisoners were subjected to grasps the Antonescu government's attitude, which, in spite of the official declarations of fidelity towards Germany, looked for the sympathy of the powers within the United Nations.



What, in your opinion, is the explanation for the unusual treatment of the prisoners of war?

I-36. Extracts from the minutes of the talk between J.B. Tito and W. Churchill in Naples, 12 August 1944

(...) MARSHALL TITO said that (...) as far as Serbs are concerned, he was not in a quarrel with them, but only with Mihailović's group, who turned its rifles against the Partisans at the most critical moment.

²⁴ Iuliu Maniu (1873–1953). A Romanian politician, he was an important leader of the Romanian National movement in Transylvania in the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. During the inter-war period, Maniu was one of the main political figures, constantly promoting democratic ideas. He was the leader of the democratic political opposition during the Antonescu government. Convicted and imprisoned by the Communists in 1947, Maniu died in Sighet prison.

(...) THE PRIME-MINISTER said that the true solution for Yugoslavia would be a democratic system which would rely on peasants, as the conditions on farm households would gradually improve.

MARSHALL TITO said that, as he had already said several times in public, he did not want to introduce the communist system in Yugoslavia, if for no other reason than because it was expected that most European countries after the war would live in democratic systems from which Yugoslavia must not differ.

Tito – Churchill: Strogo tajno, p. 277.



Was Tito honest with Churchill?

I-37. Order of the Italian King Victor Emanuel III, dated 3 May 1941 on the annexation of the Province of Ljubljana to Italy

KING'S ORDER DATED 3 MAY 1941 - XIX, NO. 291

The foundation of the Province of Ljubljana

VICTOR EMANUEL III

(...) Article 2. By an order of the King, and issued upon the proposal of the Duce of Fascism and the Minister of the Interior, the Province of Ljubljana will - due to the serried Slovenian population - enjoy an autonomous status, which will take into account the ethnic characteristics of the population, the geographical situation of the country and its special local needs.

Article 3. Administrative power will be in the hands of the High Commissioner appointed by King's order, upon the proposal of the Duce of Fascism, the Prime Minister, as well as the Minister of Interior.

Article 4. The High Commissioner will be assisted by a council consisting of 14 members, chosen from the productive groups of the Slovenian population.

Article 5. There will be no compulsory military service for the residents of the Province of Ljubljana.

Article 6. The instruction in primary schools will be carried out in Slovenian. In secondary and tertiary level schools there will be an optional instruction

of the Italian language. All official decrees will be issued in both languages. (...)

Ferenc, p. 33.



Italian troops occupied the western and southern parts of Slovenia. After a short military administration, the Italian occupiers transformed their occupied territories into the so-called Province of Ljubljana (Provincia di Ljubiana). It was governed by a High Commissioner. A few days after the occupation, a Slovenian body, called the National Council, was in operation, but only for a few months and it didn't have any real power. Legally, the Province of Ljubljana was one of the Italian provinces. It gained an autonomous status which manifested itself in a different name for the person in charge (High Commissioner as opposed to Prefect used in other parts of Italy), in bilingualism, in a formal co-administration by the advisory committee for the Province of Ljubljana whose members were Slovenians and, finally, by the fact that Slovenian citizens did not have to serve in the army. After the Italian capitulation, the former Italian occupational territory was taken over by the Germans.



Comment on article No. 4.

I-38. An anecdote told by Ivan Venedikov, a famous Bulgarian archaeologist, about his relations with the Germans in Macedonia

At that moment, Stamen Mihailov brought in a German soldier, an Archaeologist. He was a typical German, blond, tall, wearing a uniform; he was with his unit in Skopje. He was about 35 and his specialty was the pre-historical period ...

The last time I saw him, Lange told me a joke about us, the Bulgarians:

"People say that you are twelve million." He said.

"No, only six".

"No, twelve. Six of them are with us, and the other six are with the Soviet Union", he told me.

That made me unhappy, but I did not say anything. Could he have been right?

Venedikov, pp. 238-239.



What is the German's concealed reproach? On what grounds is it made?



Overall questions on subchapter Ic.

What were the factors that influenced the decisions for certain coalitions? Why did the political actors change the coalitions? Did the activities of certain actors match the proclamations they made at the beginning of the war?

Id. Religious organisations

I-39. Declaration of the Archbishop of Ioannina (Greece) to all the Christians under his authority (10/9/43)²⁵

To the Christians of our County:

As of the 9th of this month, the military administration of Epirus has been taken over by the German Occupation Authorities. Officials of these authorities have declared that the German Army undertakes to protect the lawful and peaceful population, but they

consider guerrillas as enemies, not only of the German Army, but also of the peaceful citizens who will bear the brunt of the severe punishment, as it will be necessary for severe measures to be taken indiscriminately against the guilty and the innocent alike.

We take this opportunity to address once again our Christian people and remind them of how critical these times are, and issue a fatherly admonition and advise them to abstain from any unlawful acts and persuade the more naïve among them to also abstain from co-operating with and aiding the guerrillas so as to prevent a holocaust of innocent people.

²⁵ See also sources III-6 and III-7.

We fully realise the anxiety in the souls of everyone, but in the name of our Pastoral duty, in the name of tender love for our flock, in the name of an entire life spent protecting and serving the flock entrusted to us, we call upon all to put aside any personal interest in favour of the general good, in favour of the large numbers of innocent people who are exposed to countless dangers, and we appeal for prudence, for the full realisation of the gravity of the circumstances and for patience.

We expect and hope that this ultimate appeal of ours shall be duly noted and appreciated.

With fervent prayers to God.
Ioannina, 10 September, 1943
Spyridon, Archbishop of Ioannina

Fleischer, vol. 2, p. 222.



What is the Archbishop of Ioannina suggesting to the Christians in his authority? What are the motives behind this suggestion? Is it possible to see from this letter whether he approved of the actions of the German authorities or not?

I-40. Letter by Archbishop Damaskinos and other eminent Greeks to Gunther von Altenburg, German Ambassador in Greece

Archbishop Damaskinos and other eminent Greeks
to Gunther von Altenburg, Ambassador,
the Reich Plenipotentiary for Greece

Athens, 24 March 1943

Your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, are not seeking in this letter to interfere in any way with matters of the general tactics of the German Authorities in this country or anywhere else, but simply to submit certain thoughts to you, on the occasion of any issue which, in recent days, has held the entire population of Greece in a state of surmise and emotion, being certain that you will examine them in a spirit of profound good will and, even more, in a spirit of profound understanding.

The issue in question is that of the expulsion from Thessaloniki, of the community of Jews of Greek nationality who, for a very long time, have been entirely lawfully integrated into the institutions of this country, and, not only have they never given any Greeks any opportunity for complaint, but, on the contrary, they have always set an example of serious and co-operative solidarity and, at moments of crisis, proved themselves to be capable of self-denial and self-sacrifice for their country. (...)

It should also be noted that the Jews in Greece have a mentality which differs from that of the Jews in Germany, and that they do not even know the language of their co-religionists in Poland, where they are being sent to live.

Having taken all this into consideration, and, further, bearing in mind that throughout the entire length of Greek history our relations with the Jewish community have always been harmonious and smooth, from the depths of antiquity through the time of Alexander the Great and his heirs, down to all the eras of tolerant Greek Orthodoxy to the framework of our recent life as a nation. We believe that with Your Excellency's high capacity as regulator of affairs in our country during the present war, you will not hesitate to meet our present request and to decide that the expulsion of the Jewish community from Greece shall be suspended, at least on a temporary basis, until the question of the Jews in Greece can be studied in the light of a special and thorough research. (...)

Your Excellency,

In the name of the sublime ideas which the Greek spirit and the high culture of Your homeland have elevated to the status of watchwords of universal prestige and incontrovertible authority, we beg of you that the suspension of the expulsion of our Jewish fellow-citizens, which we have requested, be implemented as soon as possible, and we assure you that the entire Greek people will be in a position to appreciate in due course the magnificent historic gesture you will have made.

Documents on the History of the Greek Jews,
pp. 264-265.



The Orthodox Church, which remained in operation in Athens throughout the occupation, played an important role in religious and political affairs during this period and tried to assist the Jews in fleeing or hiding and thus surviving. After the first deportations of the Jews had begun, Archbishop Damaskinos organised a meeting of leading academics, judges and lawyers as well as presidents and secretaries of trade unions and professional associations. Petitions to the quisling government and the Reich's Plenipotentiary were drafted, signed by Damaskinos and 21 other public figures, expressing the horror of the Greek people at the deportations and demanding that these stop immediately.



What did the authors of this letter write about the Jewish community in Greece? What are they asking the Ambassador to do? Did the respectable public figures put themselves in danger by signing this letter (bear in mind German anti-Semitic policy as well as the brutality of the regime itself)? In your opinion, why did the authors of the letter stress that "...the Jews in Greece have a mentality which differs from that of the Jews in Germany...?"

I-41. The Catholic church of Albania about the Italian invasion of Albania

From the historical day of 7 April 1939, Albania had a lucky fate because of the will of the Great Duce of Fascism, his Excellency Benito Mussolini, The Saviour of Albania, and according to the desire expressed by the Albanian people through the Constituent Assembly on 12 April 1939; Albanians and their brothers in Italy are united in their fates, predestined since ancient times by nature, under the splendid Crown of Savoja and under his Highness Victor Emanuel III, the Great King and three times winner, they became one, as part of the Roman Empire. Since this happy time, Albanians have been free to express their feelings and aspirations on every subject without fear, something they had not dared to do since the time of their legendary leader Gjergj Kastriot Scanderbeg.

"Hylli i Dritës" (The Star of Light), December 1940, p. 601.



This excerpt is from an article from the magazine *Hylli i Dritës* (The Star of Light) which was the public organ of the Catholic religion and one of the most prominent, in general, in Albania.

I-42 and I-43.

Sarajevo Bosniaks about the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (at that time, part of the Independent State of Croatia)

On 12 October 1941, a Resolution was drawn up, by about 100 Muslims from Sarajevo, after the proposal of the Main committee of "El Hidaja"²⁶, a society of Muslim clergy. The Resolution recognised the harsh conditions of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, criticised the violence towards the Serbs and the Jews, rejected the responsibility of the Muslims for committing crimes and, at the same time, criticised the Muslims who had taken part in the violence. Signatories of the Resolution stated their requests, and most important among these were: the establishment of "safety of life, honour, property and faith for all citizens of the State without any differences", and the prevention of future "actions, which are, by their nature, capable of implicit insurrections and bloodshed among the people".

Redžić, p. 16.



Some representatives of the Bosniaks were appalled by the crimes committed by authorities of the ISC towards the Serbian and Jewish populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1941. In October 1941, they drafted a resolution in which they expressed their opinions.

The Islamic clergy and the creation of the Bosniak SS-division in 1943

The main role in recruiting men into the SS-division was played by the Islamic mufties and imams.

²⁶ EL Hidaja was a key Islamic organisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Particularly active in this role were the imams Mustafa Malkoc and Halim Malkoc, who gathered the people in front of the mosques, made propaganda speeches and called for recruits to join the 13th SS-division. Recruited men were transported to Germany and, after that, to southern France, where they were exposed to special discipline, military training and a political education. The main goal of this kind of education was to develop the fatalistic approach to Islam and to be taught the war goals of the Third Reich by the members of this division. The carriers of the education of the military in the 13th SS-division were young mufties, who were previously educated in a pan-Islamic manner in a special school, founded in Berlin by El Huseini, the great mufti of Jerusalem.

Redžić, p. 120.



Compare these two sources. In what ways do the actions of the various Muslim clergy members differ from each other? Can you find similar examples from your country?

I-44 and I-45.

A speech given by his holiness Nicodim, Patriarch of Romania, at the Law Faculty in Bucharest in 1942

There is only one thing left that we should think of. Our enemies are also the enemies of the Cross, hostile to a civilisation founded on indescribable toil and sacrifice, on the Holy Gospel and on the science in its service. The Bolsheviks utter blasphemies against God and fight to annihilate the Cross and everything that was built under its power, they rummage the land of our forefathers and scatter the graves²⁷ (...)

Deeply rooted in a past filled with blood, we defend such a heredity which also belongs to the entire civilised world. We fight for the Holy Cross and for the Holy Gospel and we pray to God and Jesus our Lord.

„Universul”, 79/2.03.1942, p. 4.

²⁷ This assertion refers to the occupation of Bessarabia and Bukovina by the Soviet Union in the summer of 1940.

Press article: *The sister-churches. Great perspectives of Orthodoxy*, by Mihai Burlacu

Along with the war, that had ended back East, there also fell a black veil that separated the two neighbour Orthodox sister-churches – that is, the one between our older sister, the Patriarchy of the Russian-Orthodox church and its younger sister, the Patriarchy of our Romanian-Orthodox church. (...)

And in the words addressed to the county by His Holiness Nicodim, the Patriarch of the Romanian-Orthodox church, ... he brought his homage to the Russian-Orthodox Patriarchy, our older sister: “Recently, His Holiness, the Metropolitan Alexie of Leningrad and Novgorod,... addressed the Orthodox believers in our beloved country, with brotherly words of stimulus and of invigorating encouragement for the hopes of our beloved people, and for the well-being of our holy church. These thoughts of our older sister in Jesus Christ offered us great joy. Our live wish is to see, renewed and strengthened, together with our older sister in God, the holy Orthodox church of the Union of Soviet and Socialist Republics; in the spirit of Christian and brotherly love, the closest connection”. (...)

But there are great and new perspectives arriving in the future for the Orthodoxy. A new ecumenical synod is awaited with grand preparations by the theologians and the clergy of all Orthodox churches in the Balkans. But there can't be a ecumenical synod without the participation of the older sister, the Russian-Orthodox Patriarchy. Moreover, serious studies and research have been set-up by our theologians regarding the Anglican church, in comparison to the other Orthodox sister-churches. But they could not reach a final conclusion without the ecumenical understanding of all the Orthodox churches. It is hence explicable from our religious point of view as to why the Anglican Church saluted, with a warm prayer and a pious homage, the moment of the reunification of the two Christian-Orthodox people as brothers.

„Universul”, 291/28.10.1944.



In what ways do these two texts differ? What can you infer from the two statements of Patriarch Nicodim in relation to external pressures? In your opinion, did the attitude towards the Bolsheviks change? If so, what might be the reason(s) for this change?²⁸ Explain your answer.

I-46. The arrest of Patriarch Gavriilo by German Gestapo in the Ostrog monastery, 23 April 1941

After the capitulation of the Yugoslav army on 16 April, I remained in Ostrog. My intention was to return to the Patriarchate in Belgrade as soon as possible. However, this was not an easy task. The roads were damaged, there was no petrol nor was there the possibility of procuring it from any side. In addition, the occupier destroyed almost all the roads, which were otherwise in poor condition, with his armored vehicles and tanks. I waited for a suitable moment for my return. Slightly before six a.m. on 23 April, Milutin²⁹ knocked on my door... As soon as... he entered my room, he told me: "Your holiness, the Germans are here and are looking for you". He was upset and very excited. Seeing him in such a mood, I told him: "Please, be calm and do not despair. Nothing will happen to you... The Germans are looking for me." As soon as I finished the sentence, four Germans in military uniforms barged into my room without knocking. They wore the initials SD on their sleeves and lapels, indicating the political police or the Gestapo ...

(...) The colonel said the following: "You are indicted, as the main war criminal, for Yugoslavia's entry into the war against the Axis powers. According to this, I have the order from the Supreme Com-

mander of the military and civil force, Führer Adolf Hitler, to interrogate you on your criminal activities and then forward the case to a higher military court which shall pronounce a fair sentence according to military law... you have... entered pure politics with your actions among your people from that area and are accused of spreading your idea among them and of encouraging them to be united in their revolt against the Axis powers, in particular, since the signing of the Pact on 25 March, when Yugoslavia joined the Tripartite Pact on its free will ... Everything you did fell on fertile soil among the members of your congregation, you imbued them with the notion of revolt and prepared a military coup ... You yourself, pushed Yugoslavia into war and toppled the legitimate Royal Regency and its government ... As soon as war broke out in 1939, you started to visit the Serbian people frequently and, in your speeches, you instigated a belligerent mood among them ... that every form of resistance against the Axis powers, as enemies of the Yugoslav state, should be encouraged.

Memoari patrijarha srpskog Gavriila
(*Memoirs of the Serbian Patriarch Gavriilo*), pp. 291, 299, 300.



The Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Gavriilo Dožić (1938 to 1950), was an opponent of the Axis policy and of Yugoslavia's rapprochement with the Axis. He was interned at the beginning of war in the Ostrog monastery in Montenegro. Sustaining continuous harassment, he was subsequently transferred to Sarajevo and then to a Gestapo prison in Belgrade. German occupation authorities then interned him in the Rakovica monastery near Belgrade and subsequently in the Vojlovica monastery. He stayed there, watched by guards and in complete isolation until September 1944, when he was transferred, together with the Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović, to the Dachau concentration camp, where they spent several months. Although an opponent of the new communist regime, he returned to the country in 1946, to try and help the recovery of the war-devastated country and to reestablish the church organization that had been almost destroyed in certain regions (particularly territories that were parts of the Independent State of Croatia).

²⁸ One of the reasons why might be the change of attitude towards the Russian Church by the Bolshevik regime between the time of the two extracts. After being persecuted in the 1930s and early 1940s, in 1943, the Russian Church became legal again. This change in Stalin's policy might also have given hope to the Romanian Church that it could be possible to live with the Bolsheviks. For more information, see: Pospiclovsky: *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime*, vol. I.

²⁹ The Patriarch's steady companion – translator's note.



How did the Patriarch react when he was told that the Germans were looking for him? What was he accused of? Compare Patriarch Gavriło's faith with that of the Archbishop Stepinac's (next two sources).

I-47 and I-48.

Stepinac's appeal to the Catholic clergy to support the Independent State of Croatia, 28 April 1941

These are no longer the hours of tongue, but of blood, with its mysterious bond to the land in which we saw the light of God and to the nation we were born in. Need it be emphasised that the hearts in our chests started beating more lively, too? (...) And who can reproach us, if we, the spiritual shepherds also contribute to national delight and jubilation by turning to God's highness with deep awe and warm gratitude (...). Addressing you, therefore, as the representative of the Church and the shepherd of souls, I plead with you and appeal to you, to give your utmost for Croatia to become the land of God, because only thus will it be able to fulfil the two important tasks which it, as a state, must accomplish for its members.... Respond, therefore, readily to this appeal of mine for the exalted endeavour to preserve and advance the ISC.

Živojinović, Lučić, pp. 554-556.

Stepinac's letter to Pavelić, dated May 14, 1941

Poglavnik (the Leader)!

I've just received the news that in Glina, the Ustasas shot 260 Serbs without any prior investigation or court ruling. I know that the Serbs committed serious crimes in our country in the 20 years of their rule. But I still find it my duty as a Bishop to raise my voice and say that this is not allowed under Catholic morality; so I'm asking you to undertake the most urgent measures on the whole territory of the ISC, so that not one single Serb is killed unless his guilt is proved to the extent that he deserves death. Oth-

erwise, we can't count on the blessing from heaven, and without it, we are all doomed. I hope you won't reproach me for my honest words.

Krišto, pp. 134-135



One section of the highly-positioned Catholic clergy in Croatia, among whom the Zagreb Archbishop, Alojsije Stepinac had a prominent position, supported the establishment of the ISC in the beginning. However, soon after the establishment of the ISC, Archbishop Stepinac wrote letters on several occasions to the Ustasha officials in which he officially protested against the crimes committed by the Ustasha regime, and later on, he openly criticised them in his sermons. Similar attitudes and mood swings towards the Ustasha regime were characteristics of, not only Stepinac and the majority of the Catholic clergy, but also the major part of the population in Croatia at that time. However, in spite of denouncing some aspects of the Ustasha regime, Stepinac, being a radical anti-communist, did not keep himself at a distance from the ISC as he considered the Partisans (to be more precise: the communists) to be the main enemy. After the war, he was sentenced for being a collaborator to 16 years of prison and forced labour by the communist authorities. During his prison sentence, the Holy See honoured him with the title of Cardinal, to which Yugoslavia reacted by breaking off diplomatic relations. In 1960, Stepinac died while serving his sentence. Pope John Paul II beatified him in 1998.³⁰

³⁰ In Communist Yugoslavia, the historiographic presentation of Stepinac, based on the court ruling for collaboration, was exclusively negative, and no open public debate concerning the matter was allowed. With the fall of communism, the dominating historiographic presentation of Stepinac in Croatia has changed completely. He is now generally portrayed in a positive light, simply as a man and a martyr and as a victim of historic circumstances (this presentation prevails in history textbooks). Between these two extremes, there are a number of historians who take into account his merits (rescuing Jews, protesting against the authorities) but also his failures (the fact that he never completely distanced himself from the ISC). In his book *Croatian history*, a respected Croatian historian, Ivo Goldstein, states, among other things, that Stepinac's fault "...in those complex war events could only be a moral and a political one and he was never to be criminally prosecuted." (Ivo Goldstein, *Hrvatska povijest*, Zagreb 2003, p. 309). Serbian historiography, however, did not alter its view of Stepinac, holding him accountable for co-operation with the Ustasha authorities.



What does Stepinac protest against? In what way does he address Pavelić? Analyse the language being used and compare it with the style of the preceding letter.

I-49. Father Zlatko Svirčić³¹ about converting Orthodox Serbs to Catholicism

On a nice day in June, about thirty elderly men, all Orthodox Christians, appeared in front of the parish office... (...)

They were gloomy, depressed, full of fear, worry and uncertainty, which impressed me deeply and unpleasantly.

"What is it, my brothers, and my good men, what good brings you here in such a great number?" I asked loudly in order to anticipate their bad and gloomy mood and also, to make it easy on myself.

"Nothing good, Father Zlate." They all shouted as one, "Look! We're asked to change our religion by force in our old age. Who has heard of such a thing nowadays in the twentieth century?" They were saying this with deep sighs and tears, which were running down their cheeks.

I could see that they were oppressed by great misery and a terrible destiny. It occurred to me that probably not one of them had had anything to eat or drink that morning so I invited them to sit down in the deep shade and I told the boy to bring a snack, some brandy and wine. At the same time, I was thinking intensively that they had to get help. I'd falsify the baptism certificates. I somehow felt relief at that moment. I regained my peace and self-confidence. (...)

After refreshing them with some food and drink, and when they had relaxed quite a bit, I turned directly to Lazar and spoke so that everybody could hear me:

"Tell me, Lazar, were you born as a Serb of Orthodox Christianity?"

"Yes, I was, Father Zlatko (...)"

"Do you live in that manner, Lazar?"

"Yes, I do, as God is my witness, Father Zlatko."

"Well, then you'll die as such, Lazar. You won't change your religion as long as I live here, neither will any of you!"

The men raised their heads. They all gazed at me. But doubt, and even fear, appeared at once. They started asking me questions. They asked me what they should do. Understandably, they were frightened. I explained my decision to them. In my parish office there were unfortunately only a few baptism certificate forms. I told them that I would have enough for all of them the next day. I entered the house and immediately started filling in the forms. The first one was for Lazar.

Cvitković, pp. 113-114.



One way in which the Ustasha authorities sought to "solve" the Serbian issue was by converting them to Catholicism³². Although Pavelić's Independent State of Croatia didn't formally support conversion, in real terms it certainly did, as conversion was a common practice in the parishes. Archbishop Stepinac, in his statements, distanced himself from the forced conversions and even protested against the practice, but a number of historians still think that it is questionable whether he had made every possible effort to prevent it. The conversions were carried out with the prevailing explanation that it was the way to save the Orthodox Serbs from the Ustasha terror. However, by doing so, even though the members of the religious minorities might have saved their lives, most of them did not gladly accept such "generosity". As shown in this excerpt, some priests in the parishes were opposed to the policy of converting to Catholicism.



What do you think of Father Zlatko's action? Why did he decide to help those people?



Overall questions on subchapter Id.

Describe the attitudes of the religious leaders towards the occupying forces, the Partisan army and the anticomunist army. What similarities and differences in the statements of the leaders of the different religious organisations can you find? Were priests allowed or obliged to choose sides during the war?

31 A Roman Catholic priest.

32 The other two ways were deportation and extermination.

Life in Time of War

This chapter very clearly illustrates the universality of human suffering during World War II. Famine, poverty and uncertainty were a part of everyday life for most civilians in this area, and the differences were often merely semantics. Nevertheless, it is hard to say whether life was more difficult in a town or in a village.

In our attempts to show the everyday life of the members of the resistance movement we have tried, among other things, to highlight the changing status of women. Their equality with men within the resistance movement was gladly accepted, although time would show that this acceptance was considerably less significant than when it was emphasized for propaganda purposes. After the war, things went back to the well-known patriarchal routine and our discourse on the equality of the sexes is therefore mostly only of a declarative nature.

Towards the end of this chapter, some of the sources introduced deal with the obvious changes in culture and education. This makes the depiction of the power elite of that time more complete in a curious way.

Ila. Poverty, insecurity

II-1 and II-2.

Bread rationing in Romania during the war (1942)

In view of the rationing of wheat consumption, the Sub-Secretariat of State for Provisioning the Army and the Civil Population informs the public that, starting on a date which will be announced later on, bread will be distributed in the capital only in exchange for rounds of ration cards and for only five days a week. For the remaining two days, the public will have to eat maize porridge and that is why they will have to provision themselves on time with the necessary corn flour that will be found in every baker's shop or in every shop where bread is distributed.

„Universul”, 5/01.1942, p. 1.

Bread rationing in Romania during the war (1944)

By order no. 26/1944, of the Prefecture of the Braşov

district, bread consumption in the entire territory of the district and in the city Braşov is fixed as follows:

- days when black bread is to be consumed: Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays;
- days when white bread is to be consumed: Sundays
- days when corn flour is to be consumed: Wednesday
- days when potatoes are to be consumed: Mondays and Fridays.

The population must conform to the above. Any infringement to the above will be punished according to legal provisions.

National Archives - Brasov County Division, fond of the Mayoralty of commune Bod, file 74/1944, page 83.



What are the differences between the two periods in the texts? What are the possible explanations for these differences, if any? This example is from Romania: do you have a similar example from your country?

► v12. Bread rationing in Istanbul



Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi vol. 2 (1941-1960).



Bread began to be rationed in Istanbul on 14 January 1942. In May, for individuals above the age of seven, the daily ration per person was 150 g.



How do you explain the fact that bread was rationed in Turkey even though it didn't take part in World War II?

II-3. A Greek peasant's description of the Italian occupiers

[The Italians and their Vlach collaborators] kept going up and down, the bastards, up and down, eating our hens, drinking our wine, picking eggs and having a grand time! And they made us take them everywhere on our mules. All this had infuriated us. And we kept saying, "Won't anyone come forward so that we can start a new Kolokotronis [a fighter of the Greek Revolution] squad – a revolution?"

Van Bouschoten, p.80.



Describe the peasant's feelings. Would you have felt the same had you have been in his place?

II-4. Ivan D. Stanchov, Bulgarian diplomat, about his family's life during the war

My family spent three interesting and active months

fighting the bed bugs and trying to survive on mushrooms, blueberries and young nettle and dock soup. The coupon system was merciless; not only was it impossible to find meat, but also nobody had the right to kill an animal. You can imagine the joy when the pastor's calf broke a leg and had to be killed. My people managed to buy a round and ate just a little of it every time, so that it could last longer. Even though, for unknown reasons, the salt had completely disappeared from the market, in Sofia as well as in the villages, they succeeded in keeping the meat edible for a whole week: they put it on the cement floor and covered it with a wet piece of cloth, the ends of which were soaked into a washbasin filled with cold water. Thus, they had permanent evaporation in the hot July days.

Stanchov, p. 145.



In what conditions did a still-supreme Bulgarian State employee's family live? Given that these were the conditions of the elite; can you imagine what the living conditions of the "ordinary people" were?

II-5. From the confidential report No. 162 of the American General Consul in Istanbul Samuel Honaker to the State Secretary of the USA Cordell Hull, on the public feelings in Bulgaria in September 1942

Istanbul, 4 November 1942.

Everybody started to feel the scarcity of food, clothes and burning wood and coal. The coupon portions system supplied a little food for almost everybody, but actually it was not enough for anyone. People were standing in long queues in front of the food shops.

Bulgarians were still united in their wish of keeping the "new territories" at all costs. Still, there were some critical voices about the fact that the real Bulgaria, i.e. without the occupied territories, will now have to take care of the means of livelihood of the population of these new territories as well, especially in Thracia and some parts of Macedonia. The

Bulgarian government also supplied the Bulgarian villages within the boundaries of Greece in the regions northwest of Thessalonica with flour. It was rumoured that more than 300,000 people in those regions had declared themselves Bulgarians only to get flour. This, of course, was just propaganda. Nobody should expect Bulgaria to give up any of the occupied territories unless it is made to.

Bulgaria - the Unmanageable Ally of the Third Reich,
pp. 90-91.



Why did Greek people call themselves Bulgarians? Do you think that it was easy for them to do so, taking into consideration the recent history of the region?

► **v13. Lines behind a shop in Ljubljana during the war**



► **v14. A queue for meat in Zagreb**



What can you conclude about life during the war in Ljubljana and Zagreb? Have you seen a similar photograph from your country? The lack of everything, especially food, and the distribution of the basic necessities through a system of coupons and vouchers was trivial during the war.

II-6. A demand for shame ribbons for black marketers (an extract from a Serbian newspaper)³³

We, present here, openly and without consideration, cases of illicit trade and black-market robbing, we ask everyone to help us and the government in the campaign for social salvation. Let every conscientious citizen report to us every such case - which we will then publish, to give a stamp of shame to every such criminal whatever the position he may occupy. We also invite everyone to send us proposals of measures that could be used efficiently in combating this sore spot of our society.

Today we bring a proposal from one of our readers in connection with the publishing of lists of punished offenders in daily newspapers. This reader thinks that this is not enough, and that there should remain a visible trace of these crimes. And since we cannot brand them with red-hot irons with the sign of shame, he proposes that all the punished illicit traders should wear a shame ribbon with the inscription: "people's glutton" or "black marketer" or else "speculator with people's poverty".

As for *Srpski narod*, it thinks that this proposal is quite reasonable and asks the National Salvation Government to accept it and carry it out, because it gave its word and is obliged to safeguard and save the people from all troubles and misfortunes, from communist bandits in the woods as well as from bandits from the Terazije.

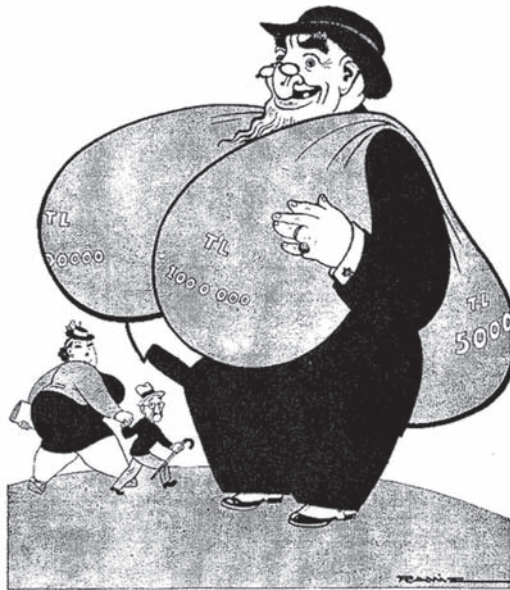
"Srpski narod", 3 June 1942.

³³ *Srpski narod*: Belgrade daily, official newspaper of General Milan Nedić's collaborationist "National Salvation Government".



Comment upon the demand for shame ribbons for black marketers. Do you approve of this proposal? Can you find the same (or, at least, a similar) attitude in your country?

► v15. Turkish cartoon



TOMBUL TEYZE VURGUNCU KARŞISINDA:
Tombul Teyzenin kocası – Nafile bakma karıcığım, onun torbaları seninki gibi Allah vergisi değil..

Karikatür, 24 Eylül 1942 (Gökhan Akçura Arşivi)

Karikatur, 24 of September 1942.



Translation: Fat auntie faces the profiteer. Her husband says: "Never mind darling! His boobs are not God-given like yours!".

II-7. Hardships of survival... The urban population had to sell virtually everything that had a buyer in order to get some food

They sold everything from their homes that a peasant was willing to take in exchange for some food. First went gold and jewellery, then things from the household: furniture, linen, clothing. People in cities were left naked and barefooted, without anything. And peasants like peasants. Different armies take from them, the occupier takes from them, so

that whatever he manages to save from them and to pinch and scrape for himself, he tries to sell for as much as possible.(...)

Our peasants were also merciless with misfortunate hungry people because of the long-standing antagonism between gentlemen and peasants. The city always took from the peasant and gave nothing in return. He believed that his day had come, so he would collect everything.

Nikolić, p. 113.



How do you assess the behaviour of the peasants towards the city inhabitants? Do you know of a similar relationship from literature or from films? Does the author, in your opinion, have any prejudices against peasants?

II-8. Insecurity of civil life during war in Albania

This man says the Germans came yesterday. They took blankets, food, five chickens, and two goats. After chasing the people out of their houses on the pretext of a search, they set fire to the houses from the inside. "Many of the villagers ran off to hide," he said, "because they were afraid some might be taken as captives. Gary questioned the villagers through the interpreters. "Did the Germans have any reason that you know of for reprisals? Have you seen much of the Germans or their activity before this?" One distraught villager talked on and on until Steffa patted his arm gently and stopped his flow of words. "He says he doesn't know why they raided his village, but even if they took everything, why did they have to burn the houses? Now they have no place to live, and winter is here."

Mangerich, p. 136.



This paragraph is a snapshot of life during war in Albania, revealing the insecurities and the precariousness of survival. It is an eyewitness account written by an American nurse who accidentally landed in Albania during the war, in November of 1943 and reached the allied lines after a two-month journey.



Would you say that life during the war was more difficult in the country than in the city? Explain your position. What do you think the feelings of “ordinary people” were in this kind of situation – fear, anger or anything else?

II-9. Citizens of Belgrade grow vegetables (text published in Belgrade newspapers in September 1942)

Corn and vegetables among palaces. Citizens of Belgrade-farmers are rather satisfied with the yield from their gardens.

“Urban farmers”, those who turned barren yards, unused building sites and childrens’ playgrounds into gardens are already harvesting the fruits of their labour. And while others are queuing in marketplaces, new gardeners proudly show off among fresh greenery, nibble on tomatoes all day long and putter in the new beds. Through pleasant effort, they have shown what can be done with a little good will and patience.

The Belgrade Municipality has recently dispatched special commissions to the fields to collect information on what has been sown in the gardens. Experts also give practical advice that will be useful for the next season, combined with the rich experience acquired so far. An appeal has been issued whereby each cropper should separate and collect vegetable seed for sowing in their gardens.

“Novo vreme”, 25 September 1942.



The difficult situation of providing adequate nourishment for the population in Serbia, particularly in large cities, was prevalent throughout the war years. Due to the fighting between occupation forces and rebels, new borders, severed communications and the prohibition of free movement of population and goods, cities were separated from their agricultural hinterland. Staple food products (bread, meat, fat) were strictly rationed and sold against ration coupons and consumer cards in very limited quantities. However, it was possible to buy necessary products on the “black

market”, at much higher prices than usual. In order to help urban populations live through the shortages, the use of all available areas for growing vegetables was encouraged.



Is there a similar example from your country?

► v16. Famine victims in Greece during the tragic winter of 1941/1942



Athens, National History Museum (Istoria, vol.16, p. 59).



The almost complete lack of food, especially in Athens and other major cities, meant that the vast majority of the population was dramatically underfed and that many died from hunger every day.

II-10 and II-11.

Faik Okte about the Turkish Capital Tax

At Izmen’s suggestion, the taxpayers were classified into two separate lists, the M list for Muslims, and the G list for non-Muslim minorities (*Gayrimuslim*). Later, two other categories were added, E for foreigners (*ecnebi*) and D for *Donme*, members of the Sabbatayan sect of Jewish converts to Islam. [...]

The taxes had to be paid in cash within a fortnight. Another fifteen days were allowed, but with the penalty of increasing the original amount by one

and two per cent respectively. In the event that the tax was still unpaid at the end of thirty days, the entire property of the taxpayer and his next of kin was to be confiscated and he himself sent to a forced labour camp. No appeal against the assessments was provided for. The property of those who could not pay was to be sold at a public auction.

Okte, pp. 19, 25.

The following story spread among the people during the revenue of wealth tax. It is very interesting as it reveals the “minority opposition” characteristics of this tax

After the Wealth Tax lists have been issued Solomon goes to the café to ask:

- “Mishon³⁴ how much did you give?
- 10 thousand five hundred and fifty liras and 20 kuras.
- Good money... good money...
- Kirkor³⁵ how much did you pay?
- Twenty thousand nine hundred and fifteen liras and 30 kuras.
- Yani³⁶ how much did you give?
- 29 thousand seven hundred and fifteen liras and 40 kuras.

- Good money... good money
 - Ahmet Bey³⁷ how much did you give?
 - Fifty liras and 10 kuras.”
- Salamon opens his hands to the sky and says,
- “Oh, Great Atatürk, how right you were when you said “How happy is the man who says he is a Turk”.

Aktar, p.185.



Although Turkey was neutral, it still suffered from problems similar to those in countries at war. The Turkish government faced severe financial problems caused by depressed economic conditions, wild inflation, shortages of food and other necessities. Starting in the late months of 1942, therefore, the government undertook a series of drastic tax increases. The most disastrous of these, the *Varlık Vergisi* or Wealth Tax taxed the capital of those who had property and were thought to be making large profits as a result of the war emergency. It was administered in such a way as to bear most heavily on the easily accessible wealth of urban merchants, many of whom were non-Muslims, who seemed to be the only ones in the country who had ready cash available to contribute to the national emergency.

Faik Okte, the man actually responsible for administering the tax, wrote a book about it in 1949 entitled: “The Tragedy of the Turkish Capital Tax”.



Overall questions on subchapter IIa.

What were the living conditions like in countries at war? What were people’s reactions to these conditions? Did everyone suffer equally from the consequences of war? If not, who suffered most?

IIb. Civilians

II-12. A threat of the German Authorities to Belgraders

To the Belgrade population

There are increasingly frequent complaints by the

German armed force that the civilian population is not demonstrating due attention and respect in relation to German officers and soldiers. It is particularly evident that a large part of the population in pedestrian traffic does not show any intention of moving aside and instead blocks the way in a very arrogant manner.

³⁴ Typical Jewish name in Turkey.

³⁵ Typical Armenian name in Turkey.

³⁶ Typical Greek name in Turkey.

³⁷ Typical Turkish name.

The Kreiskommandantur warns the population that such behaviour will be treated with severity in the future.

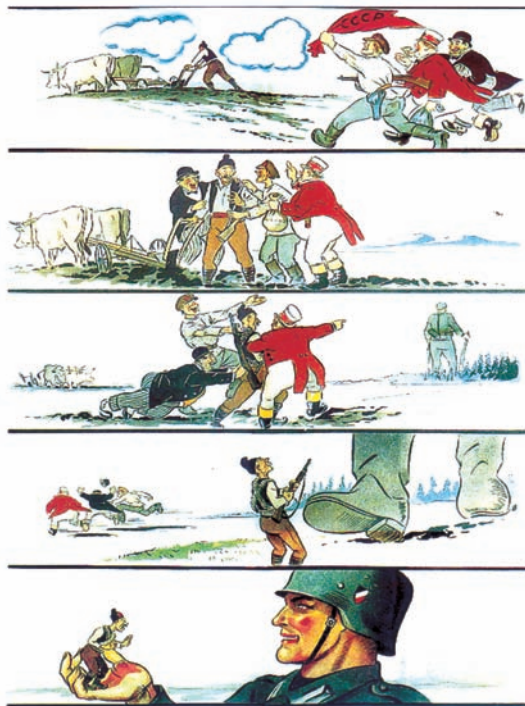
Belgrade, May 1941.
Kreiskommandantur

Božović, p. 129.



What made the German authorities in Belgrade angry? Comment on their warning.

► v17. German propaganda poster-strip



Nikolić, p. 2.



A Serbian peasant is "misguided" by the false promises of German enemies (a communist, a British and a Jew) who incite him to attack a German soldier from the back. The huge German soldier is driving away intruders with his appearance and forgiving the "misguided" Serbian peasant, takes him under his protection.

II-13. With the advent of the war, civil industry was militarised and work was to be undertaken under specific, restrictive conditions. Work in time of war in Romania:

LAW-DECREE ON THE REGIME OF WORK DURING WAR (2 OCTOBER 1941)

Article 2. All vacations, provided for in the articles 49 and 89 of the law on work contracts from 5 April 1929, with all ulterior modifications are suspended (...)

Article 4. The duration of work in industrial enterprises where three successive teams work continuously will be 8 hours a day, or 56 hours a week. In all other industrial enterprises, the normal work duration will be 10 hours a day or 60 hours a week.

As for military commandants in militarised enterprises, military guides and directors of military enterprises, and non-militarised enterprises, work inspectors may authorise, for a period of three months at the most, an extension of the above-mentioned duration of the working day up to a maximum of 12 hours a day or 72 hours a week. They may also allow work to be done on Sundays and on legal holidays for production purposes, if necessary. [...]

Article 31. The following are considered to be sabotage crimes and will be punished with five to 20 years in prison:

a) Any cessation – individual or collective – of work, without the prior agreement of the military commandant of the militarised enterprise [...] or of the director of the military army establishment, and in regards to the other enterprises, without the prior consent of the work inspector, [...].

b) The destruction, deterioration, subtraction, falsification, defective fabrication or deliberate errors, manipulations or handling which are fraudulent or lack quality, of the machines, installations, work instruments, materials, merchandise and products, totally or partially, either by the employees, or the directors.

Murgescu (ed.), p. 343.



How did these measures seem to affect the workers' everyday life during the war? Do these provisions allow for any deviation from the decree? For example, was it possible for a person who made a mistake at work to end up being indicted for sabotage?

II-14. The Secret Service reports in May 1943 to the Leader of the State of Romania on the population's state of mind and discontent with the living conditions during the war,

THE REGIONAL POLICE INSPECTORATE PLOIEȘTI

(...) Functionaries and their families are poorly dressed, they have to go out and work in used clothes that sometimes do not fit anymore, or are unbecoming to their position as public functionaries.

Also, many of them live in houses (or furnished rooms) in unsanitary conditions that reduce their power of work and endanger their health.

Their moral state is also very low because of things getting more and more expensive, and they are worried, not knowing how to secure things necessary for them and their families in the future.

The same state of mind is shared by the workers in the factories and by the functionaries and the workers of the C.F.R.³⁸

Neither the functionaries, nor the workers manifest their discontent publicly, some of them fear the trouble they might get into by exposing themselves and others understand the present hardship of the State.

They comment on these things amongst themselves, they speak of the difficult times they live in and hope the Government will take measures to remedy this situation soon.

QUAESTOR,
I. Ciurea

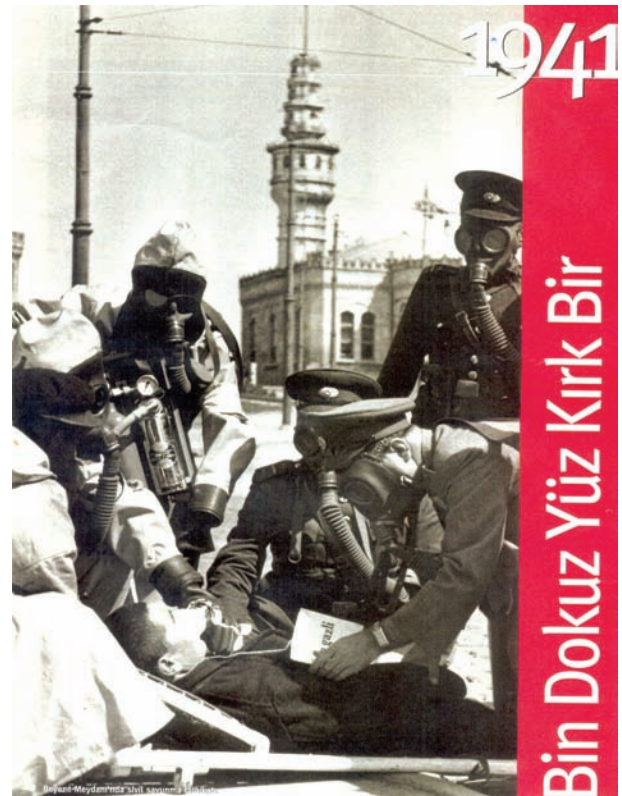
Mărturii documentare, In "Revista Arhivelor", 2/1969,
pp. 20–21.

38 Abbreviation for Romanian Railways.



What were the positions of the public employees regarding their everyday life? Was their discontent publicly expressed? Why? Why were the authorities interested in the state of mind of the functionaries?

► v18. Civilian defence rehearsals in Bayezid square in Istanbul



Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi vol. 2 (1941-1960).

II-15. A military deputy of the Independent State of Croatia in Sofia reports³⁹ on the situation in Vardar Macedonia under Bulgarian rule

A few days ago, a friend of mine came to Sofia from Skopje, where he was the authorised manager of the electric plant. His name was Albert Shritoff. I

39 A report to the Ministry of the Croatian defence (domo-branstvo) dated 21 October 1941.

asked him about the situation in Skopje and Bulgarian Macedonia in general, and in a free conversation, among other things, he told me this:

"The interior situation in the part of Macedonia given to Bulgaria is quite unclear. The proclaimed Macedonians show a certain dissatisfaction about the new Bulgarian regime. Also, about 30% of the inhabitants of Macedonia are not enthusiastic about the Bulgarian rule, because they do not have the same rights as the Bulgarians in Bulgaria proper. Great disappointment can especially be seen among the young intelligentsia who were studying in Belgrade and who held state-paid offices in the old Yugoslavia. There is no trust in them and these people are now unemployed. There are also those who were given an office by the Bulgarian State from which they were subsequently fired and are now unemployed.

On one hand, the Arnauts⁴⁰ are also very dissatisfied with the new master and long for Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the Arnauts under Italian occupation are content because the Italians gave them authority.

The Turks (Moslems) have a similar attitude to the one they had in Yugoslavia, but now they are displaying Anglophil emotions.

The Serbian and Jewish merchants are compelled to sell their properties within a three-month deadline and liquidate their stores, and then the Serbs from Bulgarian Macedonia will probably be removed from there.

Towards us, the Croats and the Macedonians have a very cordial attitude.

(...) According to all this, it seems that in Bulgarian Macedonia, there is a strong desire for liberation and for the creation of an autonomous Macedonia...

*Lieutenant Colonel,
Adam Petrović, military deputy in Sofia*

Dokumenti za borbata na makedonskiot narod za samostojnost i nacionalna država, II, pp. 308-309.



In your opinion, is this source reliable? Explain your position.

⁴⁰ Albanians (translator's note).

II-16. The 1941 situation according to the Regional Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party for Macedonia

Large areas of Macedonia already have a Bulgarian administration. Police officers, gendarmes, village mayors, secretaries, counters, notaries and tax clerks have already been appointed and one can say that all of them are from Bulgaria. Macedonians are not offered clerk offices. They do not even have the right to be village mayors. Every honest Macedonian should rightfully ask himself: "What kind of freedom is this where the Shumadians (Serbians) are replaced by Bulgarians and the Macedonians are being held in isolation?" At the very most, the Macedonian intelligentsia is offered posts in the villages in Bulgaria, but never in Macedonia. The arguments used are the same as those given by the Serbians before – "You do not know the official language of the State!"

Terzioski, p. 309.



How (if at all) did the situation, with regard to the administrative jobs in Macedonia, change during 1941? What kind of explanation did the authorities give for this?

II-17. Emil Sattolo about his love for a girl from the neighbourhood

A girl with fair hair was passing in front of the house where we lived (*in Nova Gradiška where he went to school*). She was in grade eight. We were always trying to watch her pass, especially me. We used to meet her in the park too. I would be happy just by looking at her. One evening in December, she approached me and said: "Colleague, if you're going home I'd like to walk with you. I was filled with joy". (...) We talked about everything but mostly about the horrors of war. When we reached her house, (...) Nevenka (*that was her name*) promptly said: "Come to my place about six tomorrow, but now I have to go". She held out her hand. I took it with delight. I felt the softness,

tenderness as well as the coldness of her hand and a pleasant feeling ran all over my body.

I could hardly wait till the next evening. I arrived. I knocked at the door and she opened it immediately.

— “Hello, colleague, how are you?”

— “Good evening, Nevenka. Did I arrive too early?”

From the hall I entered the room shyly and a bit clumsily. There was a table by the window. She asked me to sit down. I sat. Then she offered me some liqueur. Our glasses tinkled and we made a toast. “Here’s to you, colleague!” (...) I was searching for the purpose of her invitation. We talked a little about school, teachers and war. (...)

— “You know, colleague, the progressive idea is winning and, before long, it will be here.”

— “What do you mean?”

— “Well, the Russians are our progressive idea.”

It then became quite clear that she wanted to include me into this progressive idea, but I wanted her. I didn’t want an idea. (...) I wanted to talk about feelings and she was only interested in politics.

We agreed to meet again. I thought she was interested in me nonetheless. As there were a couple

of days until our next meeting, I prepared myself on how to divert Nevenka from politics. I would try to explain the political situation to her, I thought. I would tell her of my intention to have a family with many children. I thought that she, being a woman, would like to hear that. (It didn’t work out.)

Sattolo, pp. 93-94.



During the war Emil Sattolo was a secondary school pupil. He lived in the village of Puska and attended school in Nova Gradiška (Croatia). Sattolo approved of the foundation of the ISC and of the Usta-sha movement, although he would criticise its criminal aspects. At any rate, he was an opponent of the Partisans and communists. In his memoirs, among other things, he writes about his love for a girl from the neighbourhood.



Compare courtship in wartime with courtship today. Why was there a misunderstanding between the girl and the boy? Are the boy’s goals and ideas close to yours? What about the girl’s? Which ideology did she support, and whose side in the war was she on? What did she imply when using the term “progressive idea”? Why were the Russians considered to be the representatives of the “progressive idea”?

IIc. Soldiers’ lives

II-18. Odysseas Elytis, Nobel Prize winner for Literature (1979), describes a regular Greek soldier’s experience at the Albanian front

That we were, very near the place where you don’t find weekdays or holidays, sick people or healthy people, poor or rich, we now knew. The roar ahead, like a storm beyond the mountains, kept growing, and in the end we could clearly hear the slow and heavy cannon, the dry and quick machine guns. The farther we went, the more we encountered the slow procession of the wounded heading out the other way. And the medics, with the red cross on their armbands, would set their stretchers down and spit on their hands, eyes wild for a cigarette. And when they’d hear where we were going, they’d shake their

heads and start telling us their tales of blood and terror. But the only thing we listened to were the other voices rising in the darkness, still scalding from the fire and brimstone of its depths. “Oi, oi, mana mou,” “oi, oi, mana mou.” And sometimes, less often, the sound of stifled breathing, like a snore, and those who knew said that it was the rattle of death.

Sometimes they dragged prisoners, captured a few hours earlier in surprise raids by our patrols, along with them. Their breath stank of wine and their pockets were full of canned goods or chocolates. But we had nothing, the bridges were cut off behind us and our few mules were helpless in the snow and the slippery muck.

Elytis, p.21.

- v19. Lithography presenting an ancient Greek fighter of the battle of Marathon, a fighter of the Greek War of Independence in 1821 and an “evzone” (modern Greek fighter)



IEEE, To epos tou '40. Laiki Eikonografia, 167.

II-19. Ivan Šibl, a participant of the Partisan movement in Croatia from the very beginning, described his experience in his war memoirs. The following text is a description of Šibl's first days after going «into the woods» (a popular expression for joining the Partisans)

I am already partially a Partisan. It's true that I don't have a gun but I have scabies and my whole body is covered with a yellow, stinking grease. (...) Lice can be found in my underwear at times (...) – the most devoted domestic animal to all soldiers in the world. (...) Fleas and bedbugs are not worth mentioning. In fact, they are quite polite and do not indulge themselves on your body during the night and do not slide into your underwear and clothes.

Šibl 2, p. 13.



In what manner does Šibl describe the discomforts of Partisan life?

II-20. In their war memoirs, Partisan veterans often paid special attention to the high level of the female participation in the Partisan troops.

In his memoirs, under the subtitle “Women-warriors” Šibl writes:

There are many women Partisans in the troops of our brigade. They are mostly country girls from Slavonia, Kozara, all very young. They walk in the line, fight on the battlefield, attack enemies' fortified bases; they cope with all the difficulties of Partisan life together with other warriors.

Sisters Milija and Danica Zlokapa are machine-gunners. They arrived only recently but they are already experienced fighters. A brave man needs only one baptism of fire. Milija is sixteen and Danica is eighteen. (...) They carry the machine-gun and an ammunition rucksack in turns and they don't let anybody help them. (...)

During the attack at Sirac, one of the bravest girls in our brigade and the whole Slavonia, Persa Bosanac, was killed. (...) She was a thin and slim eighteen year-old girl. People used to say: “Persa doesn't know fear”. ... In the battle at Javorica, during the March offensive, after attacking the whole day, she was one of the first to get into the enemies' position, she fought with the Germans hand-to-hand until they were destroyed. (...) She was shot near the school in Sirac, in one of numerous attacks on that fortified object. Persa was destined to fall down. She exposed herself a lot, she didn't know fear! (...) At Javorica, Katica Hacman, a girl from Bilogora, fought at Persa's side. They were best friends and always stuck to each other. In the last assault, an enemy's gun burst shot Katica and she was mortally wounded. (...)

In war and in rough conditions, people might easily become rude and heartless. Will those girls-warriors turn into mannish women? Maybe these war horrors in which they are forced to participate, will deprive them of the wonderful qualities that make them women, and deprive them of the attributes we search for in the women we love.

Šibl 2, pp. 308-311.



Why do you think it was important for the Partisans to point out the active role of women? Why wasn't this important to the Ustasas? In your opinion,

were women-partisans really equal to men (Šibl gave only a couple of examples.)? Explain the meaning of Šibl's final statement about women in war. How did he look upon the role of the woman?

► **v20. The heroines of 1940**



IEEE, To epos tou '40. Laiki Eikonografia, 55.



This lithography presents the women of Epirus carrying boxes with ammunition on their backs in the mountain of Pindos, on the Greek-Albanian border, during the Greek-Italian war in 1940-41.

II-21. The women in the villages of Grevena (Greece) demand more respect and more participation in public affairs after having taken part in the resistance movement

– Schoolteacher: “You saw women without identities, like the puppets of men, and they would

say: “Yet I *am* something myself, there is *something* I can do”. They started thinking that they could be worth something more and that they were not only worthy of cooking, washing and taking orders. It was the first great awakening of rural women, and it made a great impression on them.”

– Peasant woman: “We liked it and it attracted us, that’s why we went [to the meetings]. We just wanted to get out a little from the incessant ordering around. For that’s how men were in those times – it was like a dictatorship [*sic*], as they say...”

– Peasant woman: “We just wanted some freedom as women, the right to speak up, not to be the subjects of men... working and getting beaten. We wanted some freedom for ourselves. Here we went out to the mountains, carried ammunition on our backs, built pillboxes for machine guns, worked day and night – we even became liaisons, even though we were women. And all we wanted was some good to come to us. Some freedom, not slavery, how would you call it? To have the right to open our mouths.”

Van Bouschoten, pp. 101-102.



What motives did the women have to join the resistance movement? What is your opinion on their motives?

II-22. Song composed during World War II, by an unknown author, it is considered a Macedonian national song

YOUNG WOMAN PARTISAN

I’m very pleased and glad
To become a young Partisan,
To become a young Partisan
On the mountain Pelister.

Goodbye and forgive me, my country,
I’m going into a battle, battle, battle,
(...)

We gave our oath there
To fight with the fascists

To get our freedom,
For our Macedonia.
Goodbye and forgive me.

The Women of Macedonia in the Nation Liberation War, p. 56.



Explain the reasons for creating songs of this kind. Are there any elements of propaganda in them?

► **v21. Partisan newspapers: *Pocket newspapers of the liaison troop, Zadar (Croatia), 1944***



Croatian Museum of History.



What does this cartoon show? How did the Partisans look upon their status in relation with other anti-fascist forces (presented by the flags)? What do you think? Did Great Britain, USA and the Soviet Union look upon the Partisans as their equals?

II-23. Partisan indefatigability during the continuous fighting against the Germans and their collaborators in Yugoslavia

Testimony by Živko Rodić

I watched enemy tanks who did not want to shoot at our fighters, but run over them. There was a plain, so it was easier for the tanks to maneuver and harder for our fighters to withdraw. One of our fighters ran in front of the tank and took shelter around a haystack, and after that, the tank drove over him and the haystack.

After the action, the whole brigade carried the wounded men on stretchers. We usually attacked the enemy at night, and in daylight the enemy would attack us. The fatigue was so great and so we thought it was better to be killed because we had run out of strength. It was not a matter of food, because there was food, it was not a matter of courage, because there was no fear, but the fatigue was harder than anything else. At that time, the commander of our unit, Petar Marin, a beautiful guy, brave and courageous, was killed solely due to fatigue. He simply fell asleep while standing and was shot.

Albahari et al. (ed.), pp. 171 and 218.



Try to put yourself in the position of these Partisans. Can you imagine yourself falling asleep while standing?

II-24. Dencho Znepolski, a famous Bulgarian guerrilla commander, about the relations between men and women in the group, and about the unusual supplies they received from the English

Both we, in the Tran guerrilla detachment, and the Serbians were very strict on morality. Intimate relations were not allowed, and we had made a cult of the young women in the unit and we guarded them from any violation. But the Serbians were even greater nonconformists within the revolutionary situation. It could not have been any different!

It was much later, when the English, according to the decisions of the Conference in Teheran of the Great Three, started dropping arms and ammunition for the Tran guerrillas and all kinds of supplies for their own military missions, that they had dropped some playing cards and condoms as well. The Serbians also got such a delivery. At first their outrage was indescribable and soon they came to me and Vlado Trichkov (at the time I was already Commander of the Tran guerrilla detachment), swearing and threatening to fight the English. When he heard what it was all about, Vlado Trichkov, who was a very learned and well-informed man, laughed understandingly and explained everything to them. He said that each soldier in the English army received such protective means since World War I just like they received clothes, shoes, etc., and that we had received personal medical packages, condoms and playing cards in our first dispatch. He added that we had distributed the medical packages and we had left aside what we thought unnecessary and that was all. He managed to calm them down, but still, Barko went to the English mission, threw the little packets at them and said sarcastically:

"Thanks, but we don't need these! We are soldiers!"

Znepolski, pp. 112-113.



What were the relations between the Bulgarian and the Serbian guerrillas like? How did both of them react to the odd English supplies? Comment on Barko's reaction.

II-25. Officer Victor Budescu, participant in the events, about the fights at the Don's Bend – Stalingrad.

In the morning of December 11, the Russians started the counter-offensive on the entire Front. Days and nights followed when the soldiers could not receive any water or bread, because of the terrible enemy cannons and throwers. Entire days were spent with their hands clenched on their guns, spreading death

in the rows of the enemy who covered the field in front of their positions with piles of dead bodies. There were ten days and as many nights of permanent tension and rabid fights and it seemed that the signs of victory would start showing, lifting all the worries from the commandants' and soldiers' heads, who watched from their posts in order to stop the unleashed fury of the Russian flood.

But it wasn't like that. With new and fresh forces brought from behind the Front, the Russians started the attack again with even greater fury. Because of the great losses, our front could not resist anymore. We gave up after so many sacrifices and from that moment on, the disaster of our retreat in the Don's steppe began. But the word *steppe* says too little to the one that never went through it in the middle of the winter and in conditions of war.

First, there was the frost, a biting frost, associated with the winds that blow here so fiercely. Over this wasteland there was often a dense and heavy mist, which seemed to have come to sink the land in an abyss forever. And, on top of this, a complete, absolute silence, enhanced by everything around it, freezing still, which transformed the steppe into an environment opposite to life, hostile and inhuman.

„Magazin istoric”, October 2002, p. 93.



The fighting at the Don's Bend – Stalingrad, was terrible for Romanian soldiers in World War II, who had to confront both the enemy and the extreme climatic conditions.



What was the attitude of the soldiers on the front line towards the war? Were they thinking of glory and heroism? Were they happy about fighting?

II-26. Neagu Djuvara, a historian and prestigious diplomat, recalls (in June 2002) the fighting on the Eastern front

When I came back from the Front, after about ten days spent in a recovery station, Odessa fell, hence I got out of the worst moment - when they were terri-

bly butchered. A former colleague of mine from the Military school, who was the colonel's adjutant, told me that he had seen how, on the colonel's nominal lists, a few days before the fall of Odessa, in our regiment that in the beginning was made up of 1800 people, later receiving 1200 recruits, only 92 were still valid. This was what Odessa being overtaken by Antonescu meant. This is what I also say on television every time I have the opportunity; the fighting there was completely absurd. The Germans had told us: "Surround Odessa", so that the Russian army would not be able to get out of there, but they did not insist. The Romanian General Staff and Antonescu wanted to take over Odessa (it seems that it wasn't really Antonescu who had this idea, however, he accepted it) for us to show them who we were, how great we were, but we did not have the means to take over a big city. One could try to defeat it right to the bitter end ... We took over Odessa because the Russians withdrew.

One fine morning, although there were thousands of people dying every day in its surroundings, they got in without any resistance because there wasn't anybody left in the city — all those who were defending Odessa had already re-embarked. It was one of the first errors that Antonescu committed, but we, the youngsters mostly ... I will tell you honestly — when we left to the war, we left enthusiastically, with the thought of erasing the shame of the previous year, when we had given up Bessarabia and Bucovina, and then Transylvania and then the Quadrilater without a gunshot".

Neagu Djuvara, *Despre cucerirea Odessei* (On the conquest of Odessa). <http://www.memoria.ro/index.php?option=articles&artid=381>



Is this text a reflection of heroism? What was the cost of the Romanian army's ambition to conquer Odessa? Is there any shift of perspective in the narrator's attitude (between the period during the war and today)? Compare the perspective of the young man, whose heart was filled with heroism, as opposed to the perspective of a more mature person, analysing the relative political gains but also the human losses.

► v22. *Those who sang to the war*



Epopeja e Luftës Antifashiste Nacionalçlirimtare e Popullit Shqiptar, 1939-1944.



This painting by Andon Lakuriqi shows the different age groups that participated in the partisan war in Albania.



Compare this visual with text III-2.

II-27. Difficulties faced by the combatants when adapting to civilian life

Testimony by Dragomir Radišić

To all intents and purposes, the 1st battalion of the 11th brigade ended this war by Zidani Most⁴¹. There we stopped and returned to Brestanica. It was 12 May 1945. We were detained for a few days, and after that we moved to Sveta Nedjelja near Zagreb, where we stayed from the 15 to the 17 of May 1945 and celebrated the day of the eventual liberation of our country. The war was over. There was a real

41 In Slovenia.

mood for peace, but just for short time. After that, the sorrow emerged. There was to be no more action and no more fighting and the soldiers were getting sick because of this. Actually, it seemed to us that the greatest happiness in the world was to be with fighters and to go into battle, but we were in liberated Šibenik⁴², where the peaceful life was present and we were just not used to it. In other words, we had forgotten that way of life.

Zgonjanin et al. (ed.), p. 399.



Why does this soldier say that “the sorrow has emerged”? Do you think that all of the soldiers felt the same? Do you know what PTSP (Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome) is? Would you agree that this source also reveals elements of fanaticism, which is a common result of war? Explain your position.

► v23. The Yugoslav Macedonian military units' collage of newspapers from 1944



II d. Culture and education

II–29. Bitola District School Inspectorate's recommendations to the teachers

- 1) The existing national Bulgarian feeling amongst the pupils and the whole population to become

⁴² In Croatia, on the Adriatic Sea.

II–28. Zdravko Lazarić's terrible mistake

I moved to Osijek and there I witnessed the town being taken by the Partisans in the beginning of April 1945. Not long after that, I was called by a recruiting commission and enlisted. A friend of mine, Ivan Kosovel, was so frightened in front of the commission that he subconsciously raised his hand and greeted them with “Spremni” (*the Ustasha greeting*). Because of that, he was found “mentally incapable” and a few days later he was put in custody in Brod where he stayed six to seven months. In spite of that, the next year he was admitted to the officer-training school in Osijek and promoted to the rank of reserve-lieutenant.

Prcela-Živić, p. 329.



Partisan troops were formed exclusively of volunteers. It was only near the end of the war that the Partisan army started to recruit. Many young men were forced to join the Partisans. One of them was Zdravko Lazarić.



Why did Lazarić's friend make such a terrible mistake? How did he (even subconsciously) experience the change of the authorities? How do people generally react to (violent) changes of authority?

- recognisable, or the generations to be incorporated into the national and state unity through emphasis upon the past and the culture of the Bulgarian people;
- 2) To the population, and especially to the pupils, to explain that their Bulgarian national feeling and the awareness about belonging to the

Bulgarian nationhood and state have not been consolidated due to a long period of slavery. To point out to them that nationality and the state are inseparable and that the sacrifices should be made for the state just as they were made before for the Bulgarian nationhood;

- 3) To explain to them that in Macedonia, all cultural means for unity of the Bulgarian people have been destroyed in the past. The Bulgarian book, school, church, associations, monuments, popular celebrations, especially the Bulgarian folk song, traditions, myths were persecuted by the Turkish authorities, as a result of which came about a loss of the Bulgarian feeling amongst a part of the population in Macedonia;
- 4) To emphasise that, as a result of such conditions, knowledge of the past of the Bulgarian people in Macedonia has been lost, while great accomplishments were achieved by the free part of the Bulgarian people within the Bulgarian state proper;
- 5) During the teaching, attention must be paid to the counter-reaction opposed to the national upbringing, related to criminal phenomena from the camp of the enemies of Bulgaria. The development of the military situation on the front must be explained and the faith in the successful end of the war must be nurtured.

Terzioski, p. 78.

 In the same way that Yugoslav Macedonia was divided by the Bulgarian authorities into two administrative units named after the two main towns – Skopje and Bitola, so the education system comprised Bitola and Skopje educational districts. This source shows us what the Bitola District School Inspectorate believed to be the special aims, in a form of recommendations given to the teachers there (this, of course, was not very different from the other educational district).

 What kind of recommendations were given to the teachers in Yugoslav Macedonia? Do you know what happened to Ottoman Macedonia after the Balkan Wars and World War I?

► v24. *The Partisan School*



Epopeja e Luftës Antifashiste Nacionalçlirimtare e Popullit Shqiptar, 1939-1944.



This painting by S. Capo is entitled "The Partisan School". It is interesting as it illustrates the educational role of the partisan war. Those who knew how to read and write used to teach others.

II-30. The statute of the central cultural club in Macedonia – "Kliment Ohridski"

- 1) To unite all forces interested in the consolidation of the Bulgarianhood amongst the Macedonian population;
- 2) To create within the people, a thorough awareness and recognition of the Bulgarian State, the Emperor and the Fatherland;
- 3) To work on the task of the unification of all the Bulgarians in order to create a Greater Bulgaria in its ethnical, historical and organic borders;
- 4) To work on the formation of a perfect identity of the Bulgarian in Macedonia and to educate the youth in a healthy national spirit; (...)
- 6) To take care of the swift incorporation of Mace-

donia into Bulgaria in every sense of the word, with positive feelings and gradually;

- 7) To work on the unification of all classes into one national and economic whole;
- 8) To develop love for everything that is Bulgarian: Bulgarian national history, Bulgarian national heritage, the preservation of folk customs and the national essence etc."

Terzioski, pp. 198-9.



After the annexation of the territory of Yugoslav Macedonia to Bulgaria, the Directorate for National Propaganda organised a network of so-called "Cultural Committees" in all of the bigger towns. These bodies were supposed to serve as a step towards the formation of "people's universities", i.e. evening courses for spreading literacy, reading rooms and so on. Very soon these committees, under the name of "Cultural Clubs" became a regular element of the administrative units on all levels - towns, municipalities, larger districts etc. The central Cultural Club - "Kliment Ohridski" - was established in Skopje. This is how its statute defines the role of the Cultural Clubs in Macedonia.

II-31. The Antonescu Government, after declaring its intention to create a new education system for the Romanian people, took the lead in promoting patriotic school politics, in which the cult of the heroes played an important role

The cult of the heroes in school

As schools are live models, houses of national education for children and the youth, every school is to be provided with photos of hero teachers, which are to have explanations of both their war deeds and of what they accomplished for the school. Also, in order to praise and illustrate the faith and the sacrifice for the motherland, photos of the villagers fallen on the battlefield will be collected and each of these photos will carry explanations of the acts of courage they showed on the battlefield.

In this way, by placing the heroes of our People in schools and by honouring them, the first book of national history for pupils will be written. Their

deeds will permanently watch over the childrens' consciousness and will have the strongest influence on their moral and national formation...

Each kindergarten and elementary school will choose one hour every week for this cult.

The program of the heroes' cult class will be made up of commemorating the fighters in the village, by using the following means:

The images of local heroes ...

Descriptions made by the village's heroes who returned home ...

Maps on the war against bolshevism (created by the children)....

The Heroes' Alley: the planting, on one side of the school garden, of trees carrying the heroes' names. These trees will form the grove or the alley of local heroes and will be maintained by groups of children.

Each school will be provided with a crucifix in the memory of the village's heroes.

Visitation and attending of the heroes' cemetery".

„Universul", 44/15.02.1942.



What were the aims of education in the schools, as outlined in this excerpt, according to Antonescu's perspective? What was the aim of the cult of the heroes? Are there any models for pupils other than their teachers? What is your position on a "Cult of Heroes" in schools and a "Cult of Heroes" in general? Does their fight reflect your own beliefs today? Are there similar projects in schools these days?

II-32. Extract from a schoolbook for elementary education published by the National Liberation Front (led by communists) in the liberated parts of Greece

Who is "thy neighbour"?

Kiki woke up today with a high fever. She was suffocating all night. Her throat was sore.

Her mother asked her neighbour, who was going to pass by the street where the doctor lived, to stop and tell him to come. [...]

The mother is restless; with every step she hears on the pavement she runs to the window.

When is that doctor going to come?

At last he came, examined the child and said:

"You must take great care of the child, madam. Do you have any other children? They must be kept apart, because this illness is contagious. Get this medicine as soon as you can, within a quarter of an hour."

As soon as the doctor was gone she grabbed her shawl and her purse and ran to the pharmacy.

[...]

Tassia Ioannidou, the pharmacist called out. "The preparation is ready, it's 55 drachmas."

The mother opened her purse. She only had 35 drachmas. What could she do? She approached the counter. "May I give you now all the money I have with me and take the drug? I'll send you the rest this afternoon."

"No way, lady", shouts the pharmacist. "Are you playing dumb? Go get the money and then you'll have the drug."

The mother was embarrassed, and started to cry. "I'll be late. My child needs to take this drug. Her life is in danger."

But the pharmacist wouldn't listen, and the people around her stared at her suspiciously.

Then a worker stood up from the bench, poorly dressed, with a tired face.

"What is it, lady? Don't go on like that. We are only human. Here, take the money you need!"

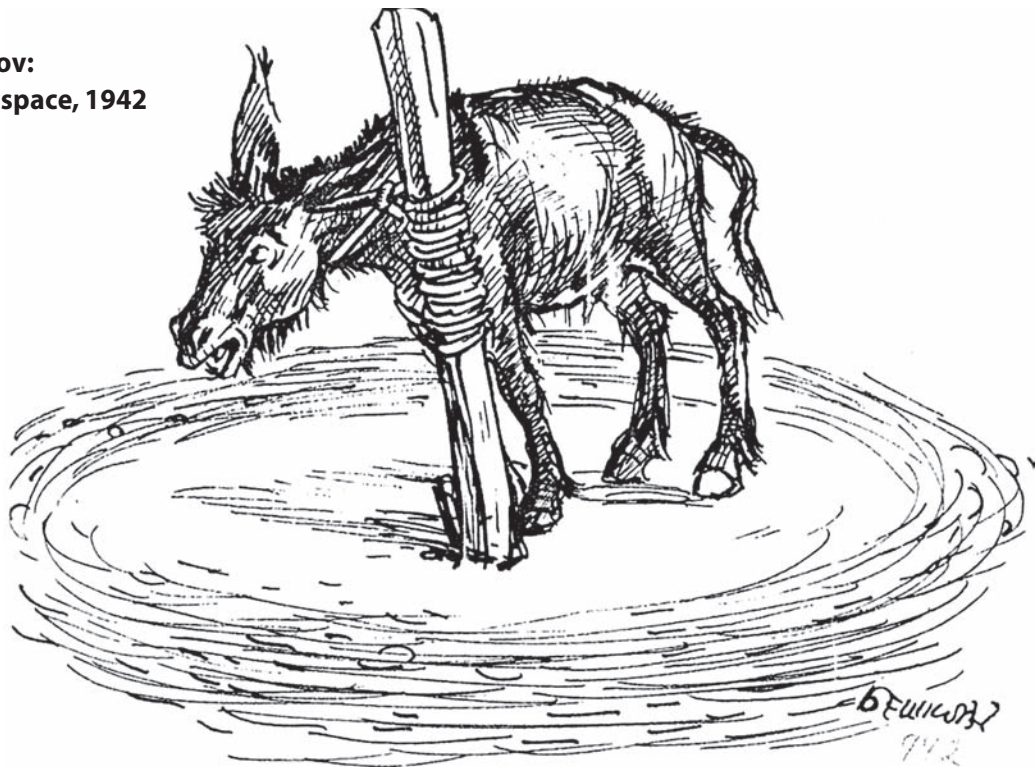
The mother bent down to kiss the worker's hand. But he hastened to return modestly to his seat.

Ta aetopoula, pp. 97-98, anatyposi ASKI.



How is the worker presented in this source?
What is the point of such a presentation?

► **v25. Ilia Beshkov:**
Without living space, 1942



Ilia Beshkov (1901-1958) was one of the most famous Bulgarian artists, caricaturists and painters.



What kind of a message was he trying to convey with this caricature?

II-33. From confidential report No. 162 of the American General Consul in Istanbul Samuel Honaker to the State Secretary of the USA Cordel Hull about propaganda in Bulgarian schools

Istanbul, 4 November 1942

Another especially strong factor forming the public opinion and, from there on, the feelings among the people, is the National-Socialistic propaganda carried out in schools. It is mainly put into effect through teaching Bulgarian Geography, History and Literature. Each Bulgarian writer and teacher is a propagandist of the Bulgarian nationalistic position. All Bulgarian young people who have finished their secondary school education at the age of 14, or high school at the age of 19, know the Balkan map by heart and are quite well informed of the Bulgarian claims

on different Balkan territories. They are also aware of the grounds of these claims. On the walls of every school there are maps of Bulgaria from different periods of its history and they are firmly engraved in every child's memory. Thus, the territorial claims have been turned into a part of the national interests. They do not express the position and the opinion of the dynasty and the government alone, but also those of the whole population. In this way, school education in nationalism in its various forms has attained an enormous propagandistic significance.

Bulgaria - the Unmanageable Ally of the Third Reich, p. 91.



Why was it so important to carry out programmes of propaganda in schools? In your opinion does anything similar still exist in history, geography and literature textbooks today? Explain your position.

► **v26. Romanian newspaper photo: article on women's fashion (1942)**



„Universul”, no. 30, 1 February 1942.



Do you think that there were many readers interested in this article at the time? Explain your position.

► **v27. A scene from Dragoljub Aleksić's movie *Innocence without protection***



Jugoslovenska Kinoteka, Belgrade [Yugoslav Film Library].



The movie was made illegally in Belgrade during the occupation. Aleksić, a circus artist, had no experience in film-making and the same could be said for most of his associates. Yet the movie was approved by censors and as the only Serbian movie on the repertoire of domestic cinemas, which were showing only German and movies from other Axis countries, was a great success with the audiences.

► **v28. Announcements of cinema performances in Belgrade movie theatres in mid-September 1942**



The titles indicate that these are German, Italian and Hungarian movies. At the beginning of the occupation of Serbia in April 1941, all the cinemas and film distribution enterprises were placed under a strict "commissary administration", and censorship was introduced. Cinemas owned by Jews were confiscated. German propaganda and domestic, collaborationist film news were a compulsory part of the programme.

II-34. Romanian law-decree for the regulation of the education of Jews (11 October 1940)

Article 1. Jews are free to organise, in the framework of private education, their own elementary and secondary schools.

Article 2. Jewish schools provided in the prece-

dent article may function only with Jewish staff and may only be attended by Jewish pupils.

Article 3. Those born of parents who are both Jewish or those whose father is Jewish, no matter what their religion, cannot function as teachers or administrative bodies and are not admitted as pupils or students in the Romanian elementary, secondary or upper state or private schools nor in the schools of the other Christian ethnic units. Exceptionally, and on a case to case basis, the Ministry of National Education, Cults and Arts may authorise those born of a christianised Jewish father and a Christian mother of other ethnic origins, to function or work in private and professional Christian schools, if they are baptised in the Christian faith up to the age of two.

Natural children will have the juridical status of their mother. [...]

Article 5. The Ministry of National Education, Cults and Arts will dismiss and remove all those who fit the provisions of Article 3 of the present law-decree.

Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944. vol. I: Legislație antievreiască, p. 70-71.



In what ways were the Jewish pupils discriminated against? Are similar attitudes towards Jews or any other ethnic/religious group still present today?

II-35. Changes in the school curricula in Albania during the Italian occupation

The Ministry of Education has begun to apply its wide editorial program for the publication of high school texts. As is known, there were hardly any texts for the high schools and a system of taking notes was used. That is why the Ministry of Education has addressed this issue and it can be said that, by the beginning of the next academic year, there will be a number of texts ready for use. There are currently a number of writers and translators working on this. The first text has recently been published: "The Doctrine of Fascism" by Benito Mussolini, with

an introduction for the schools by Salvatore Valituti, translated by Professor Kole Shiroka.

The Publications of the Ministry of Education, "Tomori",
6 August 1940, 2



Comment on the title of the first text translated and printed for the high schools in Albania. What kind of doctrine took a central place in Albania's education system?

► **v29. Children entering the primary school "Hasan Prishtina"**



This picture is significant for the changes made in schools after the Italian occupation. The picture displays children entering the primary school "Hasan Prishtina". One can easily see that the uniforms the children are wearing were those worn by the fascist Italian youth. This was one of the ways used to spread the fascist influence in Albanian schools during the occupation.

II-36. Life in the youth camping centre *Italo Balbo*⁴³, one of the many centres organised by the fascists in Albania

Visitors may see the lucky youth who have the high privilege of experiencing, for the first time here, fas-

⁴³ An Italian volunteer who had fought in Albania in 1913 during the Balkan Wars. During World War II, he was a distinguished commander of military airplane units.

cist hospitality in the entertaining sunny gardens, where every day they receive a good physical and moral education and learn to love fascism and the Duce. Throughout the day on the hill, in the fresh air and sun, besides doing exercises, taking baths, playing games, dancing and enjoying other entertaining and sportive activities, they learn of the Empire of which Albania is part of, its Sovereign, the life of the Empire's Founder and the heroic acts of Italo-Balbo, whose name the centre bears.

"Tomori", 11 August 1940, 2.



What, in your opinion, was the main aim of such camping centres? For which purposes was entertainment actually used?

► **v30. NDH (Independent State of Croatia) national football team**



Why are the soccer player's hands up? What does that gesture symbolize today? Should sportsmen, in your opinion, represent their country if they don't agree with the actions of the state government?

► v31. Romanian newspaper report from a football match between Romania and Croatia in 1942

UNIVERSUL

CRONICA SPORTURILOR

In prima lor întâlnire

Croația și România au terminat la egalitate 2-2 (2-1)

Oaspeții au fost mai buni în prima repriză, dar românii și-au revenit după pauză și i-au întrecut în însuflețire

Prima întâlnire dintre echipele naționale ale României și Croației s'a desfășurat Duminică după amiază pe stadionul A. N. E. F. și s'a bucurat de o atenție deosebită. Pe lângă spectatori au fost prezente tribunele stadionului frumos pavate cu drapelul celor două țări amice și aliați. Jocul a avut două aspecte caracteristice și s'a terminat la egalitate, fiecare dintre cele două echipe înscorind câte două puncte. Partida s'a desfășurat într-o perfectă notă de sportivitate, ceteris paribus, dintr-o înțelegere înțeleasă. Într-o întâlnire în care fiecare ține la un rezultat cât mai bun, publicul nostru a făcut și de asta această dovadă obiectivă aplaudând fără rezervă echipa noastră sau pe oaspeții când meritau.

ASISTENȚA

În tribuna oficială am putut remarca în numeroasă măsură pe d-nii Benzon ministru, Croașel la București, gen. N. Pălunganu prefectul poliției, Capitani, general Arhip, general Victor Hiescu subsecretar de Stat al educației extracurriculare, Zebici șeful sportului croat, colonel Medeleanu șeful sportului românesc, general von Manu, Al. Bădău secretar general al ministerului Propagandei, dr. Măceș, Ștefănescu președintele F. R. F. H. colonel Hădău, colonel Ionel Mihăilescu vicepreședintele Clubului Sportul Științelor, dr. Lepe, Constantinache, av. Octav Luchide secretar general F. R. F. H. insp. gen. Paul Roman, G. Păduraru, locotenent Ionel Popescu, judecător V. Băntuș, col. dr. G. Băntuș, maior Bărbăneanu, av. Al. Căpățână, Tudor, Voinea, C. Dinescu, etc.

UN REZULTAT REAL

După cum am spus partida s'a terminat cu rezultatul de 2-2, care reprezintă fidel desfășurarea jocului pe teren. Într-adevăr în prima parte oaspeții ne-au fost superiori rând pe rând conducerea, iar după pauză românii i-au întrecut, dominând mai mult, egalând situația și fiind chiar pe punctul de a obține victoria. Apărarea bună a croaților ne-a privit însă de un rezultat care ar fi însemnat și primul succes internațional din acest an.



Echipele României și Croației înainte de joc

mășală în careul nostru. Toți atacanții adversari trag la poartă. Lăsa mingia să respină pe rând de Moli, dovedeau, Negrescu și Pavlović.

Croații dominau mai departe obținând o lovitură de colț în minutul 5 dar Negrescu respinge și de asta dată o nouă lovitură de colț a oaspeților nu aduce modificarea rezultatului.

Jocul se mută la poartă lui Moșider unde Bogdan bate o lovitură de colț, mingia fiind respinsă de Duhat. Antolovici trage frumos în minutul 14 dar pe lângă bară. Trei minute mai târziu Wollfi trece mingia lui Zimmermann la o lovitură liberă, dar acesta o trimite pe lângă poartă.

În minutul 18 Florian trage puternic de la aproximativ 30 m. Moșider pînă la mingia lui.

ROMANIA EGALEAZĂ

În minutul 21 Moldoveanu exasperează de ineficiența înaintașilor trece la atac. Picărește la rând pe Puket și Duhat și trimite mingia în careu pe partea lui Bogdan. Acesta o oprește și din apropiere o trimite în plasă. Croația, România 2-2.

construit o bună linie de fund muncind din război pentru slăvirea atitudinii adverse.

Din linia intermediară cel mai bun a fost Constantinescu, urmat de Weizer. Lupaș mai greșit decât ne obișnuim să-l vedem, iar Drăgan a acuzat căre sfârșitul repetiției.

În altele Filotti s'a mișcat mai în voie pe extremă decât ca inter. Beraru a jucat bolnav și nu putea face mai mult. Mihăilescu a desfășurat o activitate intensă, dar n'a dat ceea ce se aștepta de la el. Bogdan a jucat uneori mingia prea mult înținzând jocul. Florian a dovedit frumoase calități în cadrul liniei de atac iar Marian s'a comportat conform așteptărilor, dând „viață” lui țării.

La oaspeți Moșider în poartă a apărut bine făcând însă greșala la punctul în care de Bogdan Brezevi și Duhat au știut să strice aproape toate atacurile noastre. Linia de mijloc: Kokotović, Barbinsek, Puket.

a alimentat înaintarea și a marcat jucătorii adverse.

În atac Zimmermann și împresionat prin viteză. Wollfi prin puterea lui Kacian prin pătrundere. Antolovici și Piese au fost la fel de buni iar Kodra mai slab.

ARBITRUL ȘI ECHIPLE

D. Atanasoff (București) a jucat la baze de d-nii Tica Ilić și M. Petreanu, a condus fără eroare. A știut să stăpânească jocul și la un mic cu atenție în-a și arbitrat în mod foarte înțelept.

ROMANIA: Pavlović, Moldoveanu, Negrescu, Constantinescu, Drăgan, Weizer, Lupaș, Beraru, Filotti, Mihăilescu (Marian), Florian, Fănuș (Mihăilescu), Bogdan.

CROAȚIA: Moșider, Brezevi, Duhat, Kokotović, Barbinsek, Puket, Zimmermann, Wollfi, Kacian, Kodra (Piese), Piese (Antolovici), N. MATESCU.

Masa oferită în cinstea d-lui Zebici Misko, șeful sportului croat

Duminică seara la Capșa, O. S. R.-ul a oferit o masă în cinstea d-lui Zebici Misko, șeful sportului croat. La această masă au mai luat parte, d-nii: Zdravko Sentić, președintele federației croate, colonel Medeleanu, șeful sportului românesc, toți președinții de federație și directorii la O.S.R.

A vorbit d. colonel Medeleanu, șeful sportului românesc, subliniind înfrățirea sportivă dintre reprezentanții sportului celor două țări amice. A răspuns d. Zebici Misko, șeful sportului croat, care a arătat cât de sincere și prețioase sunt aceste legături de prietenie sportivă româno-croată. În același sens a mai vor-

bit ministrul plenipotențiar al Croației d. Branko Benzon.

La sfârșit, șeful sportului croat, d. Zebici Misko, a oferit d-lui colonel Medeleanu, șeful sportului românesc, un cadou: o mapă de birou cu copertă țesută în culori și motivele naționale croate.

*

Duminică seara la orele 9 a fost o masă oferită în cinstea oaspeților croați, de Federația Sportivă română. Cu acest prilej a fost înmănată echipei naționale a Croației o frumoasă cupă oferită de d. prof. Mihai Antonescu, vice-președintele comitetului de miniștri.

MOTOCICLISM

„Universul”, no. 281, 14 October 1942.



What is your opinion on sports events during the war? Compare this visual to visual 30.

II-37. The Ministry of National Education of Romania forbids maps that may remind people of the Soviet invasion in 1940

The application in schools of the armistice convention

The Ministry of National Education informs all

schools of any kind all around the country, as well as all cultural institutions that depend on this department that, according to the dispositions of article 16 of the Armistice Convention, it is forbidden to print, import, distribute or display maps with Romania's frontiers prior to 28 June 1940, which show Northern Bucovina and Bessarabia as being part of

the country. Also, it is forbidden to use educational material in schools of any kind if this material has not approved of and does not agree with the indications given by the control commissions instituted by the Ministry, which analyses the educational material and does not approve of materials which, by their content, contain passages that might trouble the friendly relations between Romania and the United Nations. Distributing books from school and university libraries that might contain passages that are against the provisions of the armistice convention and that might trouble the armistice relations established with the United Nations is also forbidden.

"Universul", 318/26th of November 1944.



Did the new regime bring democracy and freedom to Romania as promised by the Royal Proclamation? Provide arguments to support your answer. In your opinion, who were the promoters of these bans? Why did they uphold these attitudes?

II-38. Ilija Jakovljević, a prisoner in the Ustasha camp in Stara Gradiška (Croatia), about Pavelić's language purism

In the main Ustasha party paper "Croatian People" somebody carelessly used the word "pogreb" (*a Ser-*

bian expression for funeral). Poglavnik (*Pavelić's title*) was shocked, his "court" was shocked, his personal office was horrified. Everybody was alerted. Who was the criminal? On its front page, the "Croatian people" twice successively published a sharp rebuke from Poglavnik's personal office, together with Poglavnik's warning that the stated offender would be punished. (...) I was expecting to say "Hello" very soon in the camp to that person (*who used the word "pogreb"*). But as that certain person was Pavelić's personal stenographer or "fastwriter", he was pardoned and we were deprived of the sensation.

Jakovljević, pp. 205-206.



Using repressive measures, the Ustasha government took measures to "purify" the Croatian language of foreign, primarily Serbian influences. Bearing in mind the similarity of the two languages, the Usthas tried (artificially) to create a Croatian language that would be quite different from the pre-war language.



Describe and explain Jakovljević's attitude towards Pavelić. What picture of Pavelić do you get from Jakovljević's interpretation, specifically in connection with the anecdote on the Serbian term "pogreb"? Should a state leader be preoccupied with the issue of language? Compare the picture of Pavelić from this source with text I-2.



Overall questions on subchapter II.d.

In this subchapter there are many examples of propaganda in education during World War II. Make a list of the different aims of propaganda in different countries and try to find similarities between them. Did propaganda disappear from educational systems after World War II? If your answer is no, find some examples. Do you have an example from your country?

War Horrors

The terrible brutality of World War II was caused by a complex mix of factors, circumstances, attitudes and motivating ideas. Due to this complexity and range, only a few can be mentioned and examined in detail: the plight of the civilian victims following the event of the line between a frontline and its rear being wiped out; Germany's plans for creating more living space, which was the reason for the cleansing of the occupied territories; cruelty as an essential part of fulfilling the German ideology based on racism and anti-semitism; keeping the occupied territories under control through the merciless and brutal punishment of the innocent civilian population; and finally, the role played by the Nazi/Fascist occupation in bringing smouldering ethnic tensions to the surface. This final point was a factor in the causes of the civil wars in some of the South-East European countries – all sides having been shaken by the occupying forces which, in turn, led to unimaginably cruel conflicts.

World War II added two new words to our vocabulary: genocide and Holocaust. And although, according to the Nazi ideas of pure race, the *Untermenschen* label applied not only to Jews but also to Gypsies, Poles, Ukrainians, Russians etc. The *Final solution* is nevertheless a case in itself due to its horrible systematic completeness. It is for this reason that it is treated separately in this chapter, as an entity in itself, with its own distinct nature, momentum and aims, quite apart from the goals and dynamics of the war, but within the context of it. Unfortunately, in South-East Europe, the *Final solution* was carried out with such brutal efficiency that the number of Jews fell from approximately 900,000 to under 50,000.

Some of the stated horrors are noted in the sources that follow, ranging from those on the battlefields to those carried out against civilians in German and Italian reprisal operations, in concentration camps, in dungeons, in Partisan revenge operations after the war, etc.

IIIa. The Frontline

III-1. Military law practiced by the Albanian Partisans

Only on one occasion were some Italians prisoners taken; this unusual event was announced with great pride by the Shtab, and I was invited to go to see them by myself. I went to a house in Vithkuq where I found four Italian officers and four other ranks. They seemed resigned to their fate, for there was little doubt that they would be shot – at any rate the officers. They appeared to be remarkably calm and refused to give any information other than their names and addresses of their families in Italy; I left feeling rather melancholic, for the shooting of prisoners was repugnant to me. Refusal to take prisoners in action was a different matter – the Italians had

once threatened to shoot ten Albanian hostages for every Italian prisoner taken, which in itself was not an encouragement for mercy. In guerrilla warfare a prisoner is a handicap, for he has to be fed and guarded against escape; therefore the obvious policy was to not take them. Guerrillas normally expected to be shot on the spot or executed, possibly after torture, so the system of not taking prisoners became an established feature in guerrilla warfare.

Smiley, p. 66.



Comment on the behaviour of the Italian officers: could it have been called heroic, even though they were the aggressors in the war? Why didn't the Albanian guerrillas take prisoners? How did Italian policy influence such behaviour?

► **v32. Partisan 4th division in the mountains of Montenegro, 1944**



III-2. The treatment of prisoners by the Albanian Nationalists

The most notable event, however, which marked the army's sojourn in the village, was the capture of two Partisans, the first prisoners of the campaign. They were both quite small boys, twelve and ten years old, and had fallen out during the retreat from Shupal, exhausted by hunger and lack of sleep. By the time we saw them they had both eaten and rested and, though still rather sheepish, were quite ready to make friends. Their talk was full of Communist jargon; and they told us that it was nearly a year since they had run away from their homes, near Valona, to join the Partisans. Both claimed to have seen action against the Ballists and the Germans.

Amery, pp. 222-23.

IIIb. Brutalities

III-3. Announcements addressed to the Greeks by German Army Commanders in Greece (1943)

ANNOUNCEMENT

Any person caught destroying or otherwise damaging telephone wires shall be shot. This penalty shall be imposed on women and minors as well.



Comment on the age of the captured Partisans. What is your opinion on child-soldiers? What is your opinion on an army that recruits and uses them? Do child-soldiers exist today? Compare this text to visual 22. Compare the attitude towards the prisoners with the attitude in the previous source. Is it possible to form a general conclusion based only on these two short excerpts? Explain your position.

► **v33. Romanian soldiers on camels in the Caucaz battles**

PRIN NISIPURILE CAUCAZULUI



Soldații români folosesc cămilele ca mijloc de transport (P. P.)

„Universul”, no 272, 5 October 1942.



Taking into account that the great majority of Romanian soldiers were peasants, comment briefly on the possible reactions of the soldiers to the camels - quite an exotic way of traveling for the Romanian Army. Can war be considered as a way of getting new experiences - not necessarily bad ones?

If the perpetrator is not caught, five persons from the adjacent villages shall be arrested and shot. The Communities to which these persons belong shall be punished by property penalties.

The enforcement of this order starts from the date of its publication.

Kerkyra, 23 October 1943

The Commander of the Isle of Kerkyra

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE BAN ON STRIKES

Any strike shall be considered as a hostile act against the Occupation Authorities, even if no military interests are directly compromised. The same is true of the instigation to strike and attempts to strike.

I shall use every means available to me to severely prevent any such attempts.

In the future, grave violations shall be punishable by death. The death penalty shall be imposed especially to instigators and leaders. Other participants in strikes shall be punished with long terms in prison and in hard labour camps

Athens, 10 September 1943

The Military Commander of Greece

Fleischer, 2, 169.

III-4. German pamphlet (October 1943) after the first wave of mass retaliations in Greece

ANNOUNCEMENT

PEOPLE OF EPIRUS!

The German army was forced to destroy your villages because you provided assistance to the guerrillas who murdered our troops.

It is up to you to prevent the guerrillas from attacking German troops.

It is your duty to report immediately the presence of guerrillas to the nearest German army station.

In this way the German army can protect your life, your family and your property.

The German army is not in Greece as an enemy of the Greek population. Our only enemies are the guerrillas, who disturb the peace and order of the country. (...)

From now on, you must cultivate good relations with the German army for the restoration of law and order, and especially for the protection of your own personal interests.

THE GERMAN COMMAND

Fleischer, 2, 223.



Were the inhabitants of the destroyed villages really capable of preventing the guerrillas from attacking German troops? Was the German army's objective in Greece really the protection of the lives and property of the local population, as claimed in this announcement? What do you think of the imposition of the death penalty on women and children for these kinds of acts?

► v34. Reprisals by the German army in Greece: photograph of mass executions in Agrinio 1943



Fleischer, vol.1, p. 347.

III-5. Hitler's order (dated September 1941) in connection with the army's behaviour in the occupied territories in South-East Europe

In order to cut off plotting at the roots, on the first occasion and without hesitation, the most severe

measures must be undertaken so that the authority of the occupational force is informed and any further spreading of the idea prevented. By doing this, you must keep in mind that in those countries a human life is of no value and a frightening impact can be achieved only by unusual strictness. As a reprisal for taking one German soldier's life, there must proportionally be death penalties for 50 to 100 communists. The style of execution must have a frightening impact.

Krizman, p. 520.



Given that it was a legislative order, the German army didn't consider the executions as crimes. Do you agree with this attitude? Can rules and laws always correctly define what constitutes a crime and what doesn't?

III-6. German atrocities during the occupation of Albania (July 1943)

On my way back I saw smoke from other burning villages, and I assumed they had been set on fire by the Italians as reprisals; I was wrong, for I came across Safet Butka and his Balli Kombetar çeta, who told me that it was the village of Barmash I saw burning, and that it was set on fire by the Germans. He said they had burnt women and children alive in their homes and shot them when they tried to escape; he added that a German division has just arrived at Korçë from Florina. This was our first news of Germans in Albania.

Smiley, p. 52.

German soldiers' attitudes towards Italians after they capitulated (October 1943)

There I had a further delay, for the villages insisted on showing me the graves of sixty-five Italian officers whom the Germans had forced them to bury. They saw them killed by Germans, who, they said, tied the Italians' hands, lined them up, shot them down

with machine-guns, and finished off the wounded with bayonets. They were clearly frightened of the Germans after what they had seen, and seemed relieved to see me go.

Smiley, p. 93.



What was the aim of such brutal behaviour by the German army? When might the second event have taken place? Was there a similar case of atrocities carried out by Germans in your country?

III-7. Don Pietro Brignoli:⁴⁴ *Holy mass for my people who were shot (fragment from a diary)*

25. August. Desperate women. One of them is asking for justice.

In the village we had just arrived in, we imprisoned all the men, as we had done elsewhere. At the beginning of the operations people didn't get anxious when we imprisoned the adult men, because they didn't know what to expect. As news about what was going on spread,⁴⁵ a wave of desperation rose. The same happened in this "liberated" village.

Because they took men and guarded them in the meadow, the women gathered not far away. They pleaded for the men and cried with such emotion, that even the less sensitive soldiers were affected. From time to time, someone scolded this miserable group and threatened that all the men would be shot if they did not stop pleading. For a moment, everyone was silent, then we heard restrained sob-

⁴⁴ Don Pietro Brignoli was a curate in the occupying Italian army in Slovenia and Croatia. During the war he wrote a diary which was published in the sixties. He was loyal to Italy, but he also described and condemned the cruel treatment of the civilian populations of Slovenia and Croatia by the Italian soldiers. During the Italian offensive in the summer and autumn of 1942, villages were burned, hostages were shot, people were deported to concentration camps, and robberies were committed. Brignoli, after all the horrors he saw, blamed the war itself and searched for the answer to his distress by identifying war as the universal culprit.

⁴⁵ Shooting hostages or sending people to the concentration camps.

bing and, in the end, they cried even more desperately than before. [...]

Repe, *Naša doba*, 1996, p. 201.



The author of this diary not only witnessed the event he described, but participated in it. Are there any signs of compassion in his narrative?

III-8. Fragment from the interview with Cveto Kopal⁴⁶

After a few days, they crowded us together for transport. About 1000 people were transported in one single train. The drive took two days. On the way, some people died in our wagon. There was a terrible heat and unbearable conditions. The wagons were cattle trucks, without the possibility of using a toilet. Then we carried the dead bodies from the railway station to the top of the hill, where the concentration camp was. Just before we arrived in Matthausen, one prisoner was shot only because he picked up a green apple from the ground...

Speaking from my experience, I would like to say to the younger generations how necessary it is to fight against any sort of violence. No form of violence, even with the best of intentions, can be justified. [...]

Repe, interview with Cveto Kopal (video).



What does Cveto Kopal, survivor of the Mauthausen concentration camp, think of violence? Do you share his opinion?

⁴⁶ Cveto Kopal was born on 15 December 1921. He became a member of the resistance movement in Slovenia in 1941. In January 1941, he was arrested and sent to the concentration camp in Auschwitz, and afterwards to Mauthausen. In the spring of 1944, he escaped from the working camp in Linz (Austria) and joined the Partisans in Slovenia. In June 1944, an illegal partisan printing works published his brochure on Mauthausen which is the first known published text on one of the most horrible concentration camps (see the illustration).

► v35. Photographs of burnt or destroyed villages (reprisals)



Fleischer, vol.2, p.497.

III-9. A Letter to Hitler⁴⁷

Paraćin, 25 March 1941

To Adolf Hitler
Berlin

The thread of justice is torn. Arrogance and violence prevail. The big ones oppress the small ones and in their arrogance they ignore God; they have no soul.

⁴⁷ On the document there is a note in Serbian: "This person died in a prison camp on 14 January 1942." On the day this letter was written, Yugoslavia joined the Axis alliance. Two days later, the Yugoslav government was overthrown in the coup d'état, and on 6 April, the German invasion began. Therefore, we could presume that the person who wrote this letter could not have been fully aware of the danger he was courting.

Bloodthirsty Hitler is hurrying to fill every single field on the globe with misery and grief. Our Fatherland is not spared either. We offer you our honest hand, but you want our hearts. In your desire to conquer and oppress, you trample on everything that has been most sacred to us through all the periods of slavery and through the centuries – you trample on our freedom and honour, you trample on our pride.

To you, Hitler, Cain's son, we, the children of great fathers and grandfathers, shout – enough! If you do not listen, you will be confronted with our strong muscles. We will spill your blood and with dragon's legs stand on your neck so that you will never be able to stand up. Remember that perhaps God has designated us to retaliate against all your wrongdoings. Remember.

(Signed) Svetolik Dr. Dragačevac
District Chief (retired)

Chief Security Administration of the Reich
Berlin, 16 May 1942
Security Police and Security Service (SD)
Einsatzkommando in Belgrade
Subject: District Chief (retired) Svetolik Dragačevac,
Paraćin, Yugoslavia

The Führer's Office, NSDAP is sending the enclosed letter of the above-mentioned District Chief (ret.) with a translation. The letter contains the most brutal insults and accusations against the Führer. I ask you to undertake the necessary measures against the author of the letter and report to us in the case of his successful arrest.

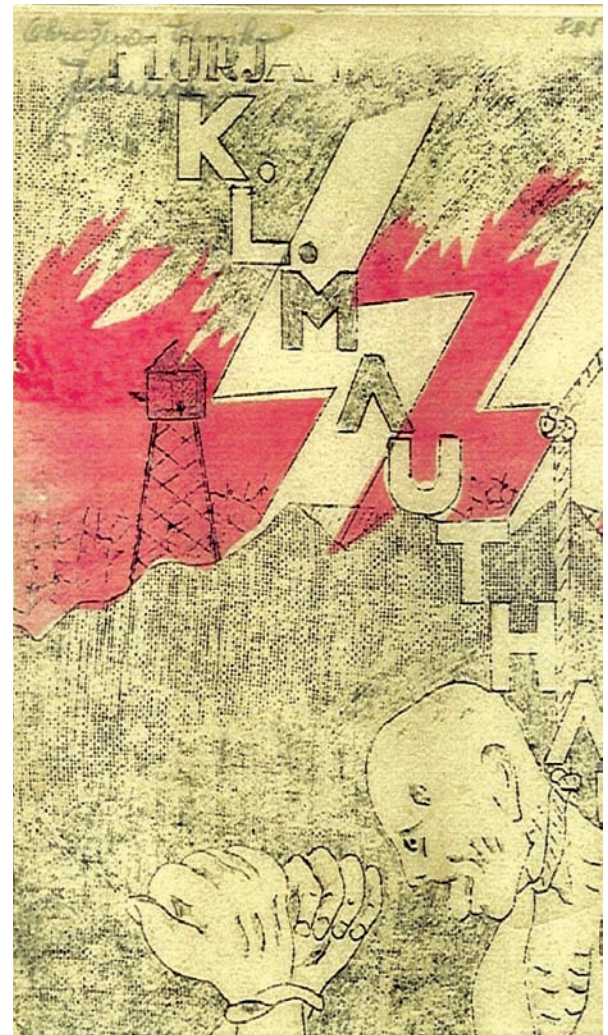
On the order of:
(Signed) Bastz

Istorijski Arhiv grada Beograda
(Belgrade Historical Municipal Archive), BDS, d-77.



Try to understand the motives for the writing of such a letter. In your opinion, was Svetolik Dragačevac aware of the possible danger when writing this letter? If so, why did he still write it?

► **v36. Front page of the pamphlet on Mauthausen**



This brochure was written by Cveto Kobal in June 1944, and it is the first known published text about one of the most horrible concentration camps.

III-10. German measures to counter the uprising in Serbia

Since failure caused considerable damage to the reputation of the armed forces [...], I think that due to reasons of prestige, if nothing else, it is necessary to deal with ultimate ruthlessness, at least in one

particular place, so that other parts of Serbia will be intimidated by this example. [...] Women and children act as liaisons and also take care of supplies. Therefore, punishment must be experienced by the whole population, not only by men. [...].

General Böhme himself, as soon as he arrived in Serbia, issued an order that "tough measures must be a threatening example of which all of Serbia will hear of in a short time".

Such a policy relied on the orders of suppression of the resistance movements in occupied countries, which came from the "highest place", from Hitler's main headquarters. They were issued on Hitler's orders, by Field Marshal Keitel, on 16 September 1941. At one place it was emphasised: "To suppress the movement in its very germ, the most drastic measures are to be applied. [...] In connection with this, it should be reminded that human life often has no value in these countries and that an intimidating effect can be achieved only with exceptional strictness".

Božović, p. 23.



The text outlines the armed uprising that broke out in Serbia in the summer of 1941.

The support of the population for the rebel forces combined with the losses sustained by the occupation forces triggered a brutal systematic wave of reprisals that spread all over Serbia in the fall of the same year. In September 1941, the head of the German occupation administration, General Turner, proposed measures to counter the uprising to General Böhme (Commanding General in Serbia).

III-11. Massacre of civilian hostages in Kragujevac⁴⁸

On 20 October, at about 7 a.m., German units under the command of Major Koenig encircled the city.

⁴⁸ The October liquidations in Kragujevac, Kraljevo and other cities throughout Serbia, executed by the Wehrmacht, with thousands killed, is a tragic piece of evidence of the true, bare essence of the occupation system. From the beginning of Au-

"Then the circle was tightened, and the German soldiers collected all the men without distinction... People were taken from the streets, from houses, stores, bars, churches and all other establishments. They took judges, scribes and clients from the court; professors, teachers and students from schools ... even the sick from some homes had not been spared.

Thus they collected an enormous number of citizens, about 8,000-9,000 men, who were detained in cannon sheds..."

Shooting started in the morning of 21 October:

"They killed hostages in the following way: they took people by groups... and thus, under strong guard took them to the places of execution, located near the Sušica Creek, Šumarice and cannon sheds. The place of execution extended for tens of kilometres. There they killed them with machine guns, automatic rifles and with rifle volleys. ...In the meantime, all the others who waited their turn to go to the place of execution, listened to the rattling of the machine guns, automatic rifles and to the bursts of shots fired from rifles, and those who were on their way towards the place of execution, had the opportunity of seeing all this before they were killed themselves."

"They (Germans) claimed in the flyers that they had killed 2,300 Serbs. This is equally incorrect, because in Kragujevac, they had already killed 7,100-7,300 Serbs, not counting the number of the people they had killed in the surrounding villages."⁴⁹

Božović, *Poruke streljanog grada*, p. 50.



The massacre of civilian hostages in Kragujevac followed (according to the "prescription for Serbia", that ordered 100 hostages to be taken for every German killed and 50 for every wounded member of

gust 1941, to the middle of February 1942, 7,776 were killed and executed in the fighting, while 20,149 persons were executed by firing squads, in a reprisal.

⁴⁹ This number has been considered official for a long time. Serbian historian Venceslav Glišić, in the early 1970s, and later some other authors, showed that even though the number of victims was overestimated, it was still higher than 2,300.

the occupation authorities at the start of the occupation) after the attack of Partisan units near the town of Gornji Milanovac in mid-October, in which ten German soldiers were wounded and 26 killed. Domestic collaborating units (the "Serbian Volunteer Corps") provided assistance in the arrest and the detention of hostages.

This is an excerpt from the testimony of Danilo Mihailović, a high-ranking police officer of the domestic collaboration administration, who visited Kragujevac a few days after the massacre.



Was the German army respecting the military law? Do you know of a similar case from your country?

III-12. A Partisan report on the actions of the Italians and the Chetniks in the area of Lika in the summer and autumn of 1942

The Chetniks robbed and killed Croats wherever they could, especially the followers of the NOB⁵⁰. So they killed Ivan Sebelj from Glibodol, father of nine children, Mijo Mesic from Lipac, Mijo Fertic and his wife, engineer Saric from Plasko and engineer Denisov from Dreznik. During most of the killings and robberies, they camouflaged themselves wearing Partisan caps in order to make the Partisans seem responsible for those crimes. In September, 1942, together with the Italians, they operated in the village Ponikve and its surroundings where they robbed and burnt down 96 Serbian houses. (...) Chetniks often made excuses for their crimes saying that they had been following the orders of the Italian force and expressed their regrets for burning Serbian houses and they, in return, explained that they had burnt down more Croatian houses.

Jelić-Butić, p. 161.



The main goal of the Chetnik units was to restore Yugoslavia with a greater and ethni-

⁵⁰ Narodno Oslobođilačka Borba (National Liberation Fight – the Partisan name for the anti-fascist resistance movement).

cally homogeneous Serbia which would hold the pre-dominant position. To achieve this, they thought that the desired territories had to be "cleansed" of non-Serbian populations. The Partisan units were declared the greatest enemy and some Chetnik commanders agreed to cooperate with Italian Units in the "revenge" and "area cleansing" campaigns in Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, to destroy the Partisan movement. A large number of civilians, Croatian, Muslim and Serb, were killed in these campaigns.



How did the Chetniks justify their crimes? What criteria did the Chetniks use in choosing their victims? Why, and in which cases, did they burn down the houses of their compatriots?

III-13. Horrors in the Ustasha's prisons in Sarajevo. In this case, the victim is a young Croatian communist-girl

Testimony by Štefica Belak-Pavičić

The worst thing for me was to endure being beaten under icy cold showers in December, in the basement of Ustasha's supervisory department, where the agents beat me in shifts. I remember how the steam was emitted from my naked body, and how the cold water from the showers held my body and kept it from falling. After that, they struck me with their boots, nightsticks and whips, my body was coloured with bloody black-and-blue marks. We lay tied on the concrete floor in our cells. After a beating like that, we talked nonsense because of our high body temperatures. They applied spanking with nightsticks to the soles of our feet. Most of us endured such torture. Some withstood the torture, some did not.

Albahari, p. 431.



Štefica Belak-Pavičić survived horrible torture. Try to imagine what consequences such torture had on those who survived.

► **v37. Photograph from Belgrade's central city square, 17 August 1941**



Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, Zbirka fotografija [Historical Archive of Belgrade, Collection of Photographs].



Everyday scenes from the occupation giving an illusion of "normality" (strollers in summer clothes, a poster inviting people to horse races at the city's race track, and the slogan of the German organization for mass vacationing "Kraft durch Freude" - Strength through Joy) side-by-side with the brutality of occupation - hanged bodies of hostages on the main city square of Terazije, 17 August 1941.

III-14. Romanian police authorities report on the state of the Gypsies deported to Transnistria

Gendarmes Inspectorate Odessa Bulletin on the state of mind of the Gendarmerie during the month of September 1943

A total of 2441 Gypsies are placed on the territory of the districts Berezovca and Oceacov. The same tendency to elude agricultural works is ascertained for the Gypsies this month as well.

They are deeply discontented with their move to Transnistria. All of them try, by any means, to return to the country. Compact Gypsy groups were caught trying to return to the country by means of false documents and authorisations. They need to be intensively and permanently supervised by the

gendarmes, for them not to escape to the colonies on the Bug.

They lack clothing and are terrorized by the winter to come, given that they are almost naked. Due to their state, they will die of cold and malnutrition in the winter, which is what happened last winter, and this is how by next spring the problem of the Gypsies in Transnistria will disappear, once they themselves have disappeared.

Minoritati etnocolturale. Marturii documentare. Tiganii din Romania (1919-1944), doc. 339.



What were the main causes of death among the deported Gypsies? Did the authorities seem to take any measures in order to protect the deported people? How did the authorities plan to solve "the Gypsy problem"?

► **v38. Poster with the names of the hostages killed in the German occupied zone in Slovenia**



III-15. Ilija Jakovljević describes life in the concentration camp Stara Gradiška (part of the Jasenovac concentration camp system)

Under the cell there is a cellar which is, in spring, full of water that comes from the Sava river through the canal, mixed up with faecal materials. The canal is

namely connected to the Sava. Before the Sava starts rising, the canal opening must be shut so that water doesn't get in. (...) After taking over the prison, the Ustashas, not knowing this, left the opening open in the spring so the Sava got into the canal and filled the cellar up to its water level. (...) To quench their thirst, distracted people⁵¹ lowered their shoes into the cellar window and through it into the cellar. (...) This way, they supplied themselves with water. (...) Shoes were also pulled through the chimney tube in order to reach some dirty liquid. A prisoner whose duty was to clean the hall in front of that cell every day, told me:

"Of all the work I did in the camp, that one, under those circumstances, was the most terrible. I would bring a can of water and splash it in the hall. You could see fingers under the door of the damned cell. Someone was soaking his hands. Here and there you could see a spoon. A poor bastard was seizing some dirty water. Some of them would lie beyond their shoes and others would lie down themselves and lick the dirty liquid. The doorstep is low, so when I splashed, a little water would get into the cell. While some would throw themselves to catch each drop, others would shout: "Don't splash, don't splash! Stop, we can't hear the water pouring!"

Jakovljević, pp. 164-165.



Ilija Jakovljević, a pre-war politician and a member of the Croatian peasant party was imprisoned in the camp in Stara Gradiška. Stara Gradiška was an integral part of the Jasenovac concentration camp system. The exact number of Jasenovac's victims, most of whom were Serbs, but also Jews, Romas, Croats, Bosniaks and other opponents to the Ustasha regime, is very controversial. Recent approximations range between 70,000 and 100,000 victims.⁵²

⁵¹ Prisoners tortured by thirst.

⁵² For example, see: Igor Graovac, Dragan Cvetković: *Ljudski gubici Hrvatske 1941-1945. godine: pitanja, primjeri, rezultati...*, Zagreb, 2005.

III-16. A letter to the family from the concentration camp Stara Gradiška

The other day he was shedding tears in my (*Dika's*) room. Do you know that he sort of declared his love to me? I told him to put it aside for now. I don't care for it in here. He must first earn my respect, correct what he did wrong, help people. He promises he'll be good. He is persuading me that he won't leave me even at the most critical moment. While he is here, nobody will torture me. If my execution warrant arrives, he will personally come to me and do it. He will put a bullet into the back of my head. He says it doesn't hurt but that he wouldn't like to try it on himself. That is the kind of conversation we have. Through him, I have already made some other connections. I have become a fortune-teller. I tell them (the *Ustashas*) their fortune from cards; it's marvellous how I can guess. (...) There is no other way; you are allowed your freedom and I'm not even allowed into an enclosure. Have a good trip, three times. Do you remember everything you have to say to my folks? Don't forget to give a kiss from mummy to the little girl.

Jakovljević, p. 304.



This letter was secretly handed to Jakovljević by his fellow-sufferer in the camp – a woman named *Dika*, a member of the Partisan resistance movement. Jakovljević was expected to be released soon. In the annex of the letter, *Dika* describes her unusual relationship with one of the prisoners in the camp whom Jakovljević knew under the pseudonym *Eminence*. Because he was one of the Ustashas, *Eminence* had had better treatment in the camp than the other prisoners (communists, Jews, Romas, Serbs).



In the first fragment there is a description of how the Ustashas tortured prisoners with thirst. Is it possible to find an understandable reason for such torture? Is it connected with the side they fought for in the war or with their character, temper, etc.? What do you think of *Eminence's* behaviour? What is his (*Eminence's*) attitude towards the prisoners, the killings and their stay in the camp in general?

III-17. An Ustasha soldier describes his acts of brutality

He (*Eminence*) wasted his days in the shop – he was, as he says, the chief clerk of a big firm – and spent his nights in nightclubs and inns; and he could barely wait for the day to devote himself to his new life vocation. (...) *Eminence* is more than a politician. He is a born coordinator in all fields. It is especially hard for him as he can't be active militarily although his strategic talent is unusual. He would quickly clean the country of all its enemies. Just think, how successfully he completed the task he was charged with in Bosnia! When the Hungarians, after the downfall, chased away the volunteers (from the Yugoslav army), they hurried back to their Bosnian homeland, the land of old times but nevertheless, the land of their birth. Those people had to be registered.

– “How did you do that?”

– “Easily. I asked them to come and they accepted the invitation. They were told that temporarily they would go to a village where their safety would be granted. I took it upon myself to feed them well after the registration. Then they were sent away in covered goods wagons.”

– “Where to?”

– “To a smaller station. For such an operation you need only a couple of boys. A revolution was going on, the fugitives lost their wits. Liquidation was done by the Gypsies. After that, we got rid of that scum, too. I'm sorry that, besides those Gypsies, I had to kill several of our men who took part in that business. They did it on their own initiative and the Ustasha authorities couldn't take the responsibility for their capriciousness. It's a waste but our mother country asks us to sacrifice the best sons. We were covered and the guilty persons were punished. The score was one against hundred.” (...) Instead of hate and sensitivity, he liked pointing out some other, higher motives for his actions. He was looking for them, and probably found them, in the cleaning of the Croatian country of Serbs and the Croatian economy of Jews.”

Jakovljević, pp. 54, 57.



The Ustasha authorities in the ISC carried out the repression of certain ethnic minorities: Serbs, Romanies and Jews. Members of those ethnic minorities were deprived of their property, sent to camps and killed. The same treatment was extended to the Croats and the Bosniaks who didn't agree with the Ustasha regime. The policy towards the Jews was no different from the one carried out in Nazi Germany. The Jews were deprived of all civil rights; marriages between Jews and people of “Aryan” origin were forbidden by the “Statutory order concerning the protection of Aryan blood and honour of the Croatian people”.

This is one of numerous conversations that the above-mentioned Ilija Jakovljević had with (also already mentioned) one of the prisoners the Ustasha called *Eminence*, at the camp Stara Gradiška.



Did Eminence think that he had committed a crime? How did he justify his actions and how did he motivate himself to kill people? How did he justify the killing of his own men?

III-18. Partisan crimes at Bleiburg. Colin Gunner, Lieutenant of the Royal Irish Infantry, watches the prisoners passing by.

[...] the Ustashes who Tito's troops were leading to death. Ustashes were actually Yugoslavs who fought on the German side from the beginning. Now, after Tito's communist victory, they had to be slaughtered, literally slaughtered. The line seemed to be endless and it was led across the Drava bridge to the Yugoslav side. Men, women with babies in their arms and children all starving. They were moved along, pursued by Tito's people who were riding ponies and carrying those notorious Cossack whips with steel endings called “nagajkas”, by which one could rip a man's face off with one blow. They used them freely.[...]

Bleiburg, pp. 141-142.



Yugoslav Partisans considered themselves to be warriors who respected the laws of war and had an aversion to crime. They presented them-

selves in this light. They claimed that, in this way, they were different from the criminal fascist armies. Nevertheless, they did not hesitate to apply the death penalty to prisoners as well as civilians who were identified as being (or even only suspected of being) collaborators with the occupation forces or Ustasha authorities.

In May 1945, the Partisans were repelling different fascist armies from the territory of Yugoslavia towards the north-west. The Ustasas, together with a number of civilians from Croatia were moving towards the present-day Slovenia-Austria border in order to turn themselves in to the British army (rather than to the Partisans). However, their surrender was not accepted by the British so they had to turn themselves in to the Partisans. Many of the prisoners-of-war and civilians were killed and tortured by the soldiers of the victorious army. This started in the small town of Bleiburg (Austria) and continued later on, when the prisoners were forced to march to the south, deeper into the territory of Yugoslavia (this march is known as "The Way of the Cross").



What caused the mass reprisals at the end of the war? Compare it with similar manifestations of "triumphant fury" at other war scenes (Hiroshima, Dresden, Sudetenland, Vichy.) Can vengeful behaviour at the end of a war be justified by the struggle for the right cause during the war?

III-19. Tito about Partisan crimes in May 1945⁵³

Concerning these traitors who found themselves in our country, in each nation in particular – that's a matter for history. The hand of justice, our people's

hand of revenge has caught most of them, and only a small number managed to run away under their protector's wings, outside our country.

Bleiburg, p. 41.



Is "the hand of revenge" necessarily "the hand of justice"; is it equal as suggested in the source? Explain the statement: what a crime is to one person is justice to another.

► v39. *Victims*, Vladimir Filakovac, oil on canvas, Zagreb 1943



Croatian Museum of History.



Describe the picture. What kind of load is there on the wagon? What do you think of horrors of war as the topic for a work of art? What do you think was the painter's attitude towards the painted horrors?

IIIc. The Holocaust

III-20. From the Bulgarian Law for the Protection of the Nation

24 December 1940

Article 21. Individuals of Jewish origin are not allowed:

⁵³ Crimes committed at the end of the war were considered a taboo in post-war Yugoslavia for many years.

- To become Bulgarian citizens. Women of Jewish origin get the citizenship of their husbands;
- To vote or to be elected, both in public elections and in elections of any non-profit unions, except in cases where the election concerns organisations of individuals of Jewish origin only.
- To occupy a post in any state, municipal or in other public authorities - except in organisations of individuals of Jewish origin only.

- e) To marry or to live in concubinage with individuals of Bulgarian origin; marriages of individuals of Jewish origin and Bulgarians, contracted after this Law has come into force, are considered non-existing;

Article 23. (...) It is forbidden for individuals of Jewish origin to settle in Sofia in the future.

Article 24. Individuals of Jewish origin are not allowed to own or rent real estate, either personally or through dummies and in villages and, they are not allowed to own any buildings at all except in resorts.

Article 26. The Council of Ministers has the right, following a report of the Minister of Trade, Industry and Labour, to restrict, fully or partially, the personal or capital participation of individuals of Jewish origin in some branches of trade, industry and crafts.

Within one month after this Law has come into force, all individuals of Jewish origin are obliged to declare all their properties and possessions.

The Survival. A Compilation of Documents 1940-1944,
pp. 157-161.



Is there a similar document from your country from this time? Was the anti-Semitic policy in South East European countries imposed exclusively by the Germans? Did the German allies have a choice? The name of this law needs to be analysed as well: did the Bulgarian (or any other) nation really have to protect itself against the Jews?

III-21. Bulgarian deputies protest against the deportation of Jews⁵⁴

(...) There are rumors that the Bulgarian government intends to extradite these people from our country.

⁵⁴ According to the agreement between Bulgaria and Germany on 22 February 1943, 20,000 Jews would be moved from the territories occupied by Bulgaria (today the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, parts of Southern Serbia and parts of Northeast Greece). In March 1943, approximately 15,000 were deported from these territories to the concentration camp Treblinka. The Bulgarian government did not deport the Bulgarian Jews.

These rumors must be ill-founded and malicious, as these people are Bulgarian citizens and extradition would have negative implications not only in stigmatizing the national character of Bulgaria but will also have an effect on future international relations.

A small nation does not have the liberty of ignoring moral considerations. A strong moral character is our greatest weapon against future injustices. It is of great significance for us, because you, Dear Prime Minister, certainly will recall that not long ago we too suffered the heavy moral and political consequences of a morally aberrant legislation formulated by irresponsible individuals.

What kind of Bulgarian government do we wish to burden with such a responsibility in the future?

The Jews in Bulgaria are few; the strength of the state is powerful and armed with many lawful means of subduing every criminal element, regardless of its origin. It is therefore unnecessary to resort to new and exceptionally cruel measures which could lead to a future accusation of Bulgarian participation in mass murder.

These accusations will be born by the current Bulgarian government, but such accusations will be a legacy left to the people of Bulgaria of today and in the future. The results of such policies are easy to predict and they should therefore not be permitted. It will be impossible for us to share any responsibility for this. (...)

The Survival. A Compilation of Documents 1940-1944,
pp. 216-218.



This is a protest statement (dated 26 December 1943) from the Vice-Chairman of the 25th session of the Bulgarian National Assembly, D. Peshev, and 42 other deputies to the Prime Minister, against the deportation of the Jews beyond the Bulgarian borders. They insist that new anti-Jewish measures be based on real political interests and on the ethnical views of the Bulgarian people. They ask whether the government would take the enormous, historical responsibility of deporting innocent subjects in order to serve a foreign power.



Comment on the following sentence: "A small nation does not have the liberty of ignoring moral considerations". Does this mean that great nations have the liberty? What were the concerns of the authors of this protest statement about the future?

III-22. Order issued by the Military Command, Belgrade

25 April 1941

ORDER

- 1) All Jews residing in Belgrade may buy foodstuffs and other goods on squares and market places every day after 10:30 a.m. only. Merchants must not sell to them before that hour.
- 2) At public fountains and other places where people wait in queues, Jews may stand in the queue only after the needs of other Arian citizens have been taken care of.
- 3) All merchants are prohibited from selling foodstuffs and other goods to the Jews at higher prices.
- 4) Jews who fail to abide by the order above shall be punished by up to 30 days in prison or fined with up to 10,000 dinars. According to the estimate, they may also be sent to concentration camps.

The same punishment shall apply to the merchants mentioned in Article 3 of the present Order.

- 5) The police in Belgrade i.e. its precincts, shall be in charge of pronouncing punishments pursuant to this order.

This order shall come into force immediately.

Ordered on 25 April 1941, in Belgrade.
Colonel and Commander
Von Kaisenberg

Božović, *Beograd pod komesarskom upravom 1941*, p. 54.



Why weren't Jews allowed to buy foodstuffs before 10.30 a.m.? What was the punishment for disobeying this order?

► v40. Turkish cartoon

Gazetelerden: Bir vapur dolusu Yahudi muhaciri İzmir limanından geçti...



Yahudi - Açız, parasiziz.. Allahaşkiniza beş dakika karaya çıkmamıza izin verin da zengin ulup yelelim!..

Akbaba, 24 Ağustos 1939

Akbaba, 24 August 1939.



Translation: A shipload of Jews called in at the İzmir port. The Jew: We are moneyless! We are hungry! Please allow us to remain here for five minutes so that we can return to the ship as rich men!



What was the purpose of this cartoon? What kind of a stereotype does it advocate?

III-23. Ion Antonescu condemns the pogrom in Iași⁵⁵

4 July 1941

Order 255 of General Ion Antonescu, leader of the state, to the military and gendarmerie units in the country,

⁵⁵ On June 30, 1941, the Romanian Government announced that 500 "Jewish-communists" were executed at Iași, because

with respect to the bloody retaliation against the Jewish population in Iași.

The disorder that occurred a few days ago in Iași, put the army and the authorities in an extremely unfavorable light.

On the occasion of the eviction of Bessarabia, it was a real shame for the army to have to accept being insulted and attacked by Jews and communists, without reacting. The shame is even greater when soldiers, isolated on their own initiative for a long time rob, maltreat or attack the Jewish population and kill randomly, as was the case in Iași.

The Jewish people have extorted from, impoverished, speculated on and stopped the development of the Romanian people for several centuries. That they need to set us free from this plague over the Romanians is an indisputable fact, but only the government has the right to take the necessary measures. These measures are in the course of being executed and they will be continued after the norms I will decide on.

It is not possible for every citizen or every soldier to assume the role of solving the Jewish problem with thefts and massacres.

By such procedures, we show that we are an undisciplined and uncivilised people and we cast a very unpleasant light over the state's authority and prestige.

I hereby completely stop any action started on individual initiative and make the military and civil authorities responsible for strictly executing this order. Those who will infringe or have infringed the order mentioned above will be sued and will receive the most severe sanctions provided by law.

General Ion Antonescu

Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944, vol. II, doc. 98.

they opened fire against the Romanian and German troops. In fact, on June 28–29, it seems that shots were fired against the troops. There were no casualties, but the rumours were that the Jewish-communists intended to attack the armies on the front-line from behind. Thousands of Jews were arrested, some were killed. The commander of the 14th Romanian Division disposed of the arrested Jews by evacuating them by truck. From the 4,430 people deported in two trains, according to the official data, about half of them survived.

 What was the official position of Ion Antonescu on the pogrom in Iassy? Does a condemnation of the disorder in Iassy reveal a pro-Jewish attitude? Who was declared responsible for solving the Jewish problem in Romania? Although Antonescu accuses the Jewish minority of taking actions against the Romanian army, he declares himself to be against embarking on a "Final solution" to the Jewish problem. Would you agree that it was merely a reaction against individual actions, of theft and crime? What may be the results of such an attitude from the Leader of the state? What is your opinion on collective blame?

► **v41. Turkish cartoon**



Bali, Cumhuriyet'in Yurttaşları.



 The octopus engulfing the world represents the Jews (published by the Anti-Zionist Society of Turkey): “The danger that surrounds the world – world Jewry – Zionism. There will be no calm on Earth as long as this pest remains.”

III-24. Concentration camp of Sajmište, Belgrade

Extract from the statement of Hedviga Schönfein, prisoner of the Judenlager Zemlin (Sajmište) prison camp

Immediately upon our arrival at the camp, the Germans told us that the camp would gradually be evacuated, because they intended to imprison communists at the Fair, but they did not want to tell us where they were going to take us.... For the first transfers they invited volunteers and the first to be invited was the group I was from – Jews from Kosmet. (...)

Those who were designated for transport were ordered, or, more precisely, kindly advised to take their most valuable possessions with them, and to pack all the rest carefully and put their exact address on the package. (...)

Thus, these transfers departed almost every day. On Sundays and holidays there were usually no transfers or removals, but there were days when the car would make two rounds. The driver of the grey car often entered the camp alone, gathered children around him, caressed them, took them in his arms and gave them candies. The children liked him and whenever he came, they would rush toward him to get candies. No one in the camp suspected that people were taken to their deaths. It was strongly believed they were being transferred into a work camp.

Zločini fašističkih okupatora, pp. 33, 34.



There were about 17,800 Jews in the occupied territory of Serbia. Some 14,000 were killed. Some 6,320 Serbian Jews perished in the camp of Sajmište, in Belgrade. A special gas van facility was brought from Germany to the camp of Sajmište for the occasion. Apart from the Sajmište camp, most male Serbian Jews met their end, together with Serbs and Romas, in the massive hostage shooting of 1941 and in the first half of 1942. This criminal action was organised and performed systematically by the German military (mostly the Wehrmacht-German regular Army).



Comment on the behaviour of the driver of the grey car. Did he know what was happening there?

► v42. Unknown girl, waiting for deportation, near Celje in Slovenia



III-25. Sufferings of a young Jewish girl from Sarajevo

Testimony by Hiba Zildžić-Čehajić

The horrible events, which have come with the emergence of war, have definitely shaped the physiognomy of thousands of young people of Sarajevo, among others. This was the case among the female youth. I was 16 and attended the 6th grade of high school. First of all, the schools in the city were disbanded and the army moved into the school build-

ings. Many Jews lived in my neighbourhood. I had one very close (Jewish) friend, Regina Finci. Her mother ran a small tobacco shop on Bašćaršija's corner. I have visited them and watched how they live in fear every day. With every murmur they make, with every step they take, they live in the expectation of being deported to a concentration camp. Their things were already packed. One day, they were taken to a concentration camp, but Regina succeeded in escaping and took shelter in our house. Unfortunately, in spite of our inducements to hide her further, she did not have the strength to live without her family. So, she left for the concentration camp again to share her destiny with her family. This persecution of the Jewish people and the atmosphere of horror in their families, which I have directly experienced, have remained with me as one of strongest feelings that I recall from that time. Rumours about concentration camps in Gradiška and Jasenovac and about the deportations and the torture of communists and patriots have penetrated the town. There was news about the monstrous slaughters of the Serbian inhabitants in the villages, about the throwing of corpses in holes and abysses, about the burning of villages, and later about the Chetnik's slaughters of the Muslims around Drina, about rivers of blood, about refugees without any property in a directionless run for their lives. The refugees from Foča, Rogatica and Višegrad have begun to arrive in town. The Muslim families have taken in almost insane children without parents. I speak of only a part of that horrible atmosphere. So, that was fascism in all its cruelty and mercilessness.

Albahari et al. (ed.), pp. 495-496.



Evaluate Regina's behaviour. What would you have done, had you been in her place? Was the decision she made an easy one? What is this source telling you about the perseverance of the human spirit when surrounded by a very repressive regime?

III-26. The anti-Jewish measures in Greece

Notes on the Present Situation of Greek Jewry

by A.L. Molho

Cairo, October 12, 1943

The anti-Jewish measures and the Quisling Governments

(...) The fact remains that up to the month of February of this year, the Jews of Greece have enjoyed, both *de jure* and *de facto*, the same status as any other Greek citizens. The measures which have been adopted from the above date against the Jews of Salonika and against entire Macedonia originated exclusively from the German occupation authorities. They acted, according to their own admission, in conformity with very precise orders received by them from high quarters. The Greek Authorities have obstinately refused to identify themselves with these measures. The Orthodox Church raised its voice against them. (Memorandum of the Archbishop-Primate of Athens to the German authorities.) The leaders of the political world as well as the professional and popular organisations, have outright identified themselves with this protest. The pressure of Greek public opinion has been so mighty that the Quisling Prime Minister, Mr. Ioannis Rallis, has been obliged to declare that he would intervene on behalf of the Jewish element. It is not known whether he has kept his promise. In any case, it has yet to manifest itself officially.

Documents on the History of the Greek Jews: Records from the Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 280.



When measures against the Jews were introduced in Greece, a diverse range of organisations and institutions, including the Church, the Athens Police and the communists, were both supportive and effective. EAM, the most powerful of all Greek resistance organisations, was the most effective in assisting the Jews in hiding or fleeing and thus surviving. It foiled Nazi designs by destroying the records of the Jewish community in Athens and also helped the Rabbi escape to EAM.

territory. The EAM underground press published regular appeals to the population to assist their Jewish compatriots while the organisation facilitated the passage of Greek Jews to the Middle East and recruited volunteers into its ranks. The Orthodox Church also helped the Jews by trying to stop the deportations. The Archbishop Damaskinos met with the Plenipotentiary for the Reich in Greece and lodged a strong complaint against the measures being taken towards the Jews in Thessaloniki (see doc. I–40).



How did the Greek authorities react to the measures adopted against the Jews of Thessaloniki?

III–27. Extract from the memoirs of a Greek Jew of Salonique (1941–1943)

In the early days of July 1942, the newspapers of Thessaloniki published an official announcement by the German Military Command of Thessaloniki & the Aegean, in which all male Israelites aged 18–45 were summoned to present themselves at Platia Eleftherias in the morning of Saturday, 12 July, under threat of severe penalties in case of non-compliance. This was the first official manifestation of anti-Semitic policy in Thessaloniki since the beginning of the Occupation. [...] This congregation of Jews was marked by several instances of abuse by German officers and soldiers. Some of them who were late in coming were brutally beaten with hands, feet and whips. One group of German mariners showed excessive cruelty in such actions. Members of the German military police (F.G.) set their bulldogs against some Israelites who dared to smoke or cover their heads from the hot July sun. Others who got tired of waiting for several hours and sat on the ground were beaten by the Gestapo men until they bled. Other Israelites were made to perform arduous physical exercises, for many hours and threatened with beating if they stopped. Finally, other groups of Germans forced Israelites to perform humiliating acts (somersaults) under the gaze of a curious Christian audience. The whole show was recorded in photographs taken by Germans and reporters, which were pub-

lished in the Greek press the very next day together with typically anti-Israelite descriptions. [...]

Over time there were more instances of arbitrary actions against Israelites, such as the forced expulsion of fifteen shopkeepers (greengrocers, grocers, butchers, etc.) from the central market of Vassilis Irakliou Street and their replacement with Christian greengrocers who were transferred from other parts of the town. This method, which benefited the Christian shopkeepers, whetted the appetite of other competitors of the Israelites and there was regular German intervention to expel Israelite shopkeepers from central locations and bring in Christian businessmen friendly to the Germans, or lavishly bribed well-known intermediaries.

Giakoel, pp. 57–58, 98–99.

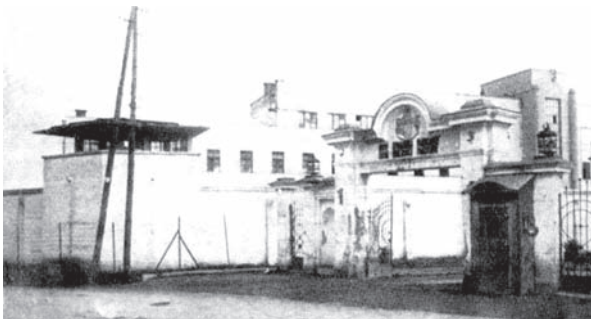


If we analyse the factors that influenced the number of Jews that survived in the various Jewish communities in Greece, we should take into account the distance from the nearest regions under control of the Resistance and the presence of an effective anti-fascist movement, the degree of assimilation in and the acceptance by society and the capacity and willingness of the local authorities. Most of the Jews that survived were hellenophones that lived in the same neighbourhoods as the Greek Orthodox population. Their degree of assimilation not only made them more difficult to locate, but also influenced the desire of the rest of the population to help them. That most of the Greek Jews who were exterminated by the Nazis during World War II came from Thessaloniki, was due not only to the fact that Thessaloniki had, by far, the biggest Jewish community in Greece (about 50,000 of the 73,000 Jews of Greece lived in Thessaloniki), but also to the fact that the Jews of Thessaloniki spoke Spanish “Sephardite” (Ladino) and mainly lived in neighbourhoods separate from the Greek Orthodox population. The Jewish population of the city was deported mainly to Auschwitz. Only 17% of the Jews living in Greece before the war survived the Nazis.



What is your opinion of the behaviour of the Christian greengrocers who took over the Jewish-owned shops?

► **v43. Belgrade concentration camp at Banjica**



Zločini fašističkih okupatora, p. 211.

► **v44. Concentration camp Uštica (part of the Jasenovac concentration camp system), 1942**



Mataušić, Jasenovac 1941-1945.



A group of women and children in front of the *House of lamentation* (Kuća leleka).



Describe the photo. What feelings can be seen on the faces of the prisoners? Explain the name "The House of lamentation".

III-28. Rozalija Kremer's letter to Pavelić's office, 20 October 1941

I am the mother of a 17 year-old girl Bela called Beluška. My daughter was arrested 1 July 1941,

without any reason, along with Jews from Kustošija where we have a small grocery store. My daughter stayed a few days at the police station in Petrinjska street where I was bringing her food.

One day, when I brought food there, they told me that they couldn't take it as she wasn't at their police station anymore. From that moment on, I couldn't find out where she was, she had disappeared without a trace.

As far as I know, she is not in any of the camps, so I am beginning to have doubts about whether she is still alive.

It should be pointed out that my daughter was never involved in politics, she has lived with me in Kustošija her entire childhood and has been helping me in the store. My daughter was a young, and very good, girl. Everybody in Kustošija loved her because she was kind to people, always smiling and ready to help.

I am asking you to inform me of what happened to my daughter, if she is alive and in a camp, to tell me which one so that I can send her warm clothes because she can't spend the winter in the light dress she had on when she left.

I must also tell you that my husband had a stroke and, besides Beluška, we have two small children, who give me a lot of work and worry, so it's impossible to manage all the work by myself and my elder daughter was my only help.

Goldstein, pp. 365-366.

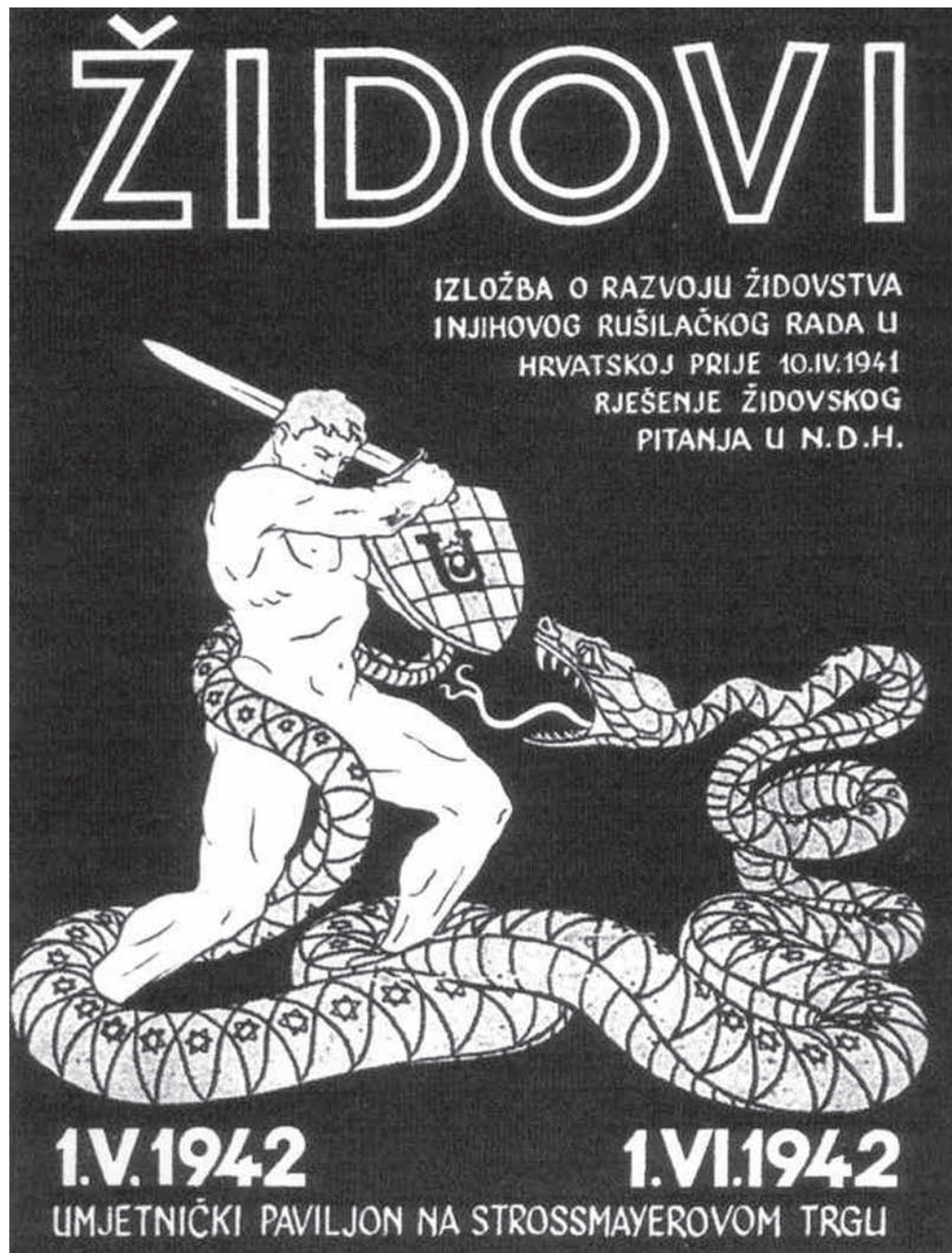


When this letter was written, Bela had already been killed.



How does Mrs Rozalija explain her demands? Why doesn't she say directly that a great injustice was done; i.e, a crime? Do you think that, in some cases, the victims themselves may have started to accept the criminal reality as something normal? The same question stands for those who committed the crimes as well as for the silent majority.

► v45. The front page of a catalogue of the anti-Jewish exhibition in Zagreb, 1942



Translation: Exhibition on the evolution of Judaism and its destructive work in Croatia before 10 April 1941. Solution of the Jewish question in NDH (ISC).



Describe the illustration and its meaning. Was such an anti-Jewish exhibition ever held in your country? Can you imagine what it might have been like?

Human Solidarity

This chapter aims to insert a little optimism into the gloomy matters of war and demonstrate that even the most tragic episodes in the history of mankind are not deprived of some humanity, that in the most chaotic war circumstances there were people ready to help, sometimes taking risks and putting their own safety and lives in danger.

Furthermore, this chapter contains several sources which deal with unusual and unexpected behaviour during everyday life in wartime. These sources illustrate situations which were not unambiguous from a moral point of view: they were not always clear, and it is precisely because of this, they have given us the opportunity to analyse and discuss (for example: IV-1 and IV-2). A useful approach to this is to encourage the method of identifying with the people involved, e.g. students can, by acting out the roles of the real people, try to predict their behaviour and understand their feelings in the situation described.

IV-1. Partisan-Ustasha conversation

“Why are you wasting my ammunition, you son of an Ustasha bitch!”

Basically, he regards Ustasha ammunition as already wasted, and regrets each bullet.

“Come and get it, don’t be afraid, you mother-fucker!”, replies the Ustasha.

But that’s only the introduction into a further substantial conversation of a mostly ‘political’ nature. (...) The Ustasha doesn’t believe that Partisans exist, he thinks we’re all Chetniks. Chetniks and outlaws, they are all the same, they all fight against the Croats to the benefit of the Serbs and the Jews. He (*the Ustasha*) asked Svrabo to curse King Petar and Queen Marija in order to prove that he wasn’t a Chetnik. Svrabo granted him his wish with the greatest delight, but he immediately asked the Ustasha to curse Pavelić. (...) At that moment, the Ustasha remained speechless given that he neither wanted nor could curse Pavelić, a provoker fired from the machine-gun. He didn’t hit him but interrupted him and Svrabo withdrew into the shelter.

“Are you hurt?” asked the Ustasha with concern.

“No, I’m not”, replied Svrabo.

“Why are you shooting at him, mother-fucker,

can’t you see that I’m talking to the man”, yelled the Ustasha at the man who interrupted their conversation. (...)

“If I had caught him, I would have let him go, I swear!” declared Svrabo generously. But in that statement of his, there was not a grain of truth. Pigs might fly before Svrabo would let an Ustasha go.

Šibl 2, pp. 203-204.



In quite a number of passages, Ivan Šibl describes the abrupt and unplanned respect among members of the warring armies fighting in Croatia. Violent fights took place in Slavonia at the beginning of 1943. At their bases near Voćin, the enemies (in this case, the Partisans and the Ustashes) were about 60 metres away by air, so that the soldiers of the two armies could communicate easily. Šibl’s Partisan comrade, Milan Svrabić-Svrabo, often talked to one of the Ustashes. This is one of their conversations, started by a shot heard from the Ustasha side.



In your opinion, were such conversations common on other battlefields, and in other wars, or was this just a freak occurrence of bored soldiers having fun? Do you approve of such conversations? What

do you think of the sympathy that arose between the two soldiers? Was it sincere? How far did this sympathy go? Do you think that the two soldiers would actually be prepared to do something to save the other's life? Is Šibl right when, in his final commentary, he claims that something like this is impossible?

► **v46. Romanian newspaper poster: *Help orphans***



„Universul”, no. 249, 12 September 1943.



This poster is asking people to help orphans. Why were there orphans? Did the politicians take any measures to stop the causes?

IV–2. Celebrating a name-day in the concentration camp

A couple of days before it, The Boss (*of the camp*) incidentally told the cooks: “We will just see what he will

prepare for his name-day.” It was up to me to turn out to be a man or an old dodderer. (...)

I cleaned up my cell, cleared up the table, tidied up the space by the window, put some box cardboard and wood splinters into the stove and borrowed some glasses from the kitchen – if only I had put up Pavelić’s picture, the cell would have become the sort of room where a distinguished person could be received. (...) I agreed with Gaon that he would come after the special guests had left so that we could talk freely over a drink. As he was a Jew, those bastards would never have sat at the table with him. (...)

At about ten o’clock, the door opened and four of them entered with the ensign on their heads.

– “Spremnii! (*Readily! – Ustasha’s salutation*) My congratulations, Doctor!”

– “Thank you my dear Ante, my loving person, I am so glad, it is as if Sultan himself had come!”

(...) “It’s nice of you to come! It would be a poor name-day celebration without such great men! (...)”

I poured wine into glasses, we toasted, all in a strict Croatian manner. God help us meet in Zagreb next year, that we get drunk as lords and then drive from one inn to another.

– “Doctor, you like spending nights out and drinking, don’t you?”

– “And who doesn’t? The worst man is the one who is stingy with money. As long as there is money, spend it, enjoy yourself, fool around! My lord, I’ll never forget that you came. We must meet again next year and if possible not in this house. We’ll hire a Gypsy, he will sing and play. You always drink better when there’s music and singing.”

– “Where are the Gypsies, you devil? There are no more Gypsies”, said the Boss smiling.

– “What? You haven’t killed off the musicians, too, have you? I can’t agree to that. Irreplaceable people should be saved. Who can replace a Gypsy musician?”

So the conversation turned to the topic of genocide.

– “Why do the Gypsies bother you?” asked Jakovljević to his guests, “they aren’t politicians.”

– “Why should we need Gypsies?” answered one

of the guests, “they neither work nor serve in the army. If you really want to know, I would rather keep alive a Vlach (*a Serbian, in this case*). At least he would plow and work in the field... If we reduce them in number, they won’t be of any danger.”

Then Jakovljević, as a man of literature, recited poetry to his guests. At the same time, noises could be heard from the cellar: the Ustashes were torturing one of the prisoners.

“I had to control myself, not to choke. While I was repeating the poet’s sighs for freedom, I was deprived of it, and in the name of that same freedom, another crime was committed at that very moment. (...) I had to pretend, to make myself look stupid as if I didn’t know what was going on in the room down below.”

Jakovljević, pp. 173–179.



The aforementioned Ilija Jakovljević, a prisoner in Stara Gradiška, had a special status in the camp. As a pre-war Croatian patriot who had “stepped out of line a bit” but who nonetheless might have joined the Ustashes in the future, he enjoyed privileges from his prison guards. Despite this, he could, nevertheless have fallen out of favour at anytime and would have been executed on the spot – as many others were. For this reason, he had to maintain a simulated friendship with the guards and the camp administration. On this occasion, he found himself in the position whereby he had to invite the complete camp administration to his cell to celebrate his name-day.



Do you find the behaviour of the “prison staff” unusual and unexpected? Did they, in your opinion, behave in the same way with the other prisoners? Why did Jakovljević have some privileges in the camp? What do you think of the “casual conversation” held between the prisoner and his guests? The points of view which were normal to the Ustashes, horrified Jakovljević, but he couldn’t show it. What do you think of his behaviour? What would you have done in his place?

IV–3. *Memoir of the intellectuals addressed to I. Antonescu (April 1944)*

At this moment, when a terrible disaster threat-

ens our people, we, the members of the Romanian Academy and the professors at the Universities of Bucharest, Iași and Cluj, witnesses of the people’s exodus and of the devastation of the Romanian villages and cities, transformed into battlefields, after a long consideration, have decided to address you this appeal.

In the present circumstances, to remain silent would be a crime. We have the duty of telling our honest thoughts in front of the leader of the State: we must put an end at once to our war with Russia, Great Britain and the United States ...

Mr. Marshall,

The bombing of the Capital, the destruction of other cities, the warnings received from London, Washington and Moscow, Moldavia’s transformation into a battle scene are all signs of an imminent disaster. The Romanian people, exhausted of a war too long for its capacities, cannot fight any longer. Go down to the streets and ask the passers-by, go to the villages and the cities, listen to the voice of the people. Everywhere you will see the despair in people’s eyes and the same answer: NO. What should we fight for? The vital interests of the State and of our people require an immediate end to the war, no matter how hard this thing might be. The sacrifices Romania would make by ending the war would be much smaller and less painful than those made if the war were to continue.

Scurtu et al., pp. 439–440.



The prevalent toleration politics of the political opposition motivated numerous political, cultural and other personalities to address protests to the Leader of the State, by means of which they manifested their discontent with the politics lead by the Government. These actions were, in general, not followed by repression.



What was the social status of the authors of this memoir? What was the position of these authors on the main political problems in Romania in 1944? Is this position solely that of the authors? Did the authors take any risks in writing this letter?

IV-4. Extract from a letter by the President of the Greek ministers (7/10/43) to the German authorities

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CABINET
Ref. no. E 312 1/10 CONFIDENTIAL
To H.E., the Reich's representative in Greece
Dr. G.A. Altenburg

Athens, 7 October 1943

Your Excellency,

The police commander of the SS in Greece has issued an order for all Greek citizens of the Israelitic persuasion to present themselves for registration. The news of this order gives me the impression that the measures taken by the Military Command in Thessaloniki against Jews are to be repeated here against Greek citizens of Jewish descent.

[...] The possibility of these Greek citizens, who have lived on Greek land from time immemorial, being removed from their country and resettled in unknown regions, fills both the Greek government and every Greek heart with mourning.

The Israelites of old Greece (i.e. of Greece as it was before the Balkan wars) are fully integrated, linguistically and historically, with the local population and have produced poets who stand out for their Greek spirit.

As lawful citizens, they have always fought for Greece in all cases, and many of them distinguished themselves in the battlefields.

Their diligence, ability and sense of duty have helped them to excel as civil servants, particularly as judges and military men. They have always handled successfully the difficult affairs of the state and fought dutifully to promote the interests of the country.

The Greek Church has always offered its protection to the Israelite community in Greece and inspired the Greek people with a spirit of tolerance and magnanimity in matters of faith. The Israelite community of old Greece constitutes a non-negligible minority with no political or cultural power whatsoever.

[...] The enforcement of such measures against

the Greek Israelites in old Greece would hurt the sentiments of a people whose soul has absorbed the great traditions of the Greek spirit. [...]

Enepekidis, pp. 50-51.



How did the President of the Greek Ministers explain his demand? Why didn't he directly say that the holocaust was a great injustice and crime? Did he take any risks in writing this letter? What would you have done had you been in the President's position?

IV-5. George Enescu⁵⁶ trying to protect the Roma

7 November 1942

NOTE

I was informed that, on behalf of the musician Gypsies, George Enescu himself intervened and spoke to Marshall Antonescu, saying that he would also go if he were to take his musicians to the Bug.

Minoritati etnoculturale. Marturii documentare. Tiganii din Romania (1919-1944), doc. 281.



In your opinion, why did Enescu intervene in favour of the Gypsies? Can you guess his reasons for having done so?

IV-6. Memorandum by a group of Bulgarian barbers and hairdressers to the Ministers concerning the Bill for the Protection of the Nation

11 November 1940

Dear Sirs,

Today, as we are living through these worrying times which demand the union of the whole Bulgarian na-

⁵⁶ George Enescu (1881-1955) was the greatest Romanian musician and one of the most prodigiously gifted musicians of the twentieth century: a great violinist and composer, a distinguished conductor, an accomplished pianist, able cellist and a famous violin teacher.

tion, some decisions against the Jews have been taken, which are not only against the will of the Bulgarian people, but are also pernicious to them. This is the reason for passing the Bill for the Protection of the Nation.

We do not know if you will listen to our just voice, which originates in the class that had given the most assets and victims for the welfare of our people. Today, together with our fellow-citizens Jews we are working and, if the time comes, we will die together at the front lines, as did our fathers and their fathers before them. We do not see anything wrong with them, and you want to tear them from our body by depriving them of all their rights. If the aim is to persecute the Jewish profiteers, you should persecute ours as well.

The Struggle of the Bulgarian People, p. 49.



Was there a similar document from your country? If you were a Bulgarian barber at that time, would you have signed the memorandum?

IV-7. Turkish help and support to Greece

THANKS FROM GREECE

Below you will find the translations of the letters of thanks I received, due to my efforts and attempts of the commission organised under my Presidency in our Ministry to send food and support to the people of Greece and the Aegean Islands who have been forced into a situation of hunger under the occupation during the Second World War:

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS

"I kindly request your accept this album of the city of Athens. I present it as a little gift for the various services you gave the people of Greece during the terrible times of the history of Greece".

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF CHIOS

"I have been informed with happiness by Mr. Courvoisier, a Representative of Red Cross and a good friend of our country, of all of the details of your decision to send flour to the Red Cross of Chios.

As Governor of this region, please let me express my excitement and thanks due to your kind help for the suffering people of this small Chios Island.

Also, I kindly request that you accept the thanks of the whole of Greece and the Government of Greece for sending support from the neighbouring coasts to our own coasts.

We become worked up when we see Lion (Arslan), the boat with Turkish National Flag coming into our harbour.

During their historical life, both of our nations have lived together for years. We have retained a close friendship and we honour memories of your nation from this cooperation. Because the Turkish Nation, in times of war and peace, in every meeting with us, has always regarded us as its brother, friend and a loved relative. During this cruel and terrible deprivation period, by giving us your hand; you confirm our opinion of the noble Turkish Nation.

I kindly request your acceptance of this little gift from Chios, which I present to you through the agency of Mr. Courvoisier".

Erkin, pp. 130-31.



Erkin was a member of the Turkish Foreign Ministry during World War II. In this first hand account he outlines the Turkish help and support that was given to the various parts of Greece, including its Aegean Islands which were suffering from food shortages. These are some of the letters of thanks and gratitude from the Greek authorities.



What do you know of the history of Greek-Turkish relations? Do these sources confirm the stereotype about the hatred between the two nations?

IV-8. Testimony of a retired Ambassador Necdet Kent regarding his rescue of Jewish Turks in Marseilles, France

One evening, a Turkish Jew from Izmir named Sidi Iscan, who worked at the Consulate as a clerk and translator, came to my house in a state of considerable excitement. He told me that the Germans had

gathered up about eighty Jews and had taken them to the railroad station with the intention of loading them onto cattle wagons for shipment to Germany. (...) I immediately tried to calm him and then took the fastest vehicle available to the Saint Charles railroad station in Marseilles. The scene there was unbelievable. I came to cattle wagons, which were filled with sobbing and groaning people. Sorrow and anger drove everything else from my mind. (...)

When the Gestapo officer in charge of the train station heard that I was there, he came to me and in a very cross manner and asked me what I was looking for. With as much courtesy as I could force myself to summon, I told him that these people were Turkish citizens, that their arrest had been a mistake, and that it should be remedied at once by their release. The Gestapo officer said that he was carrying out his orders and that these people were not Turks but were just Jews. Seeing that I would get nowhere by making threats which could not be carried out, I returned to Sidi Iscan and said, "Come on, let's board the train ourselves", and pushing aside the German soldier who tried to block my way, I boarded one of the wagons with Sidi Iscan beside me. This time it was the turn of the Gestapo officer to cry and even plead. I couldn't listen to anything he said, and amidst the crying glances of the Gestapo officer, the train began to move. Since it was a long time ago, I cannot remember too well, but I remember that the train came to a stop when we came either to Arles or Nîmes. A number of German officers climbed onto the car and immediately came to my side. I received them very coldly and did not even greet them. They told me that there had been a mistake, the train had left after I had boarded, the persons responsible would be punished, as soon as I left the train I could return to Marseilles on a car that would be assigned to me. I told them that it was not a mistake, that more than eighty Turkish citizens had been loaded onto this cattle wagon because they were Jews, that as a citizen of a nation as well as the representative of a government which felt that religious beliefs should not be the reason for such treatment, there could be no question of my leaving them alone, and that was why I was there. The officers said they would cor-

rect whatever mistakes had been made and asked if all those in the wagon were Turkish citizens. All the people around me, women, men, and children, stood petrified while they watched this game being played for their lives. Most likely because of my refusal to compromise, as well as an order received by the Nazi officers, we all descended from the train together. (...) I will never forget what followed. The people who had been saved threw their arms around our necks and shook our hands, with expressions of gratitude in their eyes. (...)

Shaw, pp. 342-344.



Comment on the Ambassador's handling of the situation. Did he put his life in danger by trying to save the people? What would you have done had you been in his place?

IV-9. From the diary of a Bulgarian soldier in West Thrace, a Greek region under Bulgarian occupation

23 May 1941. We went to Ksanty (Xanthi) to take part in the parade.

The situation there was the same as in Gyumyurdjina (Komotini). Wherever there is a soldiers' camp there are always children, old men and women coming with their plates in hand. Our food is neither much, nor various, but we can always give something away from the beans or the soldiers' soup to feed the hungry people.

At noon, many children gathered around the warehouse. Today's lunch was special, there was a second helping for the hungry ones, and many soldiers gave their food to the children.

I went upstairs to the second floor of the warehouse and opened the window. My eyes stopped on a young woman, maybe a girl, dressed all in black. She was standing at the nearby corner looking at the children, who were walking carefully, so that not to splash the soup they were carrying in their dishes.

I could easily guess why this woman was dressed all in black. Surely, someone dear had died in the

war, a father, a brother, a husband or a lover. But what was she waiting for there at the corner? Perhaps she was also hungry and she wanted a piece of bread, too?

Suddenly, as if she had decided not to pay attention to any obstacles, the woman started for the fence. Several boys from our company were standing in the yard near the metal fence. The woman went near them and I could hear her timid words:

“Kirie (Sir), bread...”

She was almost ready to cry and our boys realised that. One of them reached into his bag and gave her a loaf of soldier’s bread. This loaf was probably meant to be sold at the black market, where one could get everything for bread: from the devalued Greek drachmas to rings and bracelets.

The woman was already leaving, when a commanding voice made her stop:

“Achtung! Halt!”

Dobri⁵⁷ and Elena Djurov, pp.159-160.



Can you guess how this event ended?

IV–10. Stoyan Petrov-Chomakov, Bulgarian minister plenipotentiary in Bucharest, tells a funny and touching story about the relations between Romanian soldiers, Russian prisoners-of-war and the Bulgarian community in Romania during World War II

Several months after Romania had entered the war, the number of people present at the divine service at the church suddenly increased one Sunday, when a group of Russian prisoners-of-war came guarded by a Romanian soldier. He was, as expected, carrying a gun with the bayonet stuck into it. . . He had propped his gun up to a tree, and, as was common for all soldiers, was trying to draw the attention of a housemaid, who was obviously taking quite a long time on a nearby balcony to beat the dust out of a

carpet. Perhaps he was pleased with the way his advances were going and assessed the chances for a final success as quite good, because instead of gathering the prisoners under his guard and taking them back to their camp, he let them mix with the congregation and talk to them.

Soon, it became clear that there were good common feelings and, as a result, the people started raising money for the prisoners-of-war and they also gave them a considerable amount of cigarettes. Obviously, the meeting was successful for all the participants, including the soldier and the girl, because the following Sunday twice as many prisoners came to church. The same soldier led them, but this time he had put on a new uniform and was smoothly shaved. The girl had also put on a new blouse and was carefully brushing some clothes on the same balcony. Once again, money was raised for the poor prisoners-of-war before they were taken away by their guard, who nearly forgot his gun, because he was busy sending farewell kisses to the blushing girl...

Finally, it became clear that our visitors would soon start coming in platoons, companies, or even battalions. The Board of the churchwardens unfortunately had to ask the Romanian authorities to restrict the number of the new churchgoers to no more than twenty, and only half of them could be smokers.

Petrov-Chomakov, pp. 346-347.



Why doesn't the war change ordinary human feelings? Did nationality play a role in this event?

IV–11. A Greek Jew describes the help provided to him and his family by Orthodox Greeks during the German occupation

Despite the threat of imprisonment, many non-Jews hid their Jewish friends in their apartments or helped them to flee. Alfred Cohen, an Athenian lawyer, records the spontaneous support from friends and neighbours:

“I shall never forget the terror we felt one night, when I had hidden my large family in one of those

57 Djurov, Dobri (1916-2002) - Commander of a guerrilla brigade, Army General, Minister of Defence.

houses, when it was announced that the Germans had issued an order to the effect that any Jews caught in hiding would be executed and those who sheltered them would be sent to concentration camps.

Then, one of us said that it was not proper to keep staying at that house and endangering the life and peace of aged people, even women. The answer was: "No, you must stay. Why would our lives be more valuable than yours, my son?"

Mazower, pp. 287-88.



Is there a similar example of kindness from your country? What would you have done in such a situation?

► **v47. Jewish Turks standing in front of the Turkish Consulate-General in Paris in 1943 to get passports and visas to enable them to return to Turkey**



The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

IV-12. A Romanian official's humane treatment of Jews

"I am first Sergeant Prisăcaru Gheorghe, Chief of the Băcani section which also includes the commune you are in at present, and on behalf of this section I tell you - welcome! I know the turmoil tormenting your souls and the pain in your hearts, when thinking that you are apart, in these times of war, from those you love, I know all about your suffering. And I advise you not to be discouraged, because actually, no matter how we pray, we all share the same God and nobody asked us if we wanted to be born Romanians, Jews, Turks or Bulgarians. We are all human beings and I want you to be sure of the fact that these times will pass and the madness that is now in the people's minds will also pass. You will all return to your homes and families and will remember these days as unpleasant ones. I will take measures for you to be accommodated by the people in the village, because you cannot possibly sleep on the ground and I will also take measures for the time you will stay in my section's territory to be able to stay connected with those back home. [...]"

After this unexpected speech, he listened carefully to all our discontent and, encouraged by such behaviour, I told him directly about all my discontent, among other things. I told him about the inhuman behaviour of the police in Huși, which, for justifying God only knows what kind of activities, qualified 12 of us as being "communist suspects" and, given the habits at that time, one knew what to expect. He promised me that after staying two to three weeks in his section, this categorisation would disappear.

It is to be understood that this wonderful behaviour immediately produced its expected effect, and both the authorities and the inhabitants of Bogdana acted as real brothers towards us. We were accommodated in houses, were given food, women washed and repaired our laundry, and when, after a few days, we received the order to leave Bogdana, the sorrow was general. The people walked us until Băcani, the destination village, and carried our

luggage in their wagons and refused to receive any payment in return for these services.

Istoria României în texte, pp. 339–340.



This excerpt shows that the Jews' deportation, in the context of the anti-Semitic policies put in place by the Antonescu government⁵⁸, did not necessarily result in the dissipation of human feelings amongst some officials, cadres of the army or of the Gendarmerie. There are numerous examples of officials who demonstrated humane behaviour towards those affected by the policies of the Romanian state. A group of Jews was gathered in the courtyard of the police station and taken away from Huși. After three days of walking, they arrived in the district of Tutova (20–21 June 1941) where they were presented to the Chief of the Gendarmes Section who addressed them with this speech.



Did Gheorghe Prisăcaru take any risks when helping the deported Jews? What would have happened to him had his superiors found out what he had done? How would you have behaved in his place? Do you think he could have done more?

IV–13. Bulgarian diplomat, Ivan D. Stanchov, tells of how a German officer saved him from the Gestapo in Bulgaria

At dawn, an unexpected visitor awakened me: a burly landing-troops German officer. He saluted and said that Herr Major had sent him to me with the following order: "You must leave Sofia immediately. The Brown ones – (that was what the people of the Gestapo were called because of their brown uniforms) are on their way to arrest you." I asked him why his Major, whom I knew was the resident of the military intelligence in Bulgaria, was so worried about me.

⁵⁸ The Antonescu government deported the Jews, mostly from Bessarabia and Bukovina, over the Nister (outside of inter-war Romanian territory), where it organised several deportation camps. In September 1942, the government started bringing the deported Jewish population back, and in the following period of time, it tried to support their emigration to Palestine. General Antonescu considered that the Jewish population had to be eliminated from Romanian territory, but this didn't necessarily include the physical extermination; hence, emigration was considered to be the proper solution.

"Weil Sie doch ein Offizier und ein Herr sind!" (Because you are an officer and a gentleman!), answered the man, who then saluted sprightly and disappeared.

I caught the first train to Varna, and while travelling, I thought about how lucky we were that there was such hostility between the Wehrmacht and the Nazis... Later, the doorman told me that an hour after I had left, a group of Germans came looking for me.

Stanchov, p. 172.



Is it necessary and correct to always equate "German" with "enemy"? Why did some Germans operate against other Germans? What argument did the German officer have for helping Ivan D. Stanchov?

IV–14. Alfonz Baron, a commissioner for the candy and chocolate factory "Union", to the Ustasha police headquarters, 9 July 1941

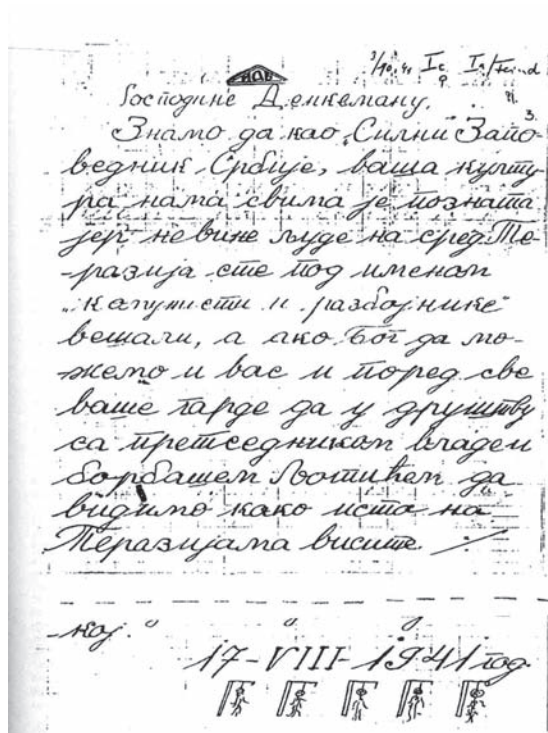
Draga Gerber, from 7/III Ivkančeva street, a Jew, was taken away today. The stated Draga Gerber is a cashier in this firm. She was given notice and one of these days, she is supposed to hand-over the cash-office to the clerk who is coming back to work after the end of her leave, and then she will have to leave the firm. As Draga Gerber was taken from her flat after our working hours, she didn't have time to hand in the keys of the cash-office, nor could she settle the accounts. There's a risk that the keys might get lost and we'll be in trouble if we can't open our cash-desk tomorrow when people come. Therefore, we're asking you to enable Draga Gerber to hand in the keys of the cash-desk to our firm as soon as possible.

Goldstein, p. 370.



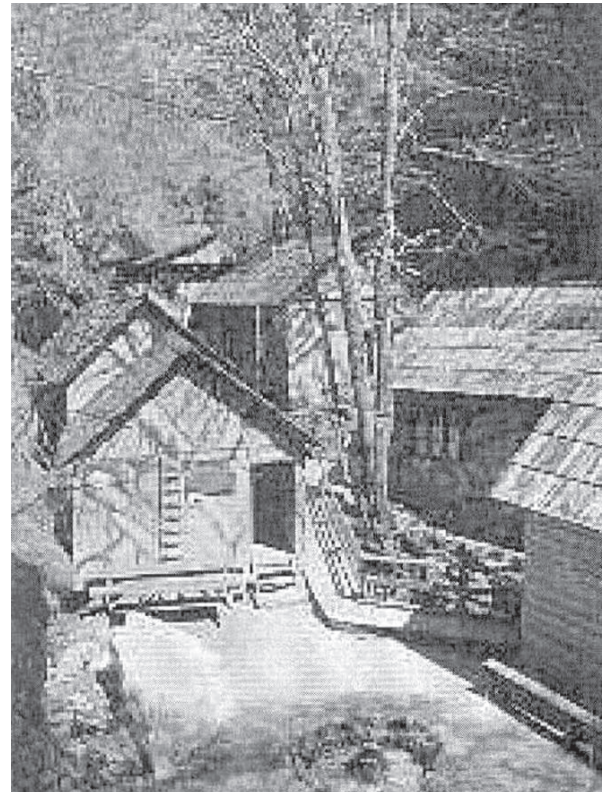
What did Baron want to achieve by writing and sending this letter? Did Baron, in your opinion, really want the prisoner to be released for the stated reason? Was it perhaps a trick (or simply an attempt) considering that the ISC authorities would not even consider any other reasons? Why does Baron write about the prisoner who wants to be released (at least temporarily) with contempt?

► **v48. Secret partisan hospital 'Franja', near Cerklno in Slovenia**



Illegal medical service within the Liberation Front. It was probably the most humanistic mission during the war. It was very well organized, despite the extremely hard conditions. In January 1945, it had 281 secret hospitals and six legal hospitals (another 62 were under construction) and 2,260 beds. During the war, 11,321 wounded and ill people were under the medical care of thirty doctors, 652 nurses and other members of staff. 19 doctors lost their lives.

► **v49. A letter from an anonymous Belgrader to the German military commander in Serbia**



Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, Uprava Grada Beograda [Historical Archive of Belgrade, Belgrade City Administration], SP III-48, k 157/15, 25th September 1941.



This is the letter to the German military commander in Serbia, General Heinrich Dankelmann, on the occasion of the hanging of hostages on the Terazije, central Belgrade Square, on 17 August 1941, with a warning that he and his assistants will eventually meet the same fate.



Would you say that the writing of this letter is an act of heroism? Explain your position.



Overall questions on chapter IV

In your opinion, are humanism and solidarity qualities held by generous and brave individuals or is everyone capable of having them?

Can a person act as a war criminal in one situation and as a generous humanist in the other? Explain your position. Bearing in mind that people often portray themselves as better individuals than they actually are, how reliable are some of the sources (memoirs)?

Consequences

World War II, as the largest conflict in the history of mankind, left behind numerous deep and indelible imprints. The goal of this chapter is to bring some of the consequences of war closer through the following sources, starting from the number of wounded and killed, through the forced migrations of population during and after the war, to the signs of political changes in the majority of countries in this area.

Due to a lack of space, some war consequences are only marginally noted or not even mentioned at all. This is the case with regard to the changes in the ethnic structure of the population, war destruction and post-war rebuilding, collaborators' punishments after the war, political changes after the war and the case of the civil war in Greece.

Va. War losses, war victims

V-1. Enver Hoxha at the peace conference in Paris about the casualties and material damage in Albania

The sacrifices of our people were very great. Out of a population of one million, 28,000 were killed. 12,600 wounded, 10,000 were made political prisoners in Italy and Germany, and 35,000 made to do forced labour; of the 2,500 towns and villages of Albania, 850 were ruined or razed to the ground; all the communications, all the ports, miners and electric power installations were destroyed, our agriculture and livestock were plundered, and our entire national economy was wrecked. On the other side, the enemy suffered these losses: 53,639 Italians and Germans were killed, wounded or taken prisoner, about 100 tanks and armoured cars knocked out, 1,334 artillery pieces and mortars, 1,934 trucks and 2,855 machine-guns captured or destroyed, not to mention the rifles, munitions, and stores destroyed or captured.

O'Donnel, p.13.



Is this source completely reliable? Explain your position.

► v50. 17 November 1944



Epopeja e Luftës Antifashiste Nacionalçlirimtare e Popullit Shqiptar, 1939-1944.



This painting by Bukurosh Sejdi commemorates and shows aspects of the liberation of the Albanian capital, Tirana, by the Partisans.

Tables

1. The number of people killed in Yugoslavia, arranged by nationality

Nationality	Kočović (1985)	Žerjavić (1989)
Serbs	487,000	530,000
Montenegrins	50,000	20,000
Croats	207,000	192,000
Muslims	86,000	103,000
Slovenians	32,000	42,000
Macedonians	7,000	6,000
Others	145,000	134,000
Total	1,014,000	1,027,000

Žerjavić, pp. 14, 57.



The first estimate of the number of the victims of World War II in Yugoslavia is the one which appeared in the report of the Reparations board of the Yugoslav government. The author of this estimate, a maths student (!) Vladeta Vučković was given a time limit of two weeks for the execution and completion of such a difficult task, together with the instruction that “the number must be outstanding and scientifically – statistically founded”. His estimate of the *demographic loss* (which included those killed in the war, the decline of the birth-rate caused by war and emigration) was 1,7 million, but

in his final review of the script, that number is titled victims, which has been taken to mean those killed in war.

The table is based on more recent estimates of Bogoljub Kočović and Vladimir Žerjavić (a Serbian and a Croatian author). The accuracy of these figures is still being examined. For example, the Slovenian Institute for Contemporary History is currently in the middle of a research project which already shows that the estimate of Slovenian victims is too low. The authors (T. Tominšek, M. Šorn and D. Dubaja) have already identified the names of 87,000 victims.

2. Greece's losses during World War II

	Losses	Pre-war figures	% Lost
Human Losses			
Deaths (1940-1944)	475,000	7,335,000	6.5
Material Losses			
Labour animals	855,000	2,005,000	42.6
Sheep, pigs, poultry	12,305,000	24,840,000	49.5
Forests	5,000 km ²	19,180 km ²	25.0
Vehicles (passenger, trucks, buses)	11,300	17,200	65.7
Road bridges (over six metres long)			90.0
Railway rolling stock (engines, carriages, etc.)	6,080	6,502	93.5
Railway bridges (over 10m long)	96	96	100.0
Buildings	401,000	1,730,000	23.2
Merchant ships (until April 1945)	434	583	74.5

«Αι Θυσίαι της Ελλάδος στο Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο», *Ministry of Reconstruction, Athens 1946* (Istoria, vol.16, p. 63).

3. Greek merchant shipping losses during World War II⁵⁶

	Greek fleet on 1/ix/1939		Greek vessels lost by 2/ix/1945		Percentage Loss	
		Gross Tonnage		Gross Tonnage		
Cargo Vessels	500	1,766,352				
Passenger Vessels	55	49,995				
Ocean Cruiser	1	16,690				
Various	21	3,997				
Total	577	1,837,034	432	1,346,520	74.8%	73.3%
Sail & Pet Sail & Petrol Driven Vessels	713	55,057	551	52,634	77.3%	95.4%
Overall Total	1,290	1,892,091	983	1,399,154		



At the beginning of the war, the Greek merchant fleet was the ninth largest in the world, so its full involvement on the Allied side from the beginning of the war (even before 28 October 1940) was

an important factor. The Greek merchant navy lost the highest percentage of its gross tonnage in comparison with the other major flags: Great Britain followed with 54% of gross tonnage lost during the conflict.

Vb. Migration during and after the war

V-2. A fragment from the report of a federal official of the Ministry of Interior of Germany to the head of the civil administration of Lower Styria dated 30 May 1941 about the mass evictions of Slovenians⁵⁷

The most difficult problem that needs to be solved within Lower Styria is to cleanse the lower Styrian national body from the foreign Slav element, which cannot be submitted to the Germanising process. If the re-Germanisation of lower Styria is to succeed at all, and this south-eastern end of the German Reich is to become a reliable barrier against the ever tumultuous Balkans, the local population has to be

freed of every substance which either racially or behaviourally sabotages Germanisation. The task of the Styrian Patriotic Association can only succeed if the ground is accordingly cleansed.

Therefore a deportation (removal) of the population is planned, which will be carried out in four stages and in a way which has proved successful in similar activities in other regained territories of the Reich (especially in the east).

The historical suppositions for such measures are more than evident. A clear view of the actual need for this action has to leave aside the all too human emotions also characteristic of German nature, especially when considering the merciless destructive confrontations the German nationality was exposed to here in Lower Styria by those who now have to leave.

The deportations to Serbia and those partially to Croatia will be carried out in trains that can transport 1000 persons. The implementation date and the extension of the number of trains (for the time being,

⁵⁶ Data compiled by Christos E. Ntounias.

⁵⁷ Germany, between both world wars, considered Slovenian territory to be German and after its occupation they wanted to formally annex it to Germany as the south border of the Reich. This should have been done in six months (up to the end of 1941). Slovenians would have been deported or Germanised and the country inhabited by Germans.

one or two trains daily have been planned) has not been determined yet.

Ferenc, p. 43.



What is the aim of the planned deportation (removal) of the population? What were the consequences of this plan?

V-3. A report by the High Commissioner for the province of Ljubljana, 24 August 1942 on a programme of activities in the region

Regarding the confidential document No. 1362/2, dated August 16, I allow myself to give an outline of the programmes of activities I intend to carry out in this province. (...)

1. The problem of the Slovenian population could be solved in three ways:
 - a. By its destruction;
 - b. By deportations;
 - c. By the removal of opposition elements, which could be reached by carrying out a hard, yet fair policy of bringing people together, with the purpose of laying the foundations for a useful and fair cooperation. This would give us the possibility for assimilation, which could be achieved only with time. Thus we have to decide which method to follow.
2. For mass deportations of the population we would have to follow a programme prepared in advance, which would have to be carried out within the entire province. It would be better to set up work camps instead of internment camps in which people remain idle.
3. For the purpose of replacing the Slovenian population with the Italian population, the following has to be determined:
 - a. Where the Slovenian population should be moved to;
 - b. Where a suitable Italian population can be found, in which case, it must be considered that the people from the northern and the central areas are the most appropriate ones to be settled in Slovenian territories;

- c. If the area along the border is to be completely Italianised, its width is to be determined (20 to 30 km);
- d. If the entire Slovenian population is to be moved, the process should be started in the areas along the border where Slovenians live under Italian rule.

It is my opinion that a complete or even a partial relocation of the Slovenian population would hardly be possible during the war.

Ferenc, pp. 73-74.



While the Italian's "soft" occupational policy was unsuccessful, the military and civil authorities, following the instructions of Mussolini, took the same measures as the Germans in their occupational zone: i.e. shooting hostages and executing captured partisans on a massive scale, shooting illegal activists of Liberation Front, the inhabitants of places suspected of allegiance to the liberation movement but who were completely innocent (in the total period of the Italian occupation of the Ljubljana Province, the Italian armed forces shot at least 416 individual persons and 238 groups with 1,153 persons, a total therefore of 1,569 persons, not taking into account those convicted by the military court in Ljubljana, and those deported). The final goal was to "cleanse" the Slovenian national territory and prepare it for Italian settlement after the war.



What are the similarities and differences between the German and the Italian plan (compare this source with the previous one)?

V-4. Persecution of the German minority in Romania after the war

1. All men between 17-45 years are liable to be interned.
2. Also, all women between 18-30 years of age.
3. There is no exception to the above-mentioned categories where admission is concerned, except for women with infants less than one year old and for those who suffer from an infirmity which deprives them of their capacity to work (...).

6. All those liable to be interned are to be delivered to the respective Gendarmes Legion that will lead them to the gathering places established priory by the police and local gendarmerie authorities. It should be noted that these gathering places must be located next to a railway station,
7. Those liable to be interned must provide their own food until they reach the gathering places. From then on, food will be served to them by the Romanian authorities (gendarmes and police) for a period of two to six days whereby they will be provided with at least one warm meal daily.

Deportarea etnicilor germani din România în Uniunea Sovietică (1945), pp. 38–39.



Romania's occupation by the Red Army led to the start of the persecution of the German minority in Romania. Many ethnic Germans were deported to the USSR. This document is order No. 32.475-S from the General Director of the Police, containing specifications regarding the internment of the ethnic Germans (3 January 1945).



Did the Soviet occupation bring liberty and democracy to Romania? Do you find it normal to deport people purely on the grounds of their ethnic profile? Were all of those who were deported guilty? Was anybody interested in identifying the guilty people, who should have been punished, from the others? Do you know of any other examples of collective guilt from the history of the 20th century?

► v51. Refugees from Bosnia in Serbia, 1941



Milošević, *Izbeglice i preseljenici*, pr. 246.



More than 400,000 Serbian refugees from all the Yugoslav territories found shelter in the territories of occupied Serbia.

V-5. Personal minute of the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, addressed to the British Minister of External Affairs, regarding the deportation of Romanian citizens of German ethnic origin to Russia (19 January 1945)

Personal minute of the Prime Minister
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall
19. I. 1945

Series No. M. 91/5

TO THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

It seems to me that we take a very active position against the deportation of Austrians, Saxonians and other Germans or quasi-German elements from Romania to Russia on working purposes. Taking into consideration everything Russia suffered, and the premeditated attacks of Romania against it, and the vast armies that Russia uses on the front at present, and the terrible conditions of the people in many parts of Europe, I don't understand why it is said that Russians are making a mistake when requesting for 100 or 150 thousand people of this kind to work in their underground. Also, we must remember that we promised to leave Romania's destiny mostly in the hands of the Russians. I cannot consider it to be wrong for the Russians to take over Romanians of any origins they desire, for them to work in Russian mines, considering everything that has happened.

19.1.1945

Deportarea etnicilor germani din România în Uniunea Sovietică (1945), p. 31.



Characterise, from a moral point of view, the attitude of Winston Churchill. Does this attitude respect the Declaration of Human Rights, promoted by the United Nations?

► **v52. Return of the Slovene Home Guard (domobranc̑i) in June 1945**



The Slovene Home Guard was established in September 1943 in Ljubljana, to fight against the Liberation front. It was organized by Germans, and its members were mostly Catholic and anticommunist. The Germans, who did not trust the Home Guard, demanded that they confirm their loyalty with a public oath-taking ceremony on the Hitler's birthday (20 April 1944). At the end of the war, members of Home Guard together with the German Army retreated to Austria where the British disarmed them as German collaborators. In June

1945, the British returned them. Between 7,000 and 11,000 were murdered at several locations in Slovenia. Massacres were kept secret from the public in Slovenia until 1975. In the 1980s, the subject of mass killing, the responsibility for them, and their painful consequences for the Slovene nation came to be discussed openly by intellectuals. After the first democratic elections in 1990, a reconciliation ceremony was held in Kočevski Rog, where the largest mass graves are.

Vc. Changes in political systems

V-6. Winston Churchill's offer for a "Percentage" agreement⁵⁸

Romania	Russia	90%
	Others	10%
Greece	Great Britain	90%
	Others	10%

Yugoslavia		50/50	
Hungary		50/50	
Bulgaria	Russia	75%	90%
	Others	25%	10%

⁵⁸ Presented to Stalin on 9 October 1944.

Bulgaria - the Unacknowledged Enemy of the Third Reich,
p. 96.

► **v53. The people of Athens cheer the arrival of the British army after liberation**



Istoria, 101.



The British and American flags can be seen next to the Greek ones, together with the symbols of EAM and the Communist Party (KKE).

V-7. Strengthening of the authorities of the National Liberation Movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Proposal of a decision on instituting the Constitution of State Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the highest legislative and executive national representative organisation of Federal Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1st of July 1944

Paragraph 1

Based on the freely expressed will⁵⁹ of the nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, according to the decisions made, in the second session of Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia in Jajce on 29 and 30 of November 1943, the State Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes itself as the supreme

⁵⁹ There were no democratic elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time.

organ of state authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an equal federal unit in the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia.

Zgonjanin et al. (ed.), p. 399.



During 1944, the Partisan-communists troops consolidated their authority over the whole of Yugoslavia, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the decisions made by the State Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can see how they worked systematically to achieve a communist monopoly on the authorities after the war.



Comment on the fact that the source mentions the “freely expressed will of the nations” even though there were no elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Is there a similar example from your country?

V-8. In May 1945, Josip Horvat, a journalist and a historian, witnessed the departure of the Ustasas and the arrival of the Partisans in Zagreb

8 – I walked through Tuškanac. On the way there, I was as cheerful as a child – we hadn’t been allowed to pass this way for four years and a month. Such a small thing made me feel that freedom had come, that we were entering a new life. I had such a strange feeling in my heart, a man’s brain can’t grasp that the fear is gone. (...)

9 – The arriving army is still passing through the town, torn up, but excellently armed, real fighters. (...) *A propos* torn up and dirty fighters: what lies are all those paintings of war scenes. In them, the warriors are always clean, natty, well-combed and shaved. It’s not even idealisation or stylisation any more but poor stupidity. (...)

14 – Due to the hot weather I slept badly. I saw mum and went for a walk. I was asked to go to the HIBZ (Croatian Publishing Bibliographic Institute) to fill in some personal data. The atmosphere there was depressing. A teacher was appointed political officer at HIBZ and he doesn’t have the slightest idea of what it is about. I went home with

Fricika; and there there was some panic as a couple of uniformed people took away Cigo; but the incident ended happily, Cigo was released after half an hour. Only his precious toolkit was lost.

Josip Horvat, *Preživjeti u Zagrebu*, pp. 229-231.

► **v54. Partisans entering Zagreb on 8 May 1945**



Museum of the City of Zagreb.



Describe the photograph: Is it obvious that the photo shows the historical event? Why is the main Zagreb square empty?

V-9. Fragment from the report of a Bulgarian Workers' Party (communist) session, where the judgments on the members of the former regime are disputed

20 January 1945

Agenda: Exchanging ideas and opinions about the judgments in the two trials. (...)

Minister Mincho Neichev: The comrades, who are the people's prosecutors, are acting in a completely wrong way. They are looking for the gravest crime and then they continue grading the other crimes downwards. They want capital punishment only



What do you think of the actions of the new Partisan government as described above? In your opinion, was Horvat's diary submitted to self-censorship?

► **v55. The meeting at Ban Jelačić square in Zagreb, after the Partisans took over the authorities, May 1945**



Gallery of the State Archives, Zagreb.



Why was the main town square crowded with people a couple of days after the Partisans entered Zagreb? What were the possible motives for their arrival at the meeting organized by the new authorities?

for the guiltiest ones, and for the rest (who are not as guilty compared to the previous ones) they want lighter sentences. They are not looking for enough evidence to prove that there is a serious crime that must be given the capital punishment, but they are looking for others, who have committed graver crimes.

Georgi Chankov: The line of action of our prosecutors is not one of people, who care for striking this camarilla, but as people staying apart from the whole struggle of the Bulgarians and are now only measuring the guilt. Our prosecutors are not acting as people, who are looking even for the slightest evidence, which will prove that these criminals are guilty...

Traicho Kostov: In no way can we agree with the line of action of our comrade prosecutors. I propose: for the regents - the death penalty for all three... For the counsellors - Sevov and the other four - capital sentences... For the first cabinet of Filov - it is clear - death. (...)

For the second cabinet of Filov: the same. (...)
Carried.

After Chrestomathy of Bulgarian History 1944-1948, pp. 484-485.



How are the sentences decided upon – by actual guilt or other criteria? Were the political leaders supposed to make these decisions, or should they have been carried out by the relevant judicial institutions?

V-10 and V-11.

Excerpt from the report of the minister of justice about the number of people sentenced by the People's court in Bulgaria

From a Report of Dr Mincho Neichev - Minister of Justice

To The National Committee of the Fatherland Front:

(...) From 23 December 1944 to 31 March 1945 the People's Court tried 145 cases with 10, 907 accused. They were sentenced as follows: 2, 680 - sentenced to death; 1,921 - life sentence; 1,376 - 19-20 years imprisonment; 962 - 15 years; 727 - 10 years; the rest 3,241 - less than 10 years. The property of almost all the convicts was confiscated.

Manov, p. 21.

British memorandum concerning the trials and the execution of the sentences against the so-called war criminals in the liberated and satellite countries

British Embassy in Washington, 31 March 1945

2. Although the individuals, executed as a result of the recent trials in Bulgaria, are ranked among the "war criminals", it is obvious from the indict-

ment and from all the circumstances around the trials, that these trials are actually political in character. A special ex post facto law was passed for this purpose and they took the opportunity to get rid of many politicians hostile to those in power at the moment.

3. Such a purge, although partially carried out, would easily cause a vacuum in the country's political life, thus enabling a certain one-party government to take over the power and to establish a dictatorship.

Bulgaria - the Unacknowledged Enemy of the Third Reich, pp. 222-223.



When you know that dozens of people were convicted to death during the Nuremberg's trials, and that there were fewer convictions in Japan, how can you explain the large number of people executed by the People's court in Bulgaria? How did the British Embassy in Washington react to these trials?

► v56. A warm reception of the Yugoslav Macedonian military, political and state leaders in liberated Skopje (13 November 1944)



V-12. A fragment describing the Red Army invasion of Bulgaria and the seizure of power by the Fatherland Front

For four and a half decades, the date 9 September 1944 was celebrated and worshipped as a 'people's anti-Fascist uprising', and a 'Socialist revolution'. In

fact, it was a coup d'état with the help of another country, whose army entered Bulgaria, after having declared war on us. No bullet was fired against Stalin's Red Army in Bulgaria. On the contrary, it was welcomed as our liberator... The guerrillas 'triumphantly' started to come out of the forests, going to towns and villages, waving scarlet banners and chanting slogans. DEATH TO FASCISM, LIBERTY TO THE PEOPLE! The most commonly used and heard word those days was DEATH!

(...) There was no uprising, because the Fatherland Front government had taken power without any bloodshed. But it was they, the new people in power, who started shedding blood on the first day of their rule. All of this happened with the silent approval of the "bratushki – brothers" (the Russians).

Manov, pp. 11-12.



How does the author view the change of regime? What is the role of the Red Army in this event and that of the Partisans and the Fatherland Front? How do the victors present it?

► **v57. Belgraders welcoming the Bulgarian army**



"Long live brotherly Bulgarian army" – this is how the Belgraders welcomed their neighbours. Bulgaria took part in World War II on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition between September 1944 and May 1945. The Bulgarian army, together with the Yugoslav guerrillas and parts of the Third Ukrainian front, fought on Yugoslav, Hungarian and Austrian territory.



Overall questions on subchapter Vc.

What were the changes in the political system of your country after World War II? Did any other major political changes occur in the decades that followed and for what reason? Compare your country with neighbouring countries.

The Memory of the War

This chapter offers us a somewhat different view of the war events from a detached perspective. This is a result of the time lapse and consequent disconnection that ensues when memoirs, reminiscences and interviews are documented years after the events themselves took place. After some time, the participants of war events may regard their experiences in a different light, or view them from a different angle. It is interesting to observe a narrator changing perspective and to find out the reasons for that change. Some reasons may involve the desire of the narrator to reshape history and his personal role in it on purpose, a change in his political attitude or view over life, a fading memory, the influence of others etc.

The other kind of detachment found in the following sources is that of the documentary presentation, e.g. of the real, actual events. This detachment is most clearly seen in literary works. Among them we can find a broad spectrum of diversity, from those noticeably ideologically coloured and unconvincing, lifeless, black and white stories, to those in which a realistic presentation and a high artistic value complement each other and give a well-rounded, complete account of a historical event. Some examples from this spectrum can be found in the following paragraphs.

VI-1. Interview with Jože Požar (born in 1932 in Slovenia), a World War II orphan

I remember the war as a nightmare, which was, unfortunately, true. But all of my memories were mixed with facts. One day, Italian soldiers took away my father Jože as a hostage and shot him in Podpeč, together with five other villagers of Brest.

My memories of youth are painful. During that time, life was very hard. My sisters Milka and Marija, my brother Marin, my father Jože and my mother Ivanka and I, all lived on a small farm. We made a living by farming. Despite the fact that my father was a Cartwright, he couldn't find a proper job. Our life was similar to that of the other families in the village of Brest and in the neighbourhood.

Everything changed, or perhaps I should say, broke down, when they took and shot my father. It got even worse, when in 1944, mother was sent to a German concentration camp. I was twelve years old at the time, and at first, I took care of the home and the family. Later, my sisters Milka and Marija and brother Martin were provided for by my aunt Alojzija Gruden from Ljubljana and our neighbours took

care of me. I stayed with them until 1945, when my mother returned from the concentration camp.... Life went on. We all managed somehow, but it would certainly have been better if we had had my father, when we needed him the most... It is still distressing for me whenever I stand in front of my father's grave in Tomišelj and to think about his death at a time when we needed him so much.

Brest, April 2003

"Ilegalčki Borec", Ljubljana 2003.



How would you describe Jože Požar's memories? Think about the huge number of casualties in World War II and try to imagine how many stories similar to his there are.

VI-2. An extract from the semi-biographical novel by Fikret Demirag

The date was 28 April 1941. It would seem that we were taken prisoner within about a month of landing in Greece and within eleven months of having

joined up. It is difficult to imagine that more than half of us had never fired a shot during our entire military career. This was largely due to the fact that most Cypriots served in reserve positions.

When we got near the road, we noticed a short German soldier. He was the first German soldier I had ever seen and he looked tired and fed up. There was nothing in the outlook of this Nazi soldier that made him special or superior! The only thing that distinguished him was the machine gun which he held and which was pointing in the direction of thousands of prisoners-of-war who were descending from the mountains.

"Report" no. 46, p.14.



At the time of the war, Cyprus was a British Crown Colony. Many Greek and Turkish Cypriots joined the "Cyprus regiments" and fought against Nazi Germany. Many of them were taken prisoner and spent time in German prisoner-of-war camps.



What was Bilal Denizal feeling frustrated about? How does he describe the German soldier? He was surprised that the German soldier didn't appear "special or superior". Why did he expect him to look like that?

► v58. A fresco-composition by Borko Lazeski



This fresco-composition is a presentation of the National Liberation and Antifascist Struggle of the Macedonian people during the Second World War (1941-1945).

VI-3. Bulgarian Partisan's Commander Dencho Znepolski, about how the history of the resistance was rewritten in the years after World War II

I am deeply convinced that history cannot be written on orders several decades later. It was created during the guerrilla battles, but it became convenient for some people to manipulate the facts and make them match their own ambitions...

So far, so good, but when we were put into jail in 1951-1954 many people went down with a "weakening memory" epidemic and they started to misrepresent the historical truth and to produce invented evidence, so that their past matched their present situation in the Party and state hierarchy. As if it was obligatory to declare that they had been great commanders during the armed struggle against Fascism, to make their biographies sound more prestigious! Some of them actually had enough revolutionary experience and did not need to exaggerate their lives prior to 9 September, but...it's only human!

Znepolski, p. 316.



Who are the people who rewrite history? For what purpose do they do this?

VI-4. General Ctin Sănătescu about the contrast between the "public" information and the reality on the front line (extract from his diary)

15 December 1942. Today it is the turn of the newspapers from the 23 and 24 of November [1942] to be read. The Chronicler of "Universul" says: "In the sector of the inferior Don, the Romanian and German troops, which have been engaged for several days in terrible defensive fights, rejected the repeated enemy attacks and crushed a cavalry regiment that managed to get through to their positions, but could not avoid being surrounded". There cannot be anything more laconic. If a cavalry regiment had indeed been destroyed, it would have meant that about a twelfth of the total Russian cavalry had fought on this front, since there were three cavalry divisions.

Mr. Chronicler let me tell you what the situation was at that time: The Romanian divisions 5, 6, 13, 15 and part of the 14th Division were completely surrounded. The 11th German Corps and the 1st Romanian Cavalry Division were forced to pass on the Eastern side of the Don, and the 48th German Armour Corps, were confronted with the impossibility of moving, a fact which caused General Heim - called "little Rommel" - to take command. The enemy arrived at the Cir in the East of Oblivskaia, intercepting the railway that provisioned the troops in Stalingrad. As you may well see, Mr. Chronicler, a disaster... I've seen, Mr. Chronicler that you only copy the lying German communiqués, to which you add some empty words to fill the two columns of the paper. Things which you are being paid for. Now I realise that there were never so many untruths written as in the official war communiqués. [...]

Sănătescu, pp. 87–88.



Comment on the differences between the perspective of the soldiers and that conveyed by the press. Why did the press distort reality? Was this distortion justified?

► **v59. A scene from the movie *The Užice Republic***



Jugoslovenska kinoteka, Beograd.



This film was made by the Belgrade producer Žika Mitrović in 1974. *The Užice Republic* is a paradigm for the last phase of the polished and romanticised interpretations of the "partisan films".

► **v60. Đorđe Andrejević-Kun (1904-1964), *Shooting*, 1943**



Jugoslovenska grafika 1900-1950. Katalog izložbe, Beograd, decembar 1977 – februar 1978 [Yugoslav Graphic 1900-1950. Exposition Catalogue, December 1977 – February 1978] Beograd, 1977, Catalog Nr. 12.

VI-5. Andjelka Martić, in her short story "Meeting" describes a boy searching for his Partisan father

Turning his back on the charred remnants of his house, he quickly walked towards the woods from which you could hear the sound of distant shooting fading away. The burnt village was in the valley. The boy didn't even turn around to look at it once. His loved ones remained there, so he would never see them again and he would never hear their words again.

The forest was all around him rustling its leaves and he could hear the birds' timidly twittering, and that twitter mingled strangely with the distant sounds of shooting. The shooting was his aim. That was where the Partisans were fighting and his father was with them, the only person he now had left in the world. Would he find him? He had to, he had to find him. And then he could stay with him, and his father would give him a gun and he would be able to

avenge his village in the valley and the burnt house in the fruit orchard. (...)

The fighting calmed down. He heard some voices murmuring. The Partisans could not have been far away. The boy felt his excited heart beat while looking forward to meeting his father...

He met the Partisans and...

A moment later, he was standing with his head down over a dead Partisan who had just been brought in from the battle. Large tears were running down his face and his skinny shoulders were shaking from the frantic crying. Fellow Partisans were silently standing around. Nobody was comforting him, nobody spoke consoling words. What use would they have been anyway? His pain could not have been diminished!

All at once, he resolutely shook his head, wiped off tears with his grimy hands and then bent down to his father. He pulled the gun out of his father's dead hand with his own tiny hands, put it on his shoulder and directed himself, stepping heavily, towards the company which his father had led up to a minute ago. Nobody had the strength to stop him.

Martić, pp. 118-120.



Partisan literature for children was a separate literary genre in the post-war communist Yugoslavia. One of the most outstanding representatives was Andjelka Martić.



Do you think that such events actually occurred? (A child loses his parents, joins the Partisans and becomes a fighter). Should children be allowed to become soldiers in extreme situations?

Whether or not this was desired, are the actions of the Partisan commanding officer who allowed such actions understandable? Is Andjelka Martić's story idealised? Explain your position. Compare this excerpt with text III-2 and to visual 22.

VI-6. *The fugitive* – a song written by Iakovos Kambanellis

THE FUGITIVE

from the *Mauthausen* of Iakovos Kambanellis

Yannos Ber from up north
Cannot stand fences
He takes heart, he takes flight
And runs to the villages down the plain.

Give me some bread, lady
And clothes to change
I have a long way to go
To fly over lakes.

Everywhere he goes or stops
He brings fear and terror
And a voice, a secret voice,
"Hide, hide from the fugitive".

I am no killer, Christians,
Nor beast to eat you
I fled from prison
To go to my home.

Oh, what deadly desolation
In Bertolt Brecht's old country
Yannos is handed to the SS
And taken for execution.



Mauthausen is a song cycle composed by Mikis Theodorakis, internationally recognised as a musical genius and as Greece's greatest living composer, based on lyrics written by Iakovos Kambanellis. It was composed in 1965 and recorded in 1966. Iakovos Kambanellis, who was born in 1922, is considered one of the fathers of postwar Greek drama. He and a friend of his were caught and sent to Mauthausen where he spent two and a half years. Iannos Ber was a Czech who, after capture, was publicly executed.



How did the fugitive feel? Why did everyone refuse to help him?

► **v61. Poster from the Greek film *Treachery*, 1964**



Soldatos, vol. 1, p. 147.

VI-7. Evelyn Waugh describes a Partisan assault (from the last part of his war trilogy “Sword of Honour”)

The convoy set out through a terrain of rustic enchantment, as though through a water-colour painting of the last century. Strings of brilliant peppers hung from the eaves of cottages. The women at work in the fields sometimes waved a greeting, sometimes hid their faces. There was no visible difference between ‘liberated’ territory and that groaning under foreign oppression. (...)

In less than an hour they were in sight of the block-house. A place had been chosen 500 yards from it. Well screened by foliage, where the observers could await events in comfort and safety. (...)

At half past nine rifle-fire broke out below them. The Partisan general looked vexed. (...)

A Partisan runner was sent down to enquire. Before he returned the firing ceased. When he reported, the interpreter said to General Spitz, “It is nothing, it was a mistake.”

“It’s lost us surprise.”

De Souza, who had heard and understood the runner’s report, said to Guy (*Waugh’s alter ego*): “That was the second brigade turning up. The first

thought they were enemy and started popping off. No one’s been hit, but, as our ally remarks, we have ‘lost surprise’”.

There was no longer peace in the valley. For the next quarter of an hour occasional shots came, at random it seemed, some from the parapet of the block-house, some from the surrounding cover; then sharp at ten, just as on General Spitz’s elaborate watch the minute hand touched its zenith, there came screaming out of the blue sky the two aeroplanes (*British air support*). They swooped down one behind the other. The first fired simultaneously two rockets which just missed their target and exploded in the woods beyond, where part of the attacking force was now grouped. The second shot straighter. Both his rockets landed square on the masonry, raising a cloud of flying rubble. Then the machines climbed and circled. Guy, remembering the dive-bombers in Crete relentlessly tracking and pounding the troops on the ground, waited for their return. Instead they dwindled from sight and hearing.

The airman who had been sent to observe them, stood near. “Lovely job”, he said, “right on time, right on target.”

“Is that all?” asked Guy.

“That’s all. Now the soldiers (*the Partisans*) can do some work.”

But the Partisans didn’t do anything.

“It appears”, the interpreter explained to General Spitz, “that the attack must be postponed. A German armoured column has been warned and is on its way here.”

“What do your men do about that?”

“Before a German armoured column they disperse. That is the secret of our great and many victories.”

Waugh, pp. 288-291.



Evelyn Waugh, a writer, participated in the war in the territory of Croatia (Topusko, Vis – as a member of the British military mission to the Partisans). The mission’s task was to observe the situation and to inform the Allies of who was actually fighting the Germans in Yugoslavia (Partisans or Chetniks).



Into which genre, besides warlike, could we categorise Waugh's description (humour, farce, action, action comedy)? What kind of relationship between the writer and the Partisans can be detected in the text? Is this extract pure invention or is it based on true events? Compare it with text II–23.

► **v62. Poster from the Greek film *What did you do during the war Thanassis?*, 1971**



Soldatos, vol. 2, p. 4.

VI–8. An extract from the first novel of Dobrica Ćosić, *Far Away is the Sun*

All the circumstances combined made the meeting exceptional. Time stood still at midnight. The blizzard

howled, as though death itself had met its death. The company was surrounded, the men were hungry and exhausted and their broken sleep was shot through with cold and fear. The Commissar woke them up and summoned them to the Staff's hut. It was full of smoke. The Party members crowded against each other, shaking with cold and murmuring sleepy protests about a meeting at such a time. They leaned against each other, and some of them at once began to nod, without waiting to hear the agenda.

Paul began to speak:

"Comrades, there is only one item on the agenda: what is to be done in this situation? We in the Staff are not in agreement. We each have our own opinion, and it seems as though no one is prepared to change his mind. This is how things are..."

While Paul spoke, Vuksan was thinking: "How can they disagree when they are leaders, and old Communists? It means that one of them is an opportunist... But who could it be?... Of course the Professor is right: here on Jastrebac⁶⁰ we are the masters; why should we run away from our base... But Gvozden is a fool. His has a typical petty-bourgeois mentality. As soon as a man has private property, you can't rely on him in a revolution. Let him eat and sleep and wait for the Germans to leave. What is the matter with him? He was a loyal man... Strange! (...) Why on earth does he want us to go the Morava⁶¹ and Kopaonik,⁶² where you can't move there because of the Chetniks?⁶³ The people have been misled and are against us... This is running away from battle..."

(...) While Paul was speaking, Gvozden and several others too kept interrupting, so that Paul had to reprove them sharply several times.

"...This isn't what a Party meeting should be! This is a quarrel. They should all be punished and we

⁶⁰ Mountain in Central Serbia.

⁶¹ River in Central Serbia.

⁶² Mountain in Southern Serbia.

⁶³ Coloquial name for the members of the collaborationist Royalist and Nationalist Movement "Yugoslav army in Fatherland", the main domestic, political and military enemy of the Communist-lead Partisan movement.

should choose another chief...The company will be ruined too. What's the matter with them? They're in a panic. This isn't a Glee Club!"

(...) "Paul is absolutely right! You should stop all this silly talk about "terrain". Wherever the Germans are in occupation - that's our "terrain" (...) "If we abandon Jastrebac, we shall completely lose political control of this area. The people will be disappointed in us. Draža's⁶⁴ men will take over, and that'll be the end of all of us..."

(...) "When I joined the Partisans" continued George, "that tootles Vuksan, said to me: "The Russians are going to drop paratroopers; we're expecting them every night. The war will be over in a month." For several nights, we were ready to light fires when Soviet planes appeared. The summer passed, the hoar frost came, then the black frost, then snow up to our waists, but there was Hitler sniffing round Moscow. "And what's the situation now?" I asked. "It'll all be over in the spring" he says. "All right" said I, "I don't mind waiting until St George's Day". "But here I am again, knee-deep in snow on Jastrebac, like a polar bear".

(...) Vuk coughed and frowned, and then announced in a trembling voice:

"The military tribunal has sentenced Comrade Gvozden to death..."

There was a groan from the column, and some of the men ly sighed deeply. Vuk stopped as though waiting for someone to say something, then continued:

"...Because...er...at the hardest point of our struggle he tried to cause a revolt in the company, and in this way ...er...was guilty of treason. Yes, he became a traitor!...That is our decision...unanimously!" (...) Gvozden gave an even more violent start on hearing these words, turned his head and looked at Vuk dumbfounded (...) "Enough!...Don't disgrace me any further!" Gvozden's voice squeaked like broken sabre. He took two steps forward, straightened himself, raised his head angrily and defiantly,

64 General Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, leader of the "Chetnik" movement.

cast a glance over the column; and said quietly in a strained, quivering voice:

"There's no time for discussion about justice. You have to hurry. You mustn't lose time because of me" (...) "Well Comrades, if there is anybody who hasn't got a good coat he can take my sheepskin jacket". He unbuttoned it with a wide movement and threw it down in front of the column.

Ćosić, pp. 24, 25, 42, 144.



The first novel of Dobrica Ćosić (1921–), author and politician, "Far Away is the Sun", published in 1954, represented a novelty in literature on "national liberation war and revolution" at the time of its appearance. Its heroes, members of a Partisan unit, who try to break out of the enemy's encirclement, are not "heroes without fault and fear", but people with suspicions, fears, and even ideological doubts.



How did the author describe the relations between the Partisans of this company? Do you think this is a realistic description? Explain your position.

► v63. Painting by Fatos Haxhiu which shows an episode from the battlefield during World War II



Epopeja e Luftës Antifashiste Nacionalçlirimtare e Popullit Shqiptar, 1939-1944.

► **v64. Painting by Guri Madhi showing a partisan attack on a German military unit**



*Epopeja e Luftës Antifashiste Nacionalçlirimtare e Popullit
Shqiptar, 1939-1944.*



Do these two paintings seem realistic to you? Explain your position.

VI-9. The following text from the book *Delirul* by Marin Preda (published in 1975) describes an event from a soldier's perspective. One may notice here the realism of the account, in which idealism confronts the tragic reality of war.

At four o'clock the company started its attack accompanied by its commandant. Stefan joined him. He was panting. "Oh, God", he thought all of a sudden, "now I might die" and this thought was so new and fresh that it astonished and frightened him. How's that, dying, not being anymore? And unawares he saw, without understanding, how in front of him, here and there, soldiers fell, some cut off and some

throwing themselves on the ground and in vain looking for a shelter in the flat space of the plain. Instinctively, he also threw himself on the ground and it was only then that he realised that in front of him there came a shattering and uninterrupted fire. The captain had also stretched himself some steps away from him. The shooting stopped.

"Charge!", Ştefan heard him screaming, "Jump ahead!"

And he himself jumped and started running. The company, scattered in shooters resumed the attack, but all at once, the machine guns of the enemy started hammering violently all over again so the soldiers threw themselves on the ground once again.

"Jump ahead!" the captain shouted, after the fire stopped.

But the order was not followed anymore. Foaming with rage, the captain started cursing wildly and threatening. In vain, the captain roared again:

"Company, jump ahead!"

And he raised and started running by himself, so that the soldiers would follow him. They followed him, but came, once again, upon the machine guns of the enemy, and the captain received a pack of bullets in his stomach. On the ground, soldiers heard his death rattle and him swearing at the stretcher-bearers who wouldn't come to lift him up. Slowly, like worms, the soldiers started to retreat, crawling and leaving behind on the plain half of them, dead or injured. The stretcher-bearers were on duty, but they were not able to carry the injured behind the front line because there were too many of them.

Preda, p. 394.



Does this account present a heroic view of the war? Why didn't the soldiers obey the order? Did this make them traitors? Is one always capable of controlling one's behaviour in such a situation? Comment on how the author's perspective seems to be similar to that of the combatant. Use the testimonies of Neagu Djuvara and Victor Budescu as references.

► **v65. A sheet of the comic strip *Balkan Express*, by Branislav Kerac and Branko Plavšić, based on Gordan Mihić's script**



Stripoteka.

Key This strip emerged as an adaptation of the movies, which were very popular in the 1980s, and used black-humour to depict the war experiences of a group of small-fry thieves. Struggling to survive, they become "specific" participants of the resistance movement against their will. This satirical-humorous approach to the "partisan western" genre, created by the Yugoslav cinematography as one of its central motives during four decades, was a novelty. It may be considered, along with its artistic interpretation, which became worn out through long use, a part of the general attempt to subject to "reconsideration" an ideologically and politically "polished" official history of World War II.

VI-10. Extracts from the novel *Tobacco* by Dimitar Dimov

Varvara did not look that bad, at least not as bad as it could be expected in the austere circumstances, which made taking care of the elementary needs of one's appearance impossible. But personally, she considered it to be bad. "I must look like a witch", she thought bitterly remembering that she had lost her comb at the time of the latest battle...

Yes, you're losing patience; you're completely exhausted by the incessant swinging between life and death. This sort of life has exhausted you, it has turned you into a bad-tempered and withered woman just as victory is drawing closer now, when you want to be fresh and attractive, when you have began to yearn for some love. You have sacrificed everything for the party, but you have missed the joy of life. Partisan life places an incredible strain on a person and demands a superhuman self-denial of the individual. You still manage it, but only with your mind now. This is the source of your conflict, your nervousness, your incapability to accept the great dualism in things and people, which drives their development...

(...) "What are you going to do when we take over?"

"Whatever the party orders me to."

"I myself will dress up... The first thing I'm going to do is wash and dress-up... And then I won't look like a hag! (...) Communists must love life (...). You can love life when you're pleasant for the people, neat and clean..."

(...) Now she (Irina) wanted to seclude herself in the stillness and the pines of Chamkoriya, under the sky of cold stars and wait listlessly for everything that was still going to happen. Because, no matter what happened, she was invulnerable. The physical ruin of the old world did not concern her, and the new one did not frighten her. She had investments abroad, which nobody could touch, and tonight she was convinced that the communists didn't take revenge on women. Still, she was aware that there was something else she could not escape, something more horrifying than the taking of her wealth or the

revenge of the hungry. And this was her inner ruin. These were the ashes from everything she had experienced until then, and from that night's horror, which had suddenly turned into sombre apathy...

(...) That was the simple truth! (...) The realistic, calm and powerful mind of Irina was not afraid to accept it, so it immediately became reconciled without rage or panic. Meanwhile, hundreds of spoiled women childishly wept and fainted, because their carpets were trodden by muddy militia boots, or their spacious homes were being filled by the homeless. They could not realise, that this was the implacable way of life, that the latter consisted of reciprocally dependent events and that the parasitic existence of some inevitably evoked the angry revolt of the others...

Dimov, pp. 564-569, 628, 667.



Dimitar Dimov (1909-1966) was a famous Bulgarian writer and playwright, a veterinarian by education, with over 40 research papers. His most famous novel was *Tobacco*, written in 1951. On the demand of the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the novel was revised and more characters from the resistance movement were added. In spite of the extra-literary interference, *Tobacco* became a favourite book for generations of Bulgarians. The above excerpts show the psychological attitudes of two radically different women – the Partisan Varvara and an upper-class woman, Irina, at the end of the Second World War.



What did the two women imagine the imminent changes in their lives would be like? What did they expect the results to be? How are the two women alike?

► v66. Scene from the Albanian movie *When a day dawned*



This picture is taken from a scene of the movie: "When a day dawned" on World War II (produced in 1971 in Tirane). It displays an encounter of partisans with German soldiers. It is interesting that in almost all the movies on World War II, German troops outnumber the partisans but at the end the partisans win the battles. This picture represents this idea perfectly.



Compare this visual with text VI-7.

Hoxha, pp.160-1.

VI-11. Turkish Cypriot Kemal Recep Susuzlu about his prisoner-of-war days, spent with the Greek Cypriot leader Glafkos Clerides⁶⁵

When we arrived in February 1942, the back of our shirts and the knees of our trousers were stamped

⁶⁵ They were both sent from the Salonica prisoner-of-war camp to the Stalag (a German prison camp for non-commissioned officers and lower ranks). Susuzlu describes his experience in the Stalag in the *Yeni Demokrat* newspaper in 1993.

with a red triangle. This was a measure designed to make identification easy of any prisoners who might escape from the camp. The Red Cross was distributing cards so that we could inform others that we were still alive. Who could believe such a thing?

The camp was divided into squares by barbed wire. The building opposite us housed Air Force personnel. We had good relations with them, despite the fact that barbed wire separated us. Air Force pilot Glafkos Clerides was among them. He was send-

ing messages that he wanted to cross over to our side and was asking for some of our clothes to stop him being identified. He cut through the barbed wire and crossed over to our side. He started to set up an organisation as soon as he arrived, so that it

could address the specific problems of the Cypriots. Elections were held and he was elected chairman. Glafkos Clerides was responsible for all the Cypriots and I was responsible for all the sick people.

Ulus Irkad, pp.15-16.

Table 4: National holidays related to World War II

Country	Date	Holiday	Description
Albania	29 November	Liberation Day	Liberation from the Germans in 1944
Bosnia and Herzegovina	25 November	National Day	First session of ZAVNOBIH (Partisan Parliament, 1943)
Bulgaria	-	-	-
Croatia	22 June	Antifascist Struggle Day	Beginning of the uprising (1941)
Cyprus	28 October	Ochi Day ("No" Day)	Greece's refusal of Italy's ultimatum (1940)
FYR Macedonia	11 October	Uprising day	Beginning of the uprising (1941)
Greece	28 October	Ochi Day ("No" Day)	Greece's refusal of Italy's ultimatum (1940)
Montenegro	13 July	Statehood Day ⁶⁶	Beginning of the uprising (1941)
Romania	-	-	-
Slovenia	27 April	Resistance Day	Formation of the Liberation Front (1941)
Serbia	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-



Overall questions on chapter VI

Interview your grandmother/grandfather. Write down /his/her memories of the war.

Analyse the pictures: What do they show? Interpret the pictures and write a short essay.

Did any author describe a happy moment in his life during the war?

⁶⁶ It also celebrates the recognition of Montenegro as an independent state by the Congress of Berlin (1878).

Map 2: Southeast Europe after World War II



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