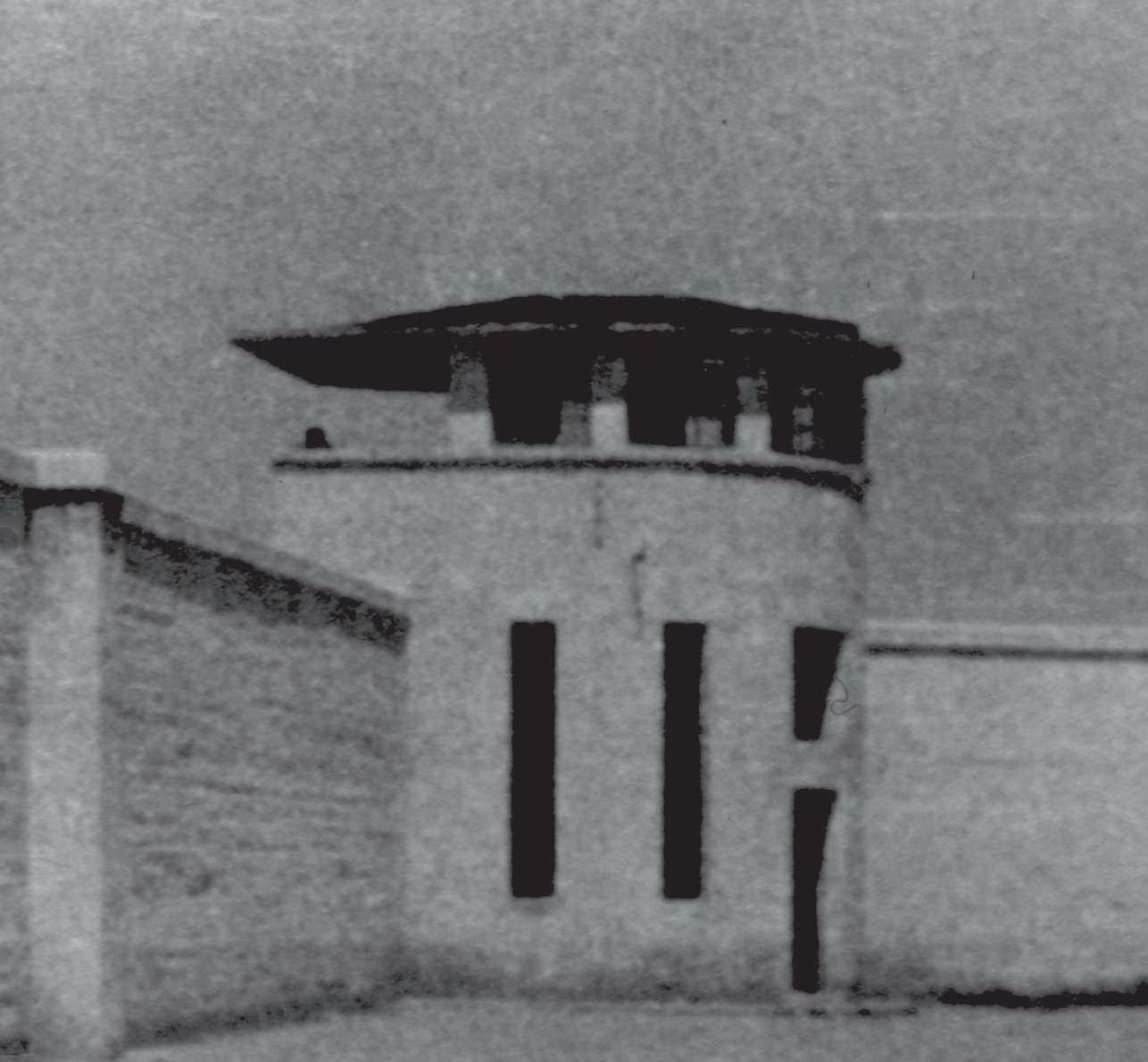


BANJICA CONCENTRATION CAMP

Introduction to the Books of Evidence of Detainees



Historical Archives of Belgrade



Banjica Concentration Camp

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Banjica Concentration Camp

Introduction to the Books of Evidence of Detainees

Concentration Camps – the most consequential institutions of totalitarian rule

Totalitarian regimes use concentration and death camps, Hannah Arendt noticed, as laboratories "...in which the basic conception of totalitarianism i.e. everything is possible" is being proved to be true. They are recognized as "the most consequential institutions of totalitarian rule".¹

Foundation and spreading of the system of camps designed for mass isolation of political and ideological opponents, real or potential, or other "undesirable categories" of citizens (racial, ethnic and social), and also for their physical liquidation, inevitably had been intermingled with the emergence of the totalitarian regimes which left deep and painful mark in the twentieth century history. Since the first day of their foundation, as was the case of the regime of National Socialism in Germany, they became the irreplaceable instrument of support and maintenance of that type of govern. They expanded, widening their functions in accordance with ever-rising complexity and abundant tasks to imprison the growing camp population, which brought their forms and functions to metastasize into unthinkable, widely diversified industry of death, thus representing – to quote Hannah Arendt again – the central institution of the totalitarian rule², as it was the case with the system of national-socialist camps. The haste with which they created the first concentration camps, less than two months after the Nazi came to power, their just not symbolic (!) organic coalescence with the system, represented the concentration camp Dachau, near Munich, founded on 22nd March 1933 (active until 29th April 1945) and housed in the former gunpowder factory, or the camp Oranienburg³.

¹ H. Arent, *Izvori totalitarizma /The Origins of Totalitarianism/*, Belgrade, 1998, pp. 447, 448.

² Detto, 446.

³ Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager (überarbeitete Ausgabe)*, Frankfurt am Main, 1996, 185. The camp ceased to exist the day before the suicide of the „leader“ of Nazi Germany Adolf Hitler (30th April 1945). In 1933 some 50 camps were opened in improvised facilities throughout Germany, mostly under the command of the members of the SA (Sturmabteilung). Taking control over the bodies of oppression, especially the secret political police, the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei), and siding away SA as a competing organization from the political scene, the concentration camps in 1934, in practice, came under the jurisdiction solely of the SS, Eugen Kogon, and State-SS. *The system of the German concentration camps*, Zagreb, 1982, 29-34. See also: Klaus Drobisch, Günter Wieland, *System der Konzentrationslager 1933-1939*, Berlin, 1993, Wolfgang Sofsky, *Die Ordnung des Terrors: Die Konzentrationslager*, Frankfurt am Main, in 1993.

Reviewing the ramifications of the central stem of the Nazi terror, whose function was to physically degrade prisoners, mostly with fatal outcome, simultaneously destroying their personalities and identities, inevitably highlighted the fact that the concentration camps had been “state institutions” administrated by the SS (Schutzstaffel), which eventually turned into inexhaustible sources of slave labor and became an important part of Nazi war industry⁴.

Another mass format of this phenomenon represented the Bolsheviks' camps dispersed all over Soviet Union when compared by the effects they caused, number of people affected by the measures of isolation, slave labor, murders and deaths caused by hunger and illness. During long years of Stalin's despotism (Иосиф Виссарионович Сталин) they grew into a form which A. Solzhenitsyn (Александр Исаевич Солженицын) named “The Gulag Archipelago”, the parallel (for the public “inexistent”) world being populated for decades with the millions of citizens unsuitable for the regime of the “first state of socialism”.⁵ Gulag (Главное Управление Исправительно Трудовых Лазерей и колоний - General Administration of the Corrective Labor Camps) grew up to gigantic proportions, becoming one of the main pillars of the system, “camp state”, which, apart from its main purpose – isolation and liquidation of the “hostile elements” of all (often changing) categories – had a very important commercial role using a free labor resources for performing the most difficult jobs in mine holes, in clearing off taigas, building up roads, thus exploiting that resourceful reservoir of detainees. This “Archipelago”, which didn't exist on official geographic and political maps, spread up from the Solovetsky Islands in the White Sea (one of the first mass forced labor camp institutions of the Soviet State) to Kamchatka, had a “population” of millions of inmates, guards, administrative bureaucracy, supporting services, giving the impression that they were (and in many ways they had been) “a state within a state”.⁶

The Concept and Its Military Embodiment

Since the beginning of the Second World War, the system of concentration camps – term mostly used to determine this phenomenon and to

⁴ Wolfgang Benz, Hermann Graml u. Hermann Weiß (Hrsg.), *Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus*, Stuttgart, 1997, 285.

⁵ Александар Солженицын /Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn/, *Архипелаг Гулаи /The Gulag Archipelago/*: 1918–1965. Покушај књижевног истраживања /An attempt to literary research/, 1–2, Београд, 1988.

⁶ See: Goran Miloradović *Quarantine for ideas*. Camps for isolation of “suspicious elements” in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, 1919-1922, Belgrade, 2004, 60-65. In Yugoslavia after the Second World War → a special place in the history of repression holds the Goli Otok camp. This painful history continued during the wars waged during the 90s of the twentieth century, when all the parties engaged in those wars founded their prisons and improvised camps for prisoners of opposing forces, and for the civilian population, too.

summarize a very broad spectrum of its forms of appearance - experienced the unimaginable expansion.⁷

Spreading of the Nazi occupation system meant unavoidable "implementation" of the already well-established model into all countries affected by it. Nazi terror, spreading throughout Europe, shaped it and gave it new forms and introduced new tasks according to new circumstances. Reaching the last phase of the "final solution" for the "Jewish issue", the Nazi system of death camps was given the central point in Holocaust, onward to the last station where millions of Jews from almost all European countries became the subjects to the Nazi "New Order", murdered regardless the gender, age, citizenship, social status... Completion of the plan for the total destruction of the European Jews had been absolutely prioritized – until the very end of the Nazi regime existence. This pathological fixation became its "final goal" and its leadership prioritized a spreading and maintaining of a dense system of "death factories" as the end of the war was approaching – paradoxically at first sight, but more often at the expense on the crucial strategic military targets.⁸

Occupation of each country targeted by the German and other Axis forces gave way to further networking of its territory through new segments of camp system and expanding categories of persons foreseen for detention. According to Kogon, in addition to a "basic classification" proscribed by Gestapo: "political opponents, members of the minority races and racial and biologically less worth members, criminals and asocial persons, victims of this system in the occupied countries", Yugoslav territories included, Serbian particularly, other categories also existed - members and followers of the resistance, members of the domestic intellectual elite, random victims of the police raids and "terrain clean up" – members, belonging almost without any exception, to all social classes, professions and political orientations. Also, camps served as temporary "reservoirs" for mass executions of hostages in revenge for the actions of resistance.

The term concentration camp is often used as a synonym for all Nazi camps, regardless the initial plans of their founders. This main

⁷ E. Kogon, n. d., 33–35. Kogon quotes that the concentration camps, which came under the administration of Main Division of SS for Commerce main division, came in three categories: "I level (labor camp) represented the mildest form, II level camp had more fierce life and work conditions, III level "crash mill for bones" from which a person could get out only in most rare cases". Nevertheless, the practice imposed other rules which not necessarily matched the "categorization" and caused greater or smaller chances for survival of inmates: needs of war industry for labor resources, management of the camp administration, duration of the camp itself and its place on the "hierarchy scheme" of the system, categories of inmates, etc." A. J. Kaminski emphasizes that this term marks mostly "the camp for destruction or death lager. Andrzej J. Kaminski, *Konzentrationslager 1896 bis Heute. Geschichte, Funktion, Typologie*, München, 1990, 30, ff. The concise history of this "global phenomenon of the newer history", along with the emphasizing of the categorization issue and the terminology content, Yugoslav experiences after the first years of the First World War gave Goran Miloradovic in his *Quarantine for Ideas*.

⁸ Thus, for example, transports of Jews from Hungary to the death camps in 1944 had priority in securing the necessary rail compositions and mobility on the lines. In Nazi-occupied Serbia, suppression of the uprising in 1941 become a priority of the occupying power, but the mass executions of hostages served for the physical liquidation of the adult male members of the Jewish community.

"institution of mass repression" of the Hitler's regime in a short period of time passed through several phases of transformation and changed according to the needs.⁹ Between 1933 and 1936 the system primarily served to detain internal political opponents, first and foremost members of the banned Left-wing labor organizations, while between 1936 and 1942 the system had gone through the process of dissolution of the first camps or their adaptation and exchange for new ones, with much greater capacities.¹⁰ One of the systematic researches has shown that it is extremely difficult to detect the correct number and categories and subcategories of Nazi camps.¹¹ So far, 17 different categories have been determined within 10.000 camps.¹² Gudrun Schwarz quotes some of the Nazi camp types: "educational work camp" (Arbeiterziehungslager), "camp for the removals in occupied and annexed countries" (Lager für Aussiedlungszwecke in den besetzten und anektierten Ländern), "camp for the Germanization of Polish children" (Germanisierungslager für Kinder in Polen), "ghetto-camp" (Gettolager), "prisons in Wehrmacht and war prisoners camp" (Haftanstalten der Wehrmacht und Kriegsgefangenenlager), "youth protection camp" (Jugendschutzlager), "camp for foreign civil men and women workers" (Lager für ausländischen Zivilarbeiterinnen und Zivilarbeiter), "police prison camp" (Polizeihaftlager), "camp for infants and children" (Säuglings-und Kinderlager), "camp for convicts" (Strafgefangenenlager), "camp for forced labor for Jewish men and women" (Zwangsarbeitslager für männliche und weibliche Juden), "forced camp for Gipsy people" (Zwangslager für Sinti und Roma), "concentration camp" (Konzentrationslager), "death camp" (Todeslager).¹³

Many camps changed their purposes and categorization several times, others, without a formal change of their names, which often blurred their real purposes, changed regimes and purposes, becoming, for example "death camps" instead of "labor" ones. In Serbia such situation could be illustrated by a camp organized in Belgrade Fair (Staro Sajmište), which was named "Jewish Camp Zemun" (Judenlager Semlin) since the end of 1941 until the end of April 1942, wherefrom the Jewish women and children were taken in gas chambered trucks to the extermination site in Jajinci.¹⁴ Later on, the camp was renamed into "Reception camp Zemun" (Anhaltelager Semlin)¹⁵ and served at the same time for a temporary detaining of the last survived groups of Jews, who had been imprisoned

⁹ *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust. Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, Bd. II, 785.

¹⁰ Sachsenhausen camp was founded in 1936, in the following year, in the vicinity of Weimar, Buchenwald was founded, in 1938 Mauthausen and Flossenbürg were founded, in 1939 Ravensbrück, in 1940 Auschwitz, Oświęcim, etc. Detto, 786.

¹¹ *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, Bd II, quotes the basic types of camps: labor (Arbeitslager), transfer (Durchgangslager), war prisoners camp (Kriegsgefangenenlager) and destruction camps (Vernichtungslager). Detto.

¹² Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager*, 261.

¹³ Detto 84, 85.

¹⁴ Gypsies were detained in it as well.

¹⁵ In the near vicinity existed a labor camp of the Tot Organization (Arbeitslager OT). M. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na beogradskom Sajmištu 1941–1944 /German Camp in the Belgrade Fair Trade facilities/*, Beograd, 1992, 293–300.

after the capitulation of Italy, for captured members of partisan and chetnik movements, members and sympathizers of Greek and Albanian resistance movements, Serbian peasants from villages in Srem Region, from Kozara and other territories under the administration of Ustasha regime moved from the Jasenovac concentration camp. Part of the camp served as a reception unit for prisoners (Anfangslager Semlin). Detainees who were not shot as hostages or were not transferred to camps in Reich or Poland, became a part of many million large forced and "voluntary" labor force used in the German war industry. In the beginning of 1944 the camp was formally put into authority of the Reichsführer-SS in Croatia, SS-Brigadeführer Konstantin Kammerhofer and Security Service of NDH (Independent State of Croatia) without any substantial changes, for tactical reasons only.¹⁶

All major camps had large number of "external commands" (Aussenkommando) and "outposts" or "regional units" (Nebenlager): Auschwitz (Oświęcim) 50, Mauthausen more than 60, Danzig (Gdansk) even 135!¹⁷ Some of these regional camps, by spreading their deadly activities, grew over into separate units.¹⁸ Big camps had been transformed in separate "multi-functional systems", which obtained major roles in the military industry of the Third Reich, especially in 1942 when it became evident that there existed extreme shortage of the labor force. Thus, Auschwitz and Majdanek or KL Lublin served simultaneously as concentration camps, camps for systematic "industrial" extermination of the primarily European Jews, but as well as an important resource of slavery labor force in the weapon factories, units for production of artificial rubber, in the chemical industry, surrounding the inside of the camp compound as an outer ring. Exhausting labor became an efficient means of extermination, too.

Detainees in the Nazi camp system, the involuntary inmates of that "underground subsystem" of Hitler's "New Europe", who originated from Serbia, were displaced in the areas which represented geographic and climate extremes of the Old Continent: from Norway and its northern regions to the Greece, apart from the main, large camps in the Central Europe and occupied territories of Poland.¹⁹

Outside borders of the Hitler's "New European Order", the mass detaining and murders of the nationally, ethnically or politically unsuitable population (regardless their own or foreign) followed the practice of "basic model". In addition to camps for military prisoners, numerous camps

¹⁶ On the Belgrade Fair Trade Camp see: Menachem Shelach, „Sajmište. An Extermination Camp in Serbia“, in: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 2 (1987), 243–260; Milan Koljanin, n. d.; Christopher Browning, „The Final Solution in Serbia. The Semlin Judenlager. A Case Study“, *Yad Vashem Studies*, XV, Jerusalem 1983; the same: *Fateful Months. Essay on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (Revised Edition), New York–London, 1991, 321–327.

¹⁷ Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager*, 176–178; 200–210; 226–231.

¹⁸ Such was the case with the Neuengamme camp, which became independent since June 1940. *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, Bd. II, 786.

¹⁹ On the experience of Serb prisoners in German concentration camps in Norway, see: Radovan Rajić, *Slavery in Norway*, Belgrade, 1996. On Yugoslav citizens in German concentration camps in Greece see: Slavko Pesić, *Yugoslavs in the German concentration camps in Greece (1941-1944)*, Belgrade, 1989.

existed in Japan, too, where the life wasn't that much different in camps organized for Asian population and citizens coming from the countries of Anti-Fascist Coalition; Italians organized camps for foreigners and camps for civilians from the occupied and annexed territories (the camp in the Rab Island was especially known for extremely difficult life conditions), Hungarians had camps for Serbian civilians, Romanians for Jews, in Vichy France for foreigners and Jews ... However, the camp Jasenovac, organized by the Ustasha regime, resembled German camps which served as a model and surpassed them in cruelty of the regime, brutality of the surviving conditions, number of the murdered victims. This camp and its regional units continued to be a very fearful, mass extermination site in which Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, opponents to Ustasha regime of other nationalities and orientation perished.²⁰

The system of camps, by the nature of exploitation, living conditions, the most radical dehumanization of life and relations that were developed within – was a pervert, twisted image of world, whose forced “dwellers” belonged to all European nationalities, religious and political orientations, were transferred from one end of Europe to another with the aim to delete their unique feature, “...to deny every spontaneous activity as a form of human behavior”, to disfigure them into “mere things” – prior to their final destruction. Having a look in the lists of detainees, this kind of “camp internationalism” can actually be recognized in the Banjica camp, regardless of its limited capacity and initial needs of the local occupational and collaboration governing authorities, when compared to “camp systems” in the European East and German territories. Beside Serbs, as the most numerous inmates, in the camp were also detained persons who considered themselves of Yugoslav nationality, Jews, Yugoslav citizens, Greeks, Albanians, Polish, Czechs, Russians, Hungarians, Romanians... Besides, inmates in this camp were members of both sexes, all age groups, children included.

In the Territory of Occupied Serbia

During the Second World War, a thick network of repressive instruments was installed in the territory of Serbia, which was made of intermingled occupational authorities and to them subordinated collaborating military and civil bodies and organizations. Its “skeleton” consisted of camps and prisons with execution sites on which tens of thousands of civilian hostages, members of the resistance movement, its sympathizers, almost entirely extinct Jewish community, many members of the Gypsy population murdered... To understand the violence of the attack on Yugoslavia and the brutal nature of the occupational regime established in Serbia after the April War actions in 1941, as well as the breakup of the

²⁰ Literature on Jasenovac camp: Jovan Mirković, *Published resources and literature on Jasenovac camps*, Banja Luka – Belgrade, 2000.

Yugoslav territories, one can point to the statements that the “leader” of the Third Reich personally pronounced likewise the highest ranking representatives of the German occupational forces in Serbia, who referred to unpleasant experiences during the First World War.²¹

German propaganda instructions, given shortly before the attack on Yugoslavia, highlighted the fact that the war was being waged primarily against the Serbs and that their aim was to deliberate the rest of the Yugoslav peoples from the “Serbian oppression” and “the hegemony of Greater Serbia”. The military commander for Serbia, General Franz Friedrich Böhme, explained few months later that the German soldiers found themselves in the exactly same role as their grandfathers and fathers had been during the First World War in that same territory.²²

The territory of Serbia, reduced to borders prior to the Balkan Wars 1912-13, came under the direct command of the German military occupational government, unlike the rest of Yugoslavia territories. That measure represented the materialization of the German Nazi leadership conviction that they had to break up any kind of resistance and the intention Hitler developed to “eliminate the Serbian problem” forever.

Hitler considered Serbs a “gang of conspirators” to whom “... he had been trying to impose himself for eight years, seeking no requests in return,” and the military coup of 27th March came as one of the most unpleasant surprises to him and he requested “... Belgrade, that conspiratorial center, should never get any importance at all”²³

Hermann Neubacher, a German proxy for South-East, eye witnessed that the top Nazi leadership by the end of March and the beginning of April 1941 took the position that the best solution would be to wipeout Serbia from the geographic maps. As such an operation was “technically” impossible, it should have made Serbs “as nation that permanently caused turmoils, be compressed and pressed”²⁴. Accordingly, a complex system of military occupation with its broad spectrum of repressive instruments was introduced, backed up by domestic collaborating apparatus since May 1941.²⁵

²¹ Walter Manoschek, Hans Safrian, „Österreichischer in der Wehrmacht“, in: Emerich Talos, Wolfgang Neugebauer und Ernst Hanisch (Hrsg.), *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich*, Wien, 1988, 185–199) affirmed that the majority of the military personnel in Serbia originated from Austria and a large number of officers served in the Austro-Hungarian army units or in the occupational apparatus of the General Government during the First World War.

²² Ferdo Čulinović, *Okupatorska podjela Jugoslavije /Partition of Yugoslavia by the Occupation Forces/*, Belgrade, 1970, 665. Similar statements see also in: Branislav Božović, *Београд под комесарском управом 1941 /Belgrade under the Commissariat Administration in 1941/*, Belgrade, 1998, 9–14.

²³ *Staatsmänner und Diplomaten bei Hitler. Vertrauliche Aufzeichnungen über Unterredungen mit Vertretern des Auslandes*, Bd. I, Hrsg. Von Andreas Hillgruber, Frankfurt am Main, 1967, 531.

²⁴ Hermann Neubacher, *Sonderauftrag Südost 1940–1945*. Göttingen–Berlin–Frankfurt am Main, 1957, 127 onward.

²⁵ F. Čulinović, *On Occupation System in Serbia*, see also: Jovan Marjanović, “German Occupation System in Serbia in 1941”, in: *Les systemes d'occupation en Yugoslavie 1941–1945*, Belgrade, 1963; Karl-Heinz Schlarp, *Wirtschaft und Besetzung in Serbien 1941–1944. Ein Beitrag zur nationalsozialistischen Wirtschaftspolitik in Südosteuropa*, Stuttgart, 1986; Branko Petranović, *Serbia in the Second World War*, Belgrade, 1991.

After the April War activities stopped, German troops engaged in that area started to withdraw. The Second Army was replaced by three divisions (704, 714, 717) which, at the beginning of May, came under the command of Higher Command for special activities. German Supreme Command (OKW) by its Order of 22nd April 1941 introduced a function of Military Commander in Serbia as a supreme political and military occupation instance with broad authorizations. The first military commander to be appointed was Aviation General Helmut Förster, who was closely connected to Hermann Wilhelm Göring, supreme commander of Luftwaffe and his representative in Serbia Franz Neuhausen. In June 1941 he was replaced by the General Ludwig von Schröder. After his death²⁶ in the late summer, the General Heinrich Danckelmann was put in command, but was soon replaced due to his unsuccessful suppression of the uprising. In the second half of September 1941 General Beme came in office and became much more successful in the given task by applying very severe measures against rebels and civil population. After the breakdown of the uprising in Serbia by the end of the autumn 1941 he was transferred to a new position in Finland and was replaced by General Paul Bader. In early February 1942 his competencies were further enforced and he was positioned as "supreme commander in Serbia", subordinated to a commanding officer responsible for South-East.²⁷ Duties of the military administration came into responsibility of dr Harald Turner, the Government counselor, whose headquarter in the first phase of the occupation had the role of country government, later controlled the work of the domestic governing apparatus and its bodies.²⁸

Foreign Ministry of Reich had in Belgrade its omnipotent representative Felix Benzler, responsible for the political matters. He was subordinated to Military Commander. After the establishment of the domestic collaboration government, he gained the position of envoy and provided its duties simultaneously.²⁹ Serbian industry was governed by the general proxy for industry matters F. Neuhausen, who was subordinated to the first person of the Four-Year Plan, Hermann Wilhelm Göring.³⁰

High ranking SS and political officer in Serbia August Edler von Meysner, subordinated to SS Reichsführer, was a commander of German police apparatus of complex structure and strong in quantity since February 1942 to spring 1944 and was responsible to administrate repressive measures over population and to maintain order. In Serbia existed a network of variety of German intelligent services, with specifically strong Abwehrstelle, though branches and units of all other German military

²⁶ He died ten days after the plane crash.

²⁷ Muharem Kreso, *Njemačka okupaciona uprava u Beogradu 1941–1944* /German Occupation Administration in Belgrade 1941-1944/ (with a review of central occupation command units and institutions for Serbia, Yugoslavia and Balkans), Belgrade, 1979, 70 onward.

²⁸ Cristopher Browning, „Harald Turner und die Militärverwaltung in Serbien 1941–1942“, in: D. Rebentisch, K. Treppe (Hrsg), *Verwaltung kontra Menschen–führung in Staat Hitlers*, Güttingen, 1986, 351–373.

²⁹ Jovan Marjanović, n. d., 280.

³⁰ Ibid, 279 and onward. On the activities of F. Neuhausen see in more details in K. H. Schlarp, n. d.

and civil services were active too, like the Organization Todt for the Balkans, Authorized Office responsible for recruiting labor forces, proxies of the German financial institutions, industry concerns, etc.³¹

The German occupation zone in Serbia was divided in four field command units (Feldkommandaturen) – command seats were placed in Belgrade, Pančevo, Niš and Užice - with a network of district and town commands (Kreissskommandaturen, Ortskommandaturen) and martial courts in addition to military and administrative bodies above mentioned, made the widely spread and overall system of occupation control and repression of the domestic population.³²

Administrative headquarters posted the first domestic collaboration administration in Serbia - Council of Commissioners, as early as 1st May 1941, after consultations made with the local politicians who had already expressed sympathies for the political solution National-Socialism had offered. Milan Aćimović, the former Minister of interior in the government of dr Milan Stojadinović, was appointed to lead this body.³³

Nevertheless, it didn't mean that the "firm" position of the German leadership towards Serbia had been significantly changed. Joachim von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, communicated on 3rd May 1941 to Benzler that Hitler had intended to let Serbia gain the independence, but only within the framework of functions required by Occupation Administration to maintain "peace and order".³⁴ When the Council of Commissioners stepped in duty, the prewar governing system of state administration was reinstalled: at territorial regions level /'banovina'/ (Dunavska, Moravska and Drinska), district offices in 110 communes (after the correction of borders around 90), tax and cadaster offices.³⁵ The Gendarmerie, which was dismissed after the capitulation, partly disarmed and partly sent to captivity, came to existence again.³⁶

In May, the City Administration of Belgrade³⁷ was restored, likewise Special Police which was subordinated to it and was given much broader au-

³¹ F. Čulinović, n. d., 403. Under his command came Ordnungspolizei, SIPO and SD.

³² Feldkomandatur 610 was initially placed in Smederevo, later moved to Pančevo. F. Čulinović, n. d., 401; J. Marjanovic, *The German Occupation System in Serbia in 1941*, in: *Les systemes d'occupation en Yougoslavie 1941-1945*, Belgrade 1963, 279.

³³ See: Branislav Božović, *Beograd pod komesarskom upravom 1941 /Belgrade under the commissar administration 1941/*, Belgrade 1998.

³⁴ M. Borković, *Kontrarevolucija u Srbiji. Kvinslinška uprava u Srbiji /Counter revolution in Serbia. Quisling Government 1941-1942/*, Volume I, Belgrade, 1979, 30; F. Čulinović, n. d., 396; Branko Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu 1939-1945 /Serbia in the Second World War 1939-1945/*, Belgrade, 1992, 134-138

³⁵ New administrative division of Serbia was introduced in December 1941 which revoked banovinas and introduced 14 districts.

³⁶ Aćimović in the negotiations he led with the Germans before he accepted the position, requested from them some conditions which seemed acceptable to German side and which referred to implementation of domestic legislation, judicial administration, assistance to refugees and prisoners, mentioning of King's Peter II name in churches etc. M. Borković, n. d., I, 42 onward.

³⁷ The territorial jurisdiction of the City Administration of Belgrade (UGB) was significantly reduced when Zemun and Pančevo got excluded, and it covered the remaining ten municipalities. The special role in restoration of UGB and police apparatus had Dragomir Dragi Jovanović, the former deputy manager of UGB and advisor in the Ministry of

thorities Serbia wide, where it had numerous local entities. The Special Police (II Special Unit of the Ministry of Interior) had two organizational units called "referat" – for communists and "Jews, Gypsies, Free Masons and other international organizations". Also, a separate "VII unit for Jews and Gypsies was organized".³⁸ Gestapo's IV division for combat against political opponents had a "Unit for Jewish matters" (IV D4).³⁹ Still retaining the subordination to German Police Authorities, first and foremost to Gestapo, the Special Police, after formation of government commissariat, came within the responsibility of Commissioner of Interior and Milan Aćimović, who kept the position of head office to himself. The Police had around 850 policemen and served as obedient instrument of the Occupation Authority in suppression of "subversive activities" and persecution of opponents of the occupation order.⁴⁰ The police and gendarmerie forces of the Commissariat and later Nedić's "Government of National Salvation" teamed up with the German forces or independently participated in raids on civil population. Units of domestic gendarmerie took part in punitive expeditions, retaliation and intimidation of the population, immediately after the outbreak of the uprising in the summer of 1941. In July 1941 the German troops executed the first mass executions in Serbia and in some of them domestic gendarmes took part which caused fluctuation and demoralization among them.⁴¹

However, the Commissariat soon came to collapse because it became compromised by its total submission to the Occupation authorities and by participating in punitive expeditions against its own people, in addition to not being able to entirely respond to requests for "pacification" and order maintaining, nor to collect the sliced amount of financial resources sufficient to support the Occupational forces. Withdrawal of Ljotić's representatives from the Commissariat led to the fall of the first Serbian puppet administration. Dimitrije Ljotić, the "gray eminence" of the collaborationist apparatus and the "leader" of the fascist movement "Zbor", asked the Germans for the formation of a new Serbian "Government" with General Milan Nedić in the lead, appointment of the German Reichskommissar, who would be fully empowered for the formation of domestic armed force, composed of his (Ljotić's) supporters. The German Military Commander appointed Milan Nedić as a head of the so called "Government of National Salvation" on 29th August 1941. The

Interior, a man in whom the Occupation Authorities put great trust, especially Hans Helm, head of Gestapo in the Operational Group for Yugoslavia and Karl Lothar Kraus, head of Operations Command of Gestapo and SD for Serbia. Jovanović was appointed for the "extraordinary commissioner" for Belgrade. He was the one who changed the name of the police apparatus in Belgrade into Special Police. Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 12–16.

³⁸ Venceslav Glišić, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941–1944 / Terror and Crimes of the Nazi Germany in Serbia 1941–1944*, Belgrade, 1970, 67; *Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilačkom ratu jugoslovenskih naroda / Collection of documents and data on the Liberation War of the Yugoslav Peoples*, Volume I, 1, 571.

³⁹ Ženi Lebl, *Do "konačnog rešenja". Jevreji u Beogradu 1941–1942 / To "Final Solution". Jews in Belgrade 1941–1942*, Belgrade, 2001, 290–291.

⁴⁰ B. Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja / Suffering of Jews*, 209–214.

⁴¹ Milan Borković, n. d., I, 35 and onwards.

appointment of Nedić indicated the intention a more firmed and resolute domestic administration to be established, as a new "extended arm" of the Occupation system which required difficult situation in Serbia to be resolved more successfully, but the Occupation administration was unable at that moment to resolve it independently.⁴²

They intended to rely on his military authority, his "hard" political views, especially uncompromising anti-communism, likewise his hostility against the President of the Yugoslav government in exile, General Dušan Simović. Military commander in Serbia, General Danckelmann, requested from him pacification of situation by suppression of the resistance and separation of the resisting forces (Chetniks and Partisans). In return, Nedić had asked Danckelmann some concessions, but the German military commander didn't promise any "counter-favor" for the suppression of the uprising, except increase of the Gendarmerie and formation of the auxiliary combat units.⁴³ In case Nedić didn't succeed, Benzler underlined that Military commander would govern the country himself "... without Serbian assistance and would undertake the military suppression of the uprising with German troops solely".⁴⁴

At the very beginning of his activities as a head of the „Government of National Salvation“, punitive measures were drastically applied by the Occupation authorities on the domestic population due to a sudden spreading of the uprising in Serbia. Mid September 1941 Hitler ordered execution of hostages in ratio 1:100, i.e. 1:50 for each murdered or wounded German soldier in Serbia. The new authorized commanding general in Serbia Franc Beme showed himself as being extremely firm in fulfilling this order in the full extent of the „quote“.⁴⁵

⁴² Milan Borković, n. d., I, 70–82; Mirko Bojić, *Jugoslovenski narodni pokret "Zbor", 1935-1945 /Yugoslav national movement "Zbor", 1935–1945/*. One critical review, Belgrade, 1996, 169–173.

⁴³ Autonomy of the Government, military formations to be at their disposal, determine the amount of the financial resources intended for the maintenance of the German Occupation apparatus, more selective punitive measures against civilians and hostages, usage of national and state symbols, annexation of 17 counties under the governance of NDH to Serbia and their taking over by the German troops, providing help to military captives, Berlin to put pressure to stop slaughter of Serbs outside Serbia.

⁴⁴ The need to suppress the Uprising pushed behind the suspicion of Germans that the Nedić's "Government" had armed the military and police formations. At first, their units consisted of Serbian Gendarmerie (3.000 people), Serbian Voluntary Corps which comprised members of the "Zbor" (3.000-4.000) and members of the Chetniks' units under the command of Kosta Milovanović Pećanac (3.000–4.000), their number greatly increased. Russian Protective Corps, comprised of emigrants under the German command, were formed in Serbia and served to protect industrial facilities and communication lines. Some units of the Collaboration Police and Gendarmerie participated in revenge actions undertaken during the summer 1941, as some German resources quote – for example, the Report of Felix Bencler of 23rd July 1941. Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 53.

⁴⁵ F. Čulinović, n. d. 550, 501; Manfred Messerschmidt, "Rassistische Motivation bei der Bekämpfung des Widerstandes in Serbien?" in: *Faschismus und Rassismus*. Kontraversen um Ideologien und Opfer. Hrsg. Von W. Röhr u. a., Berlin, 1992, 322 and onwards; K. H. Schlarp, n. d., 154.

Foundation and Role of Camps in the Occupation System in Serbia. Banjica Concentration Camp

Hostages foreseen for execution had been taken from camps founded all over Serbia by the Occupational authorities and from prisons founded by the domestic collaboration government. Some camps were of temporary duration, some were permanent and similar to those founded within the Reich territories and General Governorate in occupied Poland. Such camps existed in Belgrade: "Sajmište", Banjica, "Topovske šupe", in Šabac, Niš, Veliki Bečkerek.⁴⁶ Some of these camps were functional for a very short period i.e. as long as they had inmates in, as was the case with the Belgrade camp for male members of the Jewish communities from Serbia and Banat, situated in the former artillery barracks ("Topovske šupe"). It was closed when last inmates, the male Jews from Banat and Serbia, were executed.⁴⁷ A network of labor camps and a considerable number of prisons and execution sites were established in the vicinity of all major industry facilities. During the extensive military and police "cleansing" operation against the uprising units in the Šabac area, early autumn 1941, the Germans planned to start construction of a major collective camp on the Sava River near Sremska Mitrovica with the initial capacity of 50.000 prisoners. They also planned to broaden and equip it to accept up to 500.000 prisoners i.e. to organize it according to existing model in function at that time in the Reich and occupied territories in the East. Nevertheless, the plan to construct such a camp which would accept prisoners coming from much broader territories than occupied Serbia („Serbian Torzo", Serbia the Wreck", „Rumpf Serbien", as that territory was often quoted in German documents) didn't come true. Instead, a camp on Belgrade Fair („Sajmište") was organized.⁴⁸

Since the beginning of December 1941, some 6.400 Jews and 600 Gypsies, mostly women and children, had been detained in the Belgrade Sajmište camp. Out of this number 6.320 people lost their lives.⁴⁹ After the liquidation of Serbian Jews, since the first half of 1942 this camp started to receive new inmates, mostly captured members of the partisans' and chetniks' movements and later Serbs (civilians and captured partisans) from the Ustasha's concentration camp Jasenovac. The camp was under the immediate command of the Gestapo, and at the same

⁴⁶ Venceslav Glišić, "Concentration Camps in Serbia (1941–1944)", in: Third Reich and Yugoslavia, Belgrade, 1977, 691–717.

⁴⁷ On "Topovske šupe" camp see: Ženi Lebl, *To "Final Solution". Jews in Belgrade 1941–1942*, Belgrade, 2001, 290–292.

⁴⁸ M. Koljanin in his study on Belgrade Sajmište camp quoted that there existed the idea to construct a large camp with the capacity of 50.000 people, primarily intended for "Serbian hostages" and the other one for the Jews and Gypsies. M. Koljanin, *Sajmište*, 46, 47. The construction works initiated on Zasavica area were done by the prisoners detained in Šabac Durhgangslager 183, but soon were abandoned because of the swamp terrain. Decision to set up a camp in the Belgrade Fair Trade area, the territory that was under control of the Ustashes' NDH at that time, was made by the end of October 1941. Ibid., 47, 48.

⁴⁹ Before the occupation, in Serbia lived around 17.800; during the German occupation regime 83% i.e. 14.000 were executed.

time it served as a collective camp of the Organization Tot (OT), and had its "outposts".⁵⁰

Mass executions of hostages in all execution sites in Serbia had been performed during the entire occupation period; Jajinci in the vicinity of Belgrade needs to be particularly mentioned as a site where prisoners and hostages from the Banjica camp had been executed. The calculations that the population would respond to a new occupation either with active or passive resistance were based on both "historical experience" and on monitoring activities of the potential initiators of actions, especially communists, against the representatives of the German authorities. Collaboration Authorities warned on this danger, when its Ministry of Interior in May 1941 began reviewing possibilities of organizing concentration camps in which "all known communists" would be detained.⁵¹

Prior to the attack of the Axis forces to the Soviet Union, German and collaboration police officers in the Ministry of Interior held the meeting on which they reviewed measures for the suppression of the communists' activities and initiated the matter of foundation and location of a concentration camp. It was suggested to request "from the competent authority the data on the foundation of similar camps in Germany".⁵² Prior to 22nd June, Harald Turner, head of the Administrative headquarters, communicated the order addressed to Milan Aćimović, the Minister of interior of Commissariat, requesting from him to issue an order to the head of the Belgrade Police who would immediately start to arrest "communists known to him" and to detain them in the facility in Ada Ciganlija. Furthermore, he was to "organize a concentration camp, based on the above mentioned order, in which these and other criminal elements and communists in the country were to be transferred to".⁵³ It was decided the camp to be divided in two parts, first part to be under the command of Collaboration Authority, the second under the command of Gestapo. Aćimović authorized Dragi Jovanović to organize the Serbian part of the camp, while the responsibility for the prompt realization of the Turner's order on German side was alleged to Commander of Belgrade, Ernst Moritz von Kaisenberg and Gestapo. As a result, a wave of arrests of people suspected to be communists or their sympathizers had been performed in the united actions of Collaboration Authority Police, German Police and Military Command; seven hundred people were arrested in the territory of Serbia, out of which 161 persons in Belgrade.⁵⁴ The camp should have been organized in the facilities in Ada Ciganlija, which were

⁵⁰ Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor / German camp*, 291–305. Koljanin quotes that the Collective camp in Zemun received 31.972 inmates, total of 10.636 of them lost their lives in the camp itself or after their transportation from it, i.e. each third inmate. He points out that these numbers are to be taken as "approximate lower limit of the overall number of people brought in and murdered or dead." N. d., 450.

⁵¹ Sima Begović, *Logor Banjica / Banjica Camp*, I, 1989, 28; Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 50.

⁵² Quotation: Sima Begović, *Banjica Camp*, I, 29.

⁵³ *Collection of documents of the National Liberation War*, I, *Battles in Serbia in 1941*, Belgrade, 1949, D oc. No. 108, Dr Turner's Order to M. Aćimović dated 22. VI 1941.

⁵⁴ Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 49.

used prior to the Second World War for detaining convicted communists. However, that location was assessed as improper due to security reasons. A Special Commission, comprised of Milan Janjušević, deputy head of the City of Belgrade, director of the Technical Direction and one representative of Gestapo, decided to use the barracks of the 18th Infantry Regiment in Banjica area to set up a camp inside it.⁵⁵

Ever growing number of detainees urged the authorities to put them in a new camp although the adaptation works on the barracks for new purposes had not yet been completed. The first inmates arrived to Banjica camp on 9th July 1941; the camp was functional until its dissolution on 3rd October 1944. Thirty nine long months were marked by sufferings, physical tortures, hunger, firing executions day by day, diseases...The camp resembled the "Jewish camp Zemun" (Judenlager Semlin), exposed to a view of every citizen of Belgrade as a warning, being separated from the very center of the city solely by the river Sava. So, the choice of barracks in Banjica area for the camp location was contrary to a practice that those types of institutions were located in areas less approachable and far away from the main roads and curiosity of unwelcome persons. Christopher Robert Browning, writing about the Sajmište camp (could apply to Banjica camp and "Topovske šupe" camp, as well) highlighted that such kind of positioning of camps should have and actually had intimidation of citizens of Belgrade for purpose.⁵⁶

These two concentration camps, one almost in the very center of the city, the other in the outskirts of the city in the residential quarter - in which people died and lived on daily basis in uncertainty, where each resident had among the inmates someone whom he knew, or lived together in the same street or quarter, went to school with, visited the same places in the city - hanged over the heads of the citizens of the Serbian and Yugoslav capital ever present threat and possibility to find themselves behind the walls. To a system which moved and controlled that mechanism of death in occupied Serbia, the "only warranty for its continuing existence, and thus for the continuing and total degradation of human beings" was to reach out in new groups of people for new candidates for camps and execution sites.⁵⁷

The specialty of the Banjica Concentration Camp in the term of its organization was the existence of duality of the inner command and the split of authorities among the Collaboration and German bodies of the Camp administration. The split of the authorities among the "Serbian" and the "German" part of the camp had been introduced from practical reasons and hadn't expressed the "equality" of two administrations. One of the researchers of the history of this camp rightfully stressed that the "basic law to which the camp authorities relied on had been the blind

⁵⁵ Sima Begović, *Banjica Camp*, I, 30,

⁵⁶ See: Christopher R. Browning, „*The Final Solution in Serbia. The Semlin Judenlager. A Case Study*“, Yad Vashem Studies, XV, Jerusalem, 1983.

⁵⁷ H. Arent, *Sources of Totalitarianism*, 458, 459.

obedience to German occupation authorities”; complete arbitrariness of occupation and collaboration authorities in decision making related to arresting and transferring people to the camp had been the one and only “rule” on which the fate of the inmates had been decided.⁵⁸

Svetozar Vujković, the former head of the IV Anti-Communist Division of the Belgrade Police, was posted for a head of the Banjica Concentration Camp on 5th July.⁵⁹ He was known for his brutality against the arrested detainees and was rightfully called to be a sadist. Đorđe Kosmajac, a person of similar profile and way of treating detainees, a former sub-supervisor of agents, was appointed as his deputy. After being assassinated in March 1942 by the members of the Belgrade organization of Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Kosmajac was first succeeded by Prvoslav Odović and then Vidosav Jevtović, who was remembered for extortion of money and valuables from the detainees’ families.⁶⁰

The German part of the camp was under the direct command of Gestapo, while the Administration and security services were entrusted to Special Command BdS (Sonderkommando; Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes), Special Department of the Guard service. BdS was engaged in categorization of detainees, as well as in transferring them to other prisons and camps outside Serbia, in designing procedures related to detainees, fire execution included. They had the last saying in decision making on detainees’ fates in the Serbian part of the camp, from where the detainees had often been taken for further interrogation or liquidation, sometimes without even informing the Collaboration Authority of the Camp or against its will or consent. SS hauptsturmführer Willy Friedrich, the former agent of Berlin Gestapo, served the longest period at the post of the Commander of the Camp. His deputy was Peter Krieger, Volksdeutsche from Crvenka, known for his extreme brutality and cruel treatment of detainees.⁶¹

Security in the Serbian part of the Camp came in authority of the Command of the Serbian State Guard of the City Administration of Belgrade (UGB), which had a unit of 50-100 gendarmeries at its disposal.⁶² Until September 1941 the Camp was in the authority of Military Administrative Command of Belgrade, Feldkomandature 599, headed by Colonel Moritz von Keisenberg who stayed in the office until early February

⁵⁸ Sima Begović, *Banjica Camp*, 2, 98.

⁵⁹ The German Commander of Belgrade, Fon Kaizenberg, highly valued the efficiency of the Belgrade Police, which renewed its work due to his order. In July 1941 the Police had 858 members, while in September the same year it counted 1.500. B. Božović, *Martyr of Jews*, 182,183.

⁶⁰ On the composition of the camp authority see: S. Begović, *Banjica Camp*, I, 71, 74.

⁶¹ At this office prior to V. Fridrih were SS Lieutenant Friedrich Schubert, SS Lieutenant Löhr and SS Lieutenant Winter. After Fridrih stepped down from the office and left the camp, the new commander of the dismantled Sajmište camp since July 1944 was Lieutenant Ernst Becker. He was succeeded by SS Lieutenant Gustav Kemper, who brought his “associates” – Ustasha Kisić, a thug, and “camp police” composed of detainees’ “capos”. S. Begović, *Banjica Concentration Camp*, I, 68, 69.

⁶² Ibid, 68.

1942.⁶³ Belgrade Central Office of the German Secret Political Police, Administrative Headquarters of the German Military High Commander had been regularly informed on management of that new concentration camp, and at the beginning, while the camp functioned as Belgrade camp, German commander of Belgrade von Keisenberg was informed as well. Vujković and his associates had informed on regular basis the Department of Special Police on the conditions in the camp, the reports were further communicated to the City Administration and the Ministry of Interior. The cost of maintaining and provisions required for the entire camp came in responsibility of the Belgrade municipality.⁶⁴

Since the end of August 1941, detainees from all over Serbia were being transferring to the Camp, thus it soon surpassed its local function and came under the direct Administration of the German Military Commander of Serbia. Since February 1942, the activity of Police Department, along with the Military Security Administrative Commands, came under the jurisdiction of the then appointed SS and Police commander Maysner.⁶⁵

The dual administration and split of authorities between the domestic police (Special Police) and Gestapo, as scientific researches of Banjica Concentration Camp determined, was illusive and was introduced only from practical reasons, not ever questioning the subordination of the Collaboration Authority to Occupation Govern.⁶⁶ Supervision of those arrested who had been under the interrogation of Gestapo or had been arrested by some other segment of the Occupation repressive system, was the responsibility of German "Special Command" (Sonderkommando). Detainees who had been captured by Special Police were being transferred to the Collaboration Administration part of the camp. After a group of commanders of the Chetniks' Ravna Gora Movement broke out of the camp in autumn 1943, assisted by the Serbian guards, the Guard Service was disassembled and came into responsibility of the Guard Battalion Commander of the German Police and SD (Sicherheitsdienst).⁶⁷ Gestapo had been using domestic police as its trustworthy, brutal and effective instrument for suppression of the activities of the partisans' movement and Draža Mihailović's chetniks, and all other real and potential opponents of the Occupation system and Nazi and Axis policy in general (Jews, Gypsies, Free Masons, Serbian Orthodox Church, pro-British oriented civil politicians, liberals, distinguished intellectuals of the

⁶³ He was succeeded by Mayor General Hans Adalbert Lontschar.

⁶⁴ Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 52; S. Begović, *Banjica Concentration Camp*, I, 30 and onwards.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 134, 135; S. Begović, *Banjica Camp*, I, 67, 68. Maysner was succeeded by Hermann Behrends and him by Maysner's aide Wilhelm Kaiser.

⁶⁶ At the trial, the head of the IV Anty-Communist Unit of the Special Police, Božidar Bećarević, complained on "almost reckless interference" of the German Occupation Govern, especially Gestapo, in managing the City Administration. Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 405, 406.

⁶⁷ S. Begović, n. d., I, 74

anti-fascist orientation...⁶⁸ The both camp authorities shared the same torturing methods to extort confession from a detainee. Collaboration repressive system additionally served in registering, detaining and capturing runaway members of the Jewish community, but their execution came in responsibility of the German Occupation Forces.⁶⁹ Two Gestapo members were added to the Serbian Administration in the Camp to additionally provide monitoring and to keep liaison among two segments of terror engaged on the same task. Subordination of the domestic government to the German one became stronger as the subordination of the Collaboration Police grew deeper to the Occupation Police organs. It was fully apparent when the "higher ranking SS and Police officer" August Meisner was appointed to the position of the "first policeman"; he was known for his open hatred of Serbs, for not considering others' opinions, requirements and comments which were constantly being received reporting the "violation of integrity" of the Nedić "Government of National Salvation". Nevertheless, the cooperation between domestic and occupational governments, as in other areas, hadn't been challenged until the last days of the camp's existence.⁷⁰

Number of Detainees and Their Categorization

Books of evidence of detainees in the Camp contain 23.637 names being enlisted since 9th July 1941 until 2nd October 1944. However, based on a thorough research, this figures cannot be accepted as complete. Moreover, the research performed for the need of this publication, showed new facts related to number of people detained in the Banjica Concentration Camp.⁷¹ Uncertainty related to numbers emerged from the nature of a document – books of evidence provide enough material for uncertainty related to names, their repeated entries, and way of unbalanced and incorrect quoting of other data and other ambiguities and omissions. Moreover, some of the contingents of prisoners had been transferred to the camp for a short period of time and soon moved further either for execution or to some other camp outside Serbia, thus their names were not entered into books of evidence. Other sources of the same provenance (Belgrade City Administration) recorded that some people had been detained in the camp without being enlisted in the camp evidence books. Estimations on the real number of detainees,

⁶⁸ Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 403, 404; Branislav Božović, *Martyr of Jews in the occupied Belgrade 1941–1944*, Belgrade, 2004.

⁶⁹ Branislav Božović, *Martyr of Jews*, 185 and onwards; see more details on this: W. Manoschek, *Serbien...*

⁷⁰ Hitler's order of 22nd January gave power to Maisen to monitor and give orders to Serbian authorities and Police. Likewise, he was given a special assignment to develop and use domestic police force. Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 134, fn. 134.

⁷¹ See the analysis presented in the second part of this study.

which could be accepted as realistic, come to approximately 30.000 detainees.⁷²

Capacity of quantity of detainees and its oscillations depended on the intensity of repression implemented. Mass arrests of hostages in 1941, "break in" illegal organizations of resistance movements, first and foremost illegal cells of CPY⁷³, and the Ravna Gora movement,⁷⁴ inland campaigns against sympathizers of these two movements, transportation of prisoners from other prisons and camps in Serbia, filling up restricted space in Banjica camp, thus making survival, accompanied by constant hunger, illnesses and torture, extremely difficult. Transportation of large groups of camp inmates to execution site in Jajinci, deportations to forced labor in Germany, moving detainees to other prisons for "further procedure" and scarce liberations represented a part of a permanent process of emptying out and filling in of the parts of the camp capacity, which rhythm was difficult to be traced.

Fearing of generalization, the quantitative capacity of detainees moved within one to three thousand persons packed up in a small space, in camp "rooms", designed for incomparably smaller number of people and classified according the categories based on "the seriousness of the offence".⁷⁵ During the most massive executions and arrests, in the peak of the Uprising in 1941 and after its break down, in the first year of the Banjica camp existence, regular classification of detainees had not yet been entered into practice. It was put in practice during the summer and autumn 1942 by the order issued by Ministry of Interior. Classifying a detainee into one of the categories and "putting him in a cell set up for accommodation of special groups of detainees, meant that the decision and the verdict was reached related to his/her destiny, life and death, prolongation of an "investigation procedure", along with sadistic tortures or hope for possible survival... At the end of October, Dragi Jovanović, head of the State Security Service, issued the order by which a Standing Commission, comprising of three members of the City Administration (UGB), representatives of Ministry of Interior and Serbian State Security respectfully, was founded, empowered to issue decisions that could stand instead of court decisions.⁷⁶

⁷² Branislav Božović, *Martyr of Jews*, 74–76.

⁷³ Such were the arrests and transfers to Banjica camp after the police "break in" the members of local committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the Union of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ) in September, October and November 1941, in spring and autumn 1942, arrests in Valjevo, East Serbia; during 1943 arrested members of the Third Local Committee of KPY in Belgrade, Regional Committee for Kraljevo, SKOJ from Kosovska Mitrovica, etc. See: S. Begović, *Banjica Camp* 1, 145–149; 234–240; 248–260; 266–269; 293–296.

⁷⁴ S. Begović, *Banjica Camp 1941–1944*, 2, 5–22. The first groups of the members of Ravna Gora movement were brought in the Banjica Camp in autumn 1941. In October 1942 Gestapo arrested a group of officers and intellectuals who were later transferred to Mauthausen concentration camp. During 1943 members of the civilian headquarters of the Ravna Gora movement in Belgrade were arrested and executed. Similar breaks in and arrests happened in the second half of 1943. Ibid.

⁷⁵ Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 363, 364.

⁷⁶ The first composition of the Commission made key persons from the Collaboration Police and Security services: Milivoj Jovanović and Dušan Spajić, inspectors, Đorđe Đ. Đorđević, secretary of the Serbian State Security, Konstantin

The representatives of the City Administration (UGB) i.e. Special Police had the final decision in categorization of an inmate - to be executed by firing or sentenced to prison. On regular weekly sessions, introduced in March 1943, the inmates were being categorized in four categories: I – the most severe, detainees sentenced to execution by firing; II – detainees sentenced to long term prison or forced labor in Germany; III – people who were to be detained in camp until reaching final decision on their further fate; IV – people who were to be handed over to relevant Police authorities or liberated.⁷⁷

The last changes in categorization were made by Milan Nedić, President of the „Government of National Salvation“, based on his act of 15th August 1944. Six categories were established: I – „permanent elimination from society, being totally harmful to law and order...of known communists and traitors, regardless the gender and age“;⁷⁸ II – „longer term elimination from society and eventual transfer to forced labor camps“ of supporters and sympathizers of the Communist movement; III – three months to two years of imprisonment in camp regime for those „who sympathized communists and authorities and all opponents to present situation and order“ and their critics, likewise „criminal individuals, idlers, alcoholics and saboteurs“; IV – both sexes and school youth who needed to be sent to Institute in Smederevska Palanka „for corrections“ due to their activities in supporting communist movement; V – „hostages communists“; VI – „political hostages“.⁷⁹

Inmates were frequently moved from one group to another. Category changed by moving an inmate to another one, mostly meaning more firm sentence or execution of most severe sentence. In some cases, Gestapo used to take over inmates and gave them smaller category than the Commission of Collaboration Authority had categorized them in. As B. Božović noticed, when quoting one such case from the early January 1944, „it showed...that even criteria Gestapo had could be much less radical than those applied by Special Police“.⁸⁰

Zaho, senior police inspector of UGB and Božidar Bećarević, police commissioner. Their deputies came from the same organizational structures. The Commission later changed its composition, consequently its member became Svetozar Vujković in 1943. Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 368–370.

⁷⁷ This category had subcategories. So, the III category was divided in four groups: III-1 young prisoners who were sent to the Institute for reeducation in Smederevska Palanka; III-2 persons under the investigation to be categorized afterwards; III-3 people sent to the camp without any ground and to whom no offence could be proved; III-4 people whom authorities recorded as being most often sympathizers or supporters of the Resistance and were duly sentenced to time sentences to serve in the camp. Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 366, 367, 379.

⁷⁸ The practice hidden behind the euphemism on „permanent elimination from society“ actually meant execution. Execution of under aged persons of both sexes by firing was already part of the practice executed by Occupation and Collaboration authorities.

⁷⁹ This category was reserved for „politically suspicious left-wing members, negative people“, those who receive such individuals and make friends with them and „all others who are considered dangerous for order and peace by the authorities“. Ibid, 376.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 381. Gestapo took over seven arrested persons from the Serbian Police, some of them Gestapo changed II category into I. From this group only Dragica Drobñaković was executed by firing, four female persons were sent to Auswitch, one prisoner was transferred for a forced labor in the Tot organization, one female inmate with a small child was kept detained in the Banjica Camp.

Jews in the Banjica Concentration Camp

Collaboration repressive apparatus also helped in registering, detaining, capturing run-away members of the Jewish community, but their liquidation came into responsibility of relevant German Occupation forces. Nevertheless, the role which armed units of the Collaboration Authorities (Serbian State Guard, Serbian Volunteer Detachment) and domestic Police of the Aćimović's "Commissariat Government" and Nedić's "Government of National Salvation", particularly the VII Unit of the Special Police, had in raids, arrests and detaining of their fellow citizens Jews and their handing over to Occupation organs, marked the shameful episodes in the history of collaborationism in Serbia during the Second World War.⁸¹ Guidelines for such practice and leading role in realization of the "final solution of the Jewish issue" in Serbia provided the Occupation Authority, first and foremost the Gestapo and its Operation Group (Einsatzgruppe), with a network of commands and departments. On the other hand, Holocaust in Serbia had been marked by the active role of Wehrmacht in extinguishing Jews, in addition to mass crimes over Serbian population, "taking over" this task which, in other parts of the occupied Europe, was reserved for the Special SS Units. The arrested Jews were the most numerous among the first great groups of hostages at the execution.⁸²

The Banjica Concentration Camp holds a very important place in the history of Holocaust in Serbia. Not only Jews from Belgrade, but from the other parts of the occupied Serbia and Banat perished in it. Among detained Jews there were those of foreign citizenship, as well as refugees from different European countries who, at the time of the outbreak of the war, found themselves on the territory of the Yugoslav state. The exact number of detained and perished Jews in the Banjica Camp hasn't been determined yet.⁸³

Assessing responsibility for the crimes committed against the Jews and other victims in the Banjica camp, the author has rightfully pointed out that "it is shared among diverse subjects associated with the occupation and collaboration sides, who were involved in various ways and whose 'performance' was of greater or lesser importance and scope. The

⁸¹ See: Ženi Lebl, *To "Final Solution": Jews in Belgrade 1941–1942*, Belgrade, 2001, 287–338.

⁸² See: Venceslav Glišić, *Terror and Crimes of the Nazi Germany in Serbia 1941–1944*, Belgrade, 1970; Walter Manoschek, *Serbien ist judenfrei. Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941–42*, München, 1993; Hennes Herr und Klaus Naumann (Hg.), *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944*, Hamburg, 1995; Christofer Browning, *The Fateful Months. Essay on the Emergency of the Final Solution*, New York, 1985; Ženi Lebl, *To "Final Solution": Jews in Belgrade 1941–1942*, Belgrade, 2001, 287–338.

⁸³ Branislav Božović, *Martyr of Jews*, 300, 301. The existing literature quotes some estimation of about 900 persons of Jewish nationality detained in the Banjica camp, of both sexes and all ages. Parallel to this, there are other figures which present that 688 persons of Jewish nationality were detained in the camp, that 382 were murdered, 186 were transferred to the camp in Zemun, 103 detainees were taken over by SS, Gestapo, etc. According to estimations of B. Božović, overall number of Jewish detainees and victims "was bigger for 100 to 200" than the number registered so far.

decisive saying and the function of the executor had the Gestapo and the German Army. As for the Collaborators, who had been given a side and auxiliary role, the main part of the responsibility for collaboration in those crimes lies on the Special Police”⁸⁴

Victims, escapes, numerals...

The most brutal methods of torture applied during the interrogation processes, often with fatal outcome, cruelty as the usual behavior towards detainees, plunder of their assets upon their arrival in the camp, blackmailing and extortion of valuable possessions and money from the families, seizure of food which family sent, horrible sanitary situation, lack of space and deprivation of last remaining of privacy, represented some “commonplace” of life conditions of those inmates in the Banjica Concentration Camp who, after the “classification” escaped liquidation.⁸⁵

Banjica camp, regardless everything said above, was the place of strong opposition, of political and ideological partition among the camp inhabitants, urged by the camp administration through its agent provocateurs.⁸⁶ Executions of inmates had been done in the camp itself, but most of executions by firing or hanging had been done in execution sites outside Belgrade.⁸⁷ Determining the precise number of Banjica detainees who perished fatally is difficult due to documentation which dates back from the time when the camp was active (imprecise, wrong and incomplete data, etc., which indicates the attitude of the camp authorities towards lives of those who had been unfortunate enough to find themselves among the walls of this camp).⁸⁸

Data provided by the Commission for determining crimes of occupation authorities and domestic traitors indicated 8.756 victims, but some groups, which were taken away from the camp and executed, had not been included. In the documentation of the same Commission exists a list with data collected for 4.600 persons who were killed as detainees of the Banjica Concentration camp. In any case, it is a very high percentage of killed persons.⁸⁹ A part of former Banjica Camp detainees lost their lives after being transported to Nazi camps outside Serbia or died due to illnesses and hard life conditions caused by forced labor, or during the Ally bombardment or some other causes. Part of the tragic history of the Banjica camp was the attempt of the Occupation Authority to excavate and burn the bodies of those executed at the execution site in Jajinci in

⁸⁴ Ibid, 308.

⁸⁵ On life condition in the Camp see: S. Begović, *Banjica Camp, 1941–1944*, 2, Belgrade, 1989.

⁸⁶ See, for example, memories of Ivan Svetel, inmate who survived, in: National Liberation Movement in Belgrade 1941–1944 in memories of their participants, Belgrade, 1974, 150–157.

⁸⁷ In Jajinci, Jabuka, Marinkova bara, Skela, Sajmište, Kumodražki atar, Mladenovac... Ibid, 108 onwards.

⁸⁸ S. Begović, *Banjica Camp*, 2, 119–123.

⁸⁹ On plans for construction of crematorium on Sajmište and Banjica sites, see: S. Begović, n.d., 2, 242–243.

order to destroy the physical evidences of their mass crimes and genocide practice in large open bonfires.⁹⁰

Detainees were used for works outside the camp, in the town or its vicinity (digging up channels, clearing off ruins); as the shortage of manpower became more and more vivid, some groups had been directed further away (to field work in South Banat area in spring 1943). Work in the open or in hospitals offered possibility for escape. It was recorded that only three convicts successfully escaped from the execution site in Jajinci. Some successful escapes were helped from outside camp - rescuing of Mitra Mitrović and Natalija Hadžić, who escaped from the General State Hospital in August 1941 helped by the Belgrade organization of Communist Party; Neško Nedić, Nikola Pašić, Ilija Orelj, officers from the group belonging to Ravna Gora Movement at the beginning of October 1943; other escapes were made possible by bribing guards or simply by using the situation of inattention and carelessness; many escapes had been unsuccessful with fatal outcomes.⁹¹

Statistics in the “Books of evidences” – Sketch for a group portrait of inmates in the Banjica Concentration Camp⁹²

A process of dehumanization always precedes a crime executed in a concentration camp. Victims are deprived of individual identity. They are singled out to an individual or more often to a group which was deprived of the status of human beings, thus they are to be murdered. People are leveled down to “things” which can be used and wiped out”. There are numbers, figures in the camp records and statistics, which the camp agents sloppy “recorded” and as easy, without scrupulous and negligence “unrecorded”. Human lives, names, images, professions, destinies, ages, experiences simply become a “camp number” which is easy to delete, cross out, wipe out, and forget. That’s how crime emerges, always planned and prepared in advance. The existence of intention irrefutably witnesses that the crime has been committed wittingly. Crime is committed by a person whose psychological consciousness is distorted by

⁹⁰ Burning at stakes of the victim corpses was being executed since 6th November 1943 to 2nd April 1944. Ibid. 243–251. The German 64th Battalion performed the executions by firing in Jajinci since October 1941 until late summer 1942. Later on, various occupational units did the executions. Ibid. 16, 117. On bonfires in Jajinci approximately 68.000 corpses had been burned, some 1.400 remained unburned. Ž. Lebl, n.d., 312.

⁹¹ S. Begović, n.d., 2, 217–242.

⁹² Statistical and graphical processing of the data registered in the “Banjica books of evidences” was done by Vladimir Bulajić and Srdjan Orestijević in cooperation with Vladimir Mijatović, Jelena Nikolić, Slobodan Mandić, Jelena Jovanović and Isidora Stojanović.

fanaticism – racial, political, ideological, national, and industrial. It comprises revenge, complex, flatter, sadism, power off, displaced of those unwanted, redemption, primitivism and material gain, fear... A list of human weaknesses is unacceptably long, and almost all of them participate in crime. Crime is at the same time a punishment, a well-organized and institutionalized act.

One must start from a number in an attempt to give back the individual identity to the victims of the Beograd-Banjica Concentration Camp. The last number entered in the Banjica Books of evidences was 23.637. After the ordinal number the following data are added: name and surname, profession, date and place of birth, name of parents, marital status, place of living, sometimes nationality, parental status, punitive status (if registered detainee had been punished or was under the investigation). Number of questions asked was not standardized, so the number of pieces of information which are "hidden" behind the camp ordinal numbers are not always complete. The "insufficient" and not always exact data frame the "former life" of a detainee. Along with those data, and again without excessive words, important details of someone's life which "begins" with the arrival to the camp – arrival date, institution which brought him in the camp, status – "executed by firing", "killed", "taken away", "transferred to camp", "deported", "returned upon request", "liberated"... In few rows, speedy and sloppily written after the number, the past had been recorded, the present and the future, if future happened after all.

"Numbers", "names", "dates", written in sequence, tell about people merged into a crowd with contours hardly recognizable, classified in groups, transports, columns which disappeared behind the high wall and barbwire of the Banjica Concentration Camp. Numbers written in the camp books of evidence and the experience got in the concentration camp make that "common denominator" which connects thousands of completely different fates, images, convictions, ambitions, age and professional orientations into one whole. Mostly, those are the names of common people, inhabitants "of the lower layers of history" convicted for a too long period to curse of being "summarized", of undifferentiated observation and cold "mathematical" statement which suppressed multitude of individuals and different destinies, even deeper into anonymity of numbers. That kind of "anonymity" has its source in the history itself, in the processes whose victims are heroes of this publication. "Numbers", "names", "professions", "destinies"... a starting point and a distressing testimony at the same time, without which the years in the Second World War in Serbia, Yugoslavia, Balkans cannot be understood, neither could consider harmful ideology of Nazism, nor explain the institution of a concentration camp.

The regretful experience of the XX century gave birth to a pattern of repression over civilian population, members of the racial, ethnic and religious groups, political opponents and the common people accepted the term "concentration camp" in their everyday vocabulary in all languages

in the world. In the vocabulary of a historian a “concept” presents an idea which endeavors to comprehend and express what one historical event, phenomenon or process means and represents. As such, they comprise a substantial and constituent element of objective comprehension of the past and historical opinion by which the past, as something that does not exist any longer, becomes a part of our life experience. History is therefore accessible to a mind, essentially exists in human consciousness, and forms of its contents acquired by comprehension. Normal human mind can imagine the acts of brutality comprised in the expression “concentration camp” solely by enormous effort; likewise, numbers, along with other things, can help rationally to explain the very phenomenon of the expression it stands for. Exposed in sequence, numbers become implacable conveyors of messages on past times, on times and “technology of crime” which produced millions of victims. Numbers in the Banjica Books of evidence thus become empiric pattern which can help us study numerous and much broader social phenomena characteristic for the Second World War, XX century and a great mystery of the human nature.

History needs not to be “turned” into specifically quantified social science and it can’t be done. Nevertheless, mass phenomena in history, among them a phenomenon of concentration camps, can be explained in various aspects with legitimate use of quantification data. Thus, the number becomes not only useful, but necessary for a historian who endeavors to rationalize the phenomenon he researches. Number, its comparison, registration, change, frequency, size determination, structure review, tendencies of development and processes, essentially contributes the phenomenon to be more precisely determined, described and explained in verified empiric level. At the same time, the analysis of the comparable sequences of numbers and groups of data helps historian to understand and put in broader context not easily comprehended historical phenomenon such is the “concentration camp”.

Testimony of Incomplete Numbers

Numbers in the Banjica Books of evidence are not entirely precise. We will rather define them as incomplete, surely not as absolute, least of all as final. Yet, these are the only numbers that are available to researchers and much more reliable than free estimations and biddings arising from the intentions to uncritically increase or decrease a total number of detained and killed people in the Banjica Concentration Camp, depending on the political and ideological beliefs of a person who pronounces his judgment of past.

If history does not have numbers, they need to be invented. Those words of Fernand Braudel matter, because when numbers are entered into numerous historical events and processes only then historiography

becomes measurable and conceivable. We didn't have to invent numbers! We endeavored to come closer to truth by using data which the Banjica Books of evidence offer, being deeply conscious of the fact that the existing numbers may not be entirely accurate, in some percentage or figures. Nevertheless, we are positive that errors we eventually have made are not the product of "beyond scientific" or "politically correct" interpretation of past events, but rather the result of our efforts to find out the truth and make it public. Hence, we believe that the results we report herewith will not be the new violence nor new insult of the Banjica Concentration Camp victims.

The first detainees came into the Banjica Camp on 9th July 1941. In present days no one can say with certainty how many detainees really had "passed" through that institution until 3rd October 1944, when it was dissolved. In the existing literature the numbers fluctuate in the range from 30.000 to 80.000 people. Nevertheless, with certainty we can accept the opinion of the historians who, based on the research done, estimate that the number of those who experienced the horrors of the Banjica Camp, had been within the range from 25.000 to 30.000 and that "that number could not overpass the number of 30.000 people in greater extent".⁹³

The most important and most reliable resource for determining a number and structure of the Banjica Camp detainees are the books of personal data of the detainees in the Banjica Concentration Camp. There are seven preserved and one reconstructed books in which the Camp authorities registered the newcomers. According to these books, the last recorded number was 23.637. However, this often quoted data raises doubts and requires additional and more precise explanation. The researchers have already noted that some of the ordinal numbers had been duplicated (behind the number 62 the same number had been registered with "a" added to it), some names of the detainees had been registered twice or had been corrected, as well as there had been a disorder in a sequence of numbers between 1.640a and 1.699a. Archivists in the

⁹³ S. Begovic, *Banjica Camp 1941-1944*, I, Belgrade, 1989, 74-76. The author notes that some groups of detainees had been kept very shortly in the Camp ("usually over night to be executed the following day") and had not been recorded in the Camp Books at all. There exists the testimony of two surviving witnesses on the "unregistered group of people" who had been brought to Banjica Camp from the Gestapo in-house prison and stayed there for just a few hours before they were executed by firing on 8th December 1942 in Jajinci. Also, there are several testimonies of Banjica camp survivors that, from time to time, the Camp "was being filled in during the night time, and as early as dawn emptied" and that such groups of arrested and later executed people had not been registered in the Camp records. Based on the comparative analysis of the sources that are stored in the Historical Archives of Belgrade (archival fonds BdS) S. Begovic determined that in the "Banjica Books" the following numbers of people had not been registered at all: 88 people brought from Šabac and the environment, 126 from Kraljevo and its surroundings, 30 from prison in Čačak, 15 from Leposavić, 25 from Požarevac, 12 from Novi Pazar and Višegrad, 8 from the camp in Niš. Along with that, he also noticed that the historical sources have also contained "names or small groups" from Aleksandrovac, Arandelovac, Belgrade, Brčko, Bitola, Bečkerek, Bogovađa, Bela Palanka, Valjevo, Velika Plana, Duba, Donji Milanovac, Dubrovnik, Žiča, Zvornik, Zaječar, Kruševac, Kosovska Mitrovica, Loznica, Mali Požarevac and Sisak that had not been recorded in the Camp Books. In the Camp documentation the foreigners had not been recorded also - "more than 30 Greeks, Albanians, and more than thirty internees brought from the Italian camps, via Ljubljana after the capitulation of Italy." Defendant S. Vujković and B. Bečarević never challenged the fact that in the Banjica Camp more people than recorded in the Camp Books had actually been detained.

Historical Archives of Belgrade, after reviewing the data, have noticed that the police agents, responsible for recording and keeping the Camp documentation, had put after the ordinal number 3.759 the following number 3.860. In addition to this, a few minor “skip overs”, most probably done because of the negligence, which additionally testify that they looked down upon those people, who had simply been leveled down to mere numbers, in the Camp Books appeared 105 numbers more in comparison to the number of registered names (so called “dropped off numbers”). The precise analyses of the contents which accompany the ordinal numbers point out that in fact there are 23.593 recorded detainees. However, this is not the final number of people detained in the Camp. By crisscrossing of “names and surnames of the detainees, names of their fathers and mothers, it has been proved a fact that 331 detainees had been detained twice, while 9 persons had been brought in the Camp and registered three times. This estimation shows that the total number of people in the Banjica Camp registered in the “Books” must be decreased for 349 (308 males and 41 female persons), and comes up to 23.244. With another words, the above mentioned analyses of the “Banjica Books of evidence” confirms that there are 23.637 ordinal numbers under which the detainees had been registered, but when all the errors have been corrected, the Books register 23.593 persons brought in the Camp and testify that there had been detained 23.244 different persons. Is it possible to make a “group portrait” of detainees in the Banjica Camp? The preserved Camp Books (directories, lists of persons) decipher some of the questions, but yet, a number of questions remain “open”.

Offenders and Guilt

What was the guilt of the Banjica Concentration Camp detainees? Offensive actions had classified them into several main groups: political offenders, criminals, offenders by origin, prevented detainees, etc. The categories of detainees mentioned above had been arrested upon various reasons. The group of “political offenders” was the most numerous. It was comprised of prewar communists, distinguished Party members, politicians whose reliability was suspected, soldiers and sympathizers of People’s Liberation Movement (PLM), followers of the Ravna Gora movement, members of liberation movements and military units in other countries, critically oriented intellectuals, patriots who had not been ready to accept the state of occupation and collaboration “of any kind”. Villagers made a special group of detainees who hadn’t realized their obligation to provide the Occupation authorities with the surpluses of grain and other products. Their actions were qualified as economic crime and diversion. Jews and Gypsies were numerous among those detained in the Banjica camp because of the “racial origin”. “Guilty without guilt” who found themselves in the Banjica camp were local residents in

areas which had been attacked by the Occupation offensives and punitive actions, undertaken with the aim to destroy National Liberation and Ravna Gora movements. Family members of “those who escaped in forests” were being arrested and detained in the capacity of hostages. Among detainees there were those convicted of criminal acts, black marketers, and smugglers, people who disrespected the “regulations” of the Occupation Authority and kept breaking them. They all had the status of persons to whom reprisal might be applied. At the beginning, these measures had been executed without “classification” according to the weight of the guilt. In the spring 1942, Nedić issued the order “on categorization of people in camps and prisons” into three categories of prisoners. “To determine” the categorization meant either death or hope that one might live. Researches showed that categorization of prisoners hadn’t always been fully respected, thus, people of the “third category” could be found among executed ones, and convicts of the “first category” among the survivals.⁹⁴

National and Gender Status of Detainees

To which nationalities the detainees of the Banjica Concentration Camp belonged? No valid nor reliable response is possible. In 94,83% cases the nationality as a data was not recorded. On the basis of additional data, derived from the analysis of places of birth, names and surnames and names of parents, we can confirm with great certainty that the majority of 22.373 detainees belonged to the Serbian nationality, though there were Gypsies, Croats and other nationalities and ethnic groups, too.⁹⁵ Hence, any further attempt to determine the precise number and percentage related to nationality of detainees is doomed to fail or bid. Even more so, in 5, 17% of detainees with recorded nationality, 19 different nationalities were recognized. Out of the determined numbers (total of 1.220 detainees with registered nationality) Jews made majority (703 or 2,98%), and that particular nationality the Camp authorities devotedly endeavored to record. However, the indicated percentage does not point to the final number of Jews who had been detained in Banjica

⁹⁴ S.Begović, *Ibid*, 74-80. According to Nedić’s Categorization, the first category of prisoners made those persons who had to be “permanently eliminated from society” or transfer to camps where they would be exposed to hard physical labor. People categorized in the first category were actually convicted to death. Distinguished prewar communists and Jews belonged to this category. The second category made prisoners who were considered “political delinquents” who were to be transferred to camps on “indefinite period”, taken for hostages and sent to “hard forced labor”. To third category belonged persons who should be sent to a camp for definite period from three months to two years and forced labor. “The Order on Categorization of people in camps” was amended in 1943 by more precise explanations which added subcategories. Prior to leaving Serbia, the Nedić’s Government made a new categorization of “offenders” by which first category offenders were to be “permanently eliminated from society”, second category awaited “elimination on a longer period”, third and fourth categories “detention from three months to two years”. The fourth and the fifth categories were reserved for hostages.

⁹⁵ According to estimations of S. Begović, with which we can broadly agree, the Serbs made 88% of all detained persons in Banjica Camp.

Camp. In the directory of detainees there were persons with recognizable Jews names and surnames transported from other parts of Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Greece and those who earlier had escaped from Austria and Germany, but their nationality was not registered. In the existing analyses they are sided by those detainees doomed for eternal "national anonymity".

Nationality	Total	Percentage
Jews	703	2,98%
Serbs	354	1,50%
Gypsies	56	0,24%
Croats	41	0,17%
Others	66	0,28%
No data	22.373	94,83%

Review of the nationality status of detainees (compared to overall number of those transferred – 23.593)

Nationality	Total	Percentage
Jews	703	57,62%
Serbs	354	29,02%
Gypsies	56	4,59%
Croats	41	3,36%
Others	66	5,41%

Review of the nationality status of detainees with registered nationality (total of 1.220)

Data on the gender structure of detainees in the Banjica Camp are much more precise. Male detainees dominated with the total number of 20.789 or 89,44%. Banjica Books recorded the presence of 2.455 female or 10,56% of the total number of all detainees.

Gender	Total	Percentage
Male	20.789	89,44%
Female	2.455	10,56%

Review of gender status of detainees (total of 23.244)

Data on marital status of detainees are very valuable. They expose that 28.75% of those brought into the Camp had not been married. In that category, the generation of detainees under the age of 21, who failed to

start the families due to their ages and war conditions made 25,45% out of overall number. The fact that only 152 or 0.64% of the overall detainees were divorced also attracts attention.

Marital status	Total	Percentage
Married	12.519	53,06%
Unmarried	6.784	28,75%
Widow/widower	412	1,75%
Divorced	152	0,64%
No Data	3.726	15,79%

Marital status of detainees (in comparison to overall number of detainees – 23.593)

Review of detainees by place of birth

It is important to find out where from the detainees of the Banjica Camp came from. According to data available, 92,20% of overall detainees brought in the Banjica Camp had been born in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. 5,77% were born abroad, while for 2,03% detainees it was not possible to determine where they came from.

Born in	Total	Percentage
Yugoslavia	21.753	92,20%
abroad	1.361	5,77%
No data	479	2,03%

Review of detainees' status by place of birth (compared to overall number of detained people – 23.593)

Analysis of the "Banjica Books" shows that the "intestins" of the Camp had been devouring people born in each part of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Victims of the Banjica Camp had been born in as much as 311 different districts of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia and originated from approximately 4.800 different settlements (cities, small towns and villages). This was additionally affected by the wave of population displacement, mostly of the Serbian nationality, which, after the military break down, dissolution of the Yugoslav state and formation of the Independent State of Croatia, endeavored hardly to come to Serbia. Related to places of birth, the majority of detained persons originated from the territories of former Dunavska Banovina (3.143 or 14,45%), and the least of them came from the regions that belonged to the former Dravska Banovina (103 or 0,47%). These data additionally explain that the Banjica

Camp in early days of its existence had seized to be the concentration camp for detainees and hostages from the Military Command for Belgrade only, but had been accepting detainees from the broader areas of Serbia, later from the Balkans, too.⁹⁶

Banovina /Region	Total	Percentage
Savska	59	18,97%
Dunavska	54	17,36%
Moravska	39	12,54%
Drinska	35	11,25%
Vardarska	33	10,61%
Zetska	30	9,65%
Vrbaska	25	8,04%
Dravska	19	6,11%
Primorska	17	5,47%

Districts and regions (banovine) in which the detainees had been born (total 311)

In the Banjica Camp were also detained persons born in Vienna, Valona (Vlora), Budapest, Ioannina, Thessaloniki, Warsaw, Odessa, Trieste, Timisoara, Paris, Istanbul, Sofia, Naples, Kharkov, Florence, Sevastopol, Rijeka, Chicago, London, Geneva, Berlin and about 300 other cities in 17 different countries.⁹⁷ How it happened that variety of people to end up within the walls of the Banjica camp remains to be explored and to consider individual fates of those detainees. However, it is safe to say that the Banjica camp was the institution of special importance for Occupation and Quisling governments in ever restless Serbia. As such, it had an important place in the network of concentration and collection camps with which the architects of the new German world order "covered" the space of the former Yugoslav state (a total of 71 camps and 329 prisons).

⁹⁶ Until the end of August 1941 the Banjica Camp was administrated by Military Command of Belgrade, and after that period by the Military Commander of Serbia, General Dankelman, thus covering a broader area of Serbia. S. Begović, *Ibid*, 68.

⁹⁷ Detainees born in Austria, Albania, Hungary, SSSR, Greece, Poland, Italy, Romania, France, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, USA, Germany, Great Britain, Swiss and Belgium.

Banovina (Region)	Total	Percentage
Dunavska	7.475	34,36%
Drinska	4.953	22,77%
Moravska	3.143	14,45%
Vardarska	1.216	5,59%
Zetska	887	4,08%
Savska	783	3,60%
Vrbaska	461	2,12%
Primorska	229	1,05%
Dravska	103	0,47%
City Administration of Belgrade	1.010	4,64%
Others ⁹⁸	1.493	6,86%

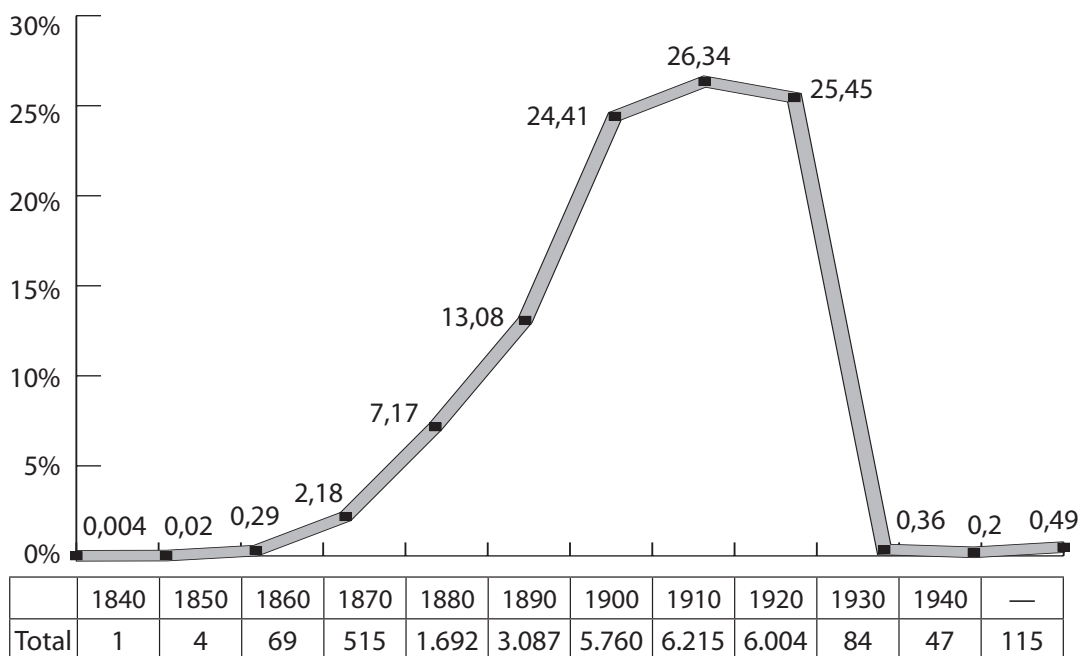
Detainees with the registered places of birth by Banovinas / Regions (Total 21.573)

Detainees by age groups

The Banjica Concentration Camp was the biggest „reservoir of hostages“ in occupied Serbia in the course of 1941–1944. The oldest detainee, as recorded in the Banjica Books of evidence, was born 1843, the youngest 1944.⁹⁹ These data indicate the absence of any selectivity in the choice of hostages, a brutality of the Occupation authority and a nature of the repressive regime administrated in Serbia. Generation born between 1900 and 1919, at the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, was old between 20 and 40 years and as such made 50,76% of overall detained persons. Likewise, numerous was the population born between 1920 and 1929 (made 25,45% in the structure of detained persons), and between 1890 and 1899 (13,08%). Generally speaking, people younger than 50 years of age made 89.29% of all detainees in the Banjica Camp. Those were the generations in the best working and reproductive age.

⁹⁸ Less known or wrongly entered names of places which could not been located in the directories of settlements in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

⁹⁹ The oldest detainee was Vuksan Jovanović (No. 14.861, a former bookseller from Valjevo, who was brought to Camp on 3rd July 1943 and released on 23rd March 1944. In the Camp hospital a lot of children were born. The youngest among them was Slobodanka Marković (No. 23.579), born 11th September 1944, and was released together with mother on 22nd September 1944.

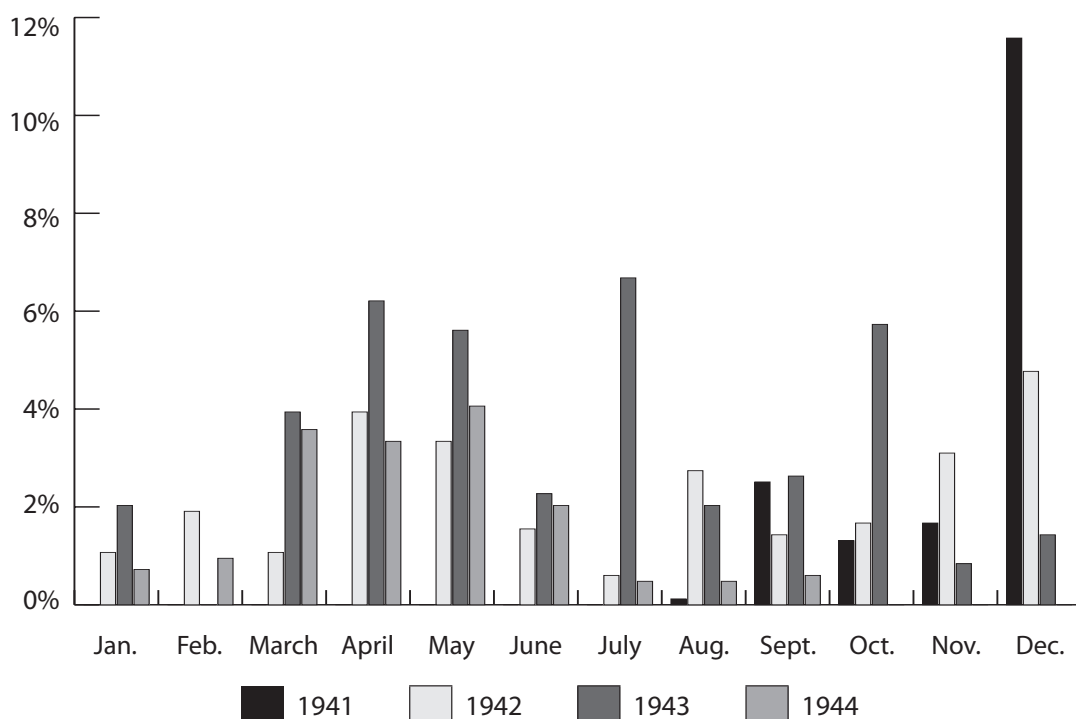


Review of age status of detainees by decades in which they were born (compared to overall number of detainees – 23.593)

Second World War experience introduced the existence of camps for children in the territories of Yugoslavia. The Banjica Concentration Camp had not been one of them, but the Banjica Books witness that since the moment of their arrival, there lived 838 persons under the age of 18. That category of detainees made 3,61% of overall number of detainees.

Month	1941		1942		1943		1944	
January			9	1,07%	17	2,03%	6	0,72%
February			16	1,91%			8	0,95%
March			9	1,07%	33	3,94%	30	3,58%
April			33	3,94%	52	6,21%	28	3,34%
May			28	3,34%	47	5,61%	34	4,06%
June			13	1,55%	19	2,27%	17	2,03%
July			5	0,60%	56	6,68%	4	0,48%
August	1	0,12%	23	2,74%	17	2,03%	4	0,48%
September	21	2,51%	12	1,43%	22	2,63%	5	0,60%

October	11	1,31%	14	1,67%	48	5,73%		
November	14	1,67%	26	3,10%	7	0,84%		
December	97	11,58%	40	4,77%	12	1,43%		
By the year	144	17,18%	228	27,21%	330	39,38%	136	16,23%



Detainees under the age of 18 by the months in which they were brought in the Camp (total 838)

„The Banjica Books“ registered the following structure of children under the age of 18 at the moment of their arrival to the Camp - 74 or 8,83% younger than 7 years of age, 32 or 3,82% were in the age between 8 to 12, and 732 or 87,35% between 13 and 17 years of age. Small babies born in the war years were being brought to the Camp together with their mothers. Seventeen¹⁰⁰ women had been sent from the Camp to the detention ward of the General State Hospital to deliver their babies and one

¹⁰⁰ Herewith we give their names: Ivanka Nedić (№ 105), Ivanka Muačević (№ 1.105), Anka Kumanudi (№ 4.668), Radmila Rajković (№ 869), Bosiljka Petrović (№ 4.627), Nadežda Janković (№ 4.527), Piroška Hodžić (№ 5.287), Draginja-Dada Konstantinović (№ 4.757), Jovanka Jovanović (№ 15.517), Julija Popović (№ 11.078), Nadežda Radović (№ 15.905), Jelica Milutinović (№ 16.351), Bosiljka Kraljević (№ 13.586), Ljubica Jovičić (№ 15.958), Milena – Lidija Šuput (№ 11.911), Đovanina Magud (№ 20.547) and Radomirka Marković.

of them gave birth to her baby inside the Camp.¹⁰¹ Three women were released from the hospital, one escaped, seven of them had been brought back to the Camp.¹⁰² They were exposed to torture and interrogations during their pregnancies and likewise after birth-deliveries, four of them were executed by firing only few weeks after delivering babies.¹⁰³ Babies, taken away from their mothers, were most often returned to their families or given to the Orphanage under the administration of Belgrade Association of Mothers.

Age of life	Total	Percentage
7 and under	74	8,83%
8–12	32	3,82%
13–17	732	87,35%

Children under the age of 18 (total 838)

In the category of detainees younger than 18 years, 124 of them perished. Out of that number, one child was old only seven months, while others had been between 13 and 17 years of age.¹⁰⁴

Social Structure and Occupation of Detainees

The Banjica Camp Authority had registered the occupation of detainees with great precision. Having that aspect in view, the „Banjica Books“, represent the very important resource for reviewing social and society segments of that part of occupied Serbia, which, according to assessment of Occupation Authorities themselves, was considered hostile towards them. 11.042 people were „engaged in agriculture“, which made 46,80% out of total number of detainees. Nevertheless, a number of detainees in the Banjica Camp who had lived in villages cultivating the land, considerably deviated from the social structure of the Serbian society. Data on the professional and social structure of the population, based on the

¹⁰¹ Radomirka Marković gave birth on 11th September 1944. She was not registered in the book, but the newborn female baby Slobodanka was (No. 23.579). After eleven days they were both discharged from the Camp.

¹⁰² Piroška Hodžić and Jelica Milutinović and their children were discharged from the hospital; Ivanka Muačević escaped with her baby; The following women and their children were returned to the Camp: Jovanka Jovanović with her daughter Slobodanka (No. 15.518), Nadežda Radović with her daughter Dušica (No. 15.906), Bosiljka Kraljević with her daughter Slobodanka (No. 21.671), Ljubica Jovičić with her son Jovan (No. 21.672), Desanka Milićević with her daughter Dušica (No. 21.670), Lidija – Milena Šuput with her daughter Vesna (No. 22.686) and Đovanina Magud with her daughter Marija (No. 22.683).

¹⁰³ The following women were executed: Radmila Rajković, Nadežda Janković, Draginja Konstantinović i Lidija – Milena Šuput (who after returning to the Camp with the baby was again taken to the hospital wherefrom to the execution site).

¹⁰⁴ The youngest among the perished children was Gracija Gaon, born 24th March 1942, perished 7th October 1942 (No. 7.251). Among other children, Rut Kaufman (No. 6.982) was old only 19 months, Ida Jankelović (No. 8.604) 26 months, Lili Koen (No. 13.695) 31 months, Šandor Gaon (No. 7.250) 40 months, etc.

1921 and 1931 censuses, indubitably showed that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the households in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia lived on agriculture (78,23% of population in 1921 and 76,58% in 1931). When we review regions from which the majority of detainees in the Banjica Camp originated, the percentage was even higher (according to 1931 census, Drinska Banovina made 82,31%, Dunavska banovina 74,71%, Moravska banovina 85,82%). Thus, it could be concluded that particular category was considerably less represented in the structure of detainees in the Banjica Camp.¹⁰⁵

Occupation	Percentage
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	46,80%
Industry, Mining, Energy	4,93%
Crafts, Construction	14,63%
Commerce, Credits, Transportation	6,40%
Public Services, Order Enforcement Authorities, „freelancers“	9,18%
Education, University	5,72%
Retired persons	1,29%
Other	10,17%
No Data	0,88%

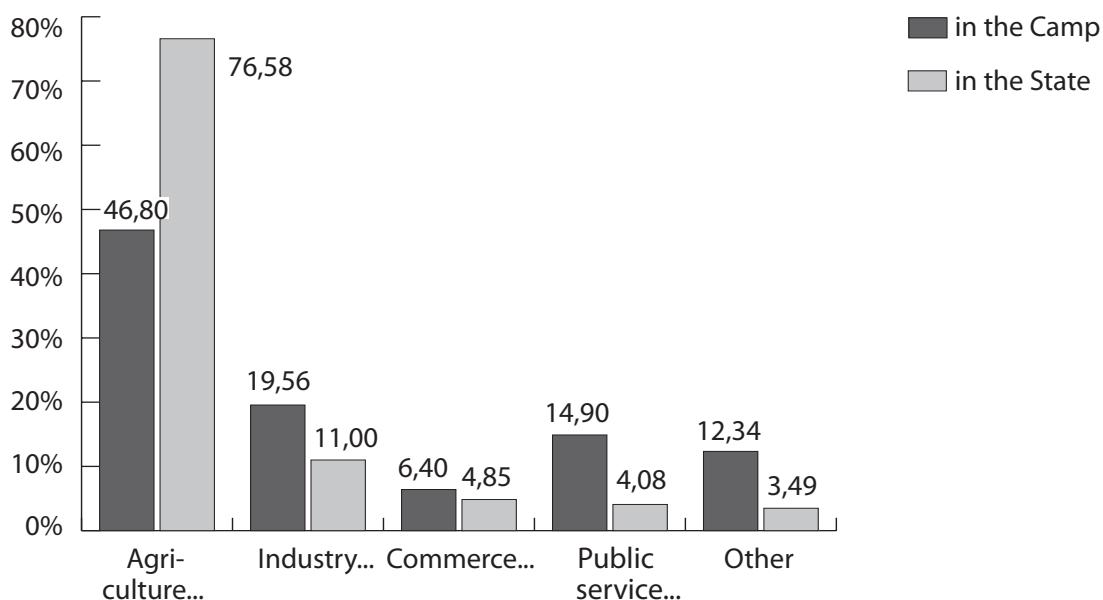
Social structure of detainees (compared to overall number of detained persons – 23.593)

Data on people employed in industry and crafts showed that this category of population, among those of detained in the Banjica Camp, made

¹⁰⁵ Overall population by classes and occupation in Banovina regions in 1931. Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. 3. 1931. godine, IV, Prisutno stanovništvo prema glavnom zanimanju, Sarajevo, 1940, VII–IX. /*Final results of census of 31st March 1931. IV, Present population according to main occupation, Sarajevo, 1940, VII–IX.*

Percentage per classes and occupation	Dravska	Drinska	Dunavska	Moravska	Primorska	Savska	Vardarska	Vrbaska	Zetska	City Administration of Belgrade / UGB/	Total
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	60,28	82,31	74,71	85,82	83,53	75,33	78,03	88,16	81,96	3,53	76,58
Industry and Craft	22,15	7,78	13,47	7,22	6,39	12,08	8,41	5,19	5,63	33,35	11,00
Commerce, Credits, Transportation	6,82	3,97	5,19	2,55	4,09	5,13	4,40	3,19	4,07	21,13	4,85
Public Services, Freelancers, Army	4,64	3,45	3,99	2,72	3,51	3,72	4,38	2,01	4,73	21,32	4,08
Other	6,11	2,49	2,64	1,69	2,48	3,74	3,78	1,45	3,61	20,67	3,49

19,56% (14,63% employed in crafts and 4,93% in industry). Simultaneously, this category participated in the social structure of the Yugoslav society with 11%, while in the areas wherefrom a large number of detainees came from, participated with 10,47% (Drinska banovina 7,78%, Dunavska banovina 13,47%, Moravska banovina 7,22%). Only the population coming from the territory of the City Administration of Belgrade, represented 4,64% of detainees (overall 1.010), made 33,35% of the category of those employed in industry and craft, when referred to their social features. Analyses show that the category of industry workers (made 4,93% of overall detainees) was represented with two times less percentage in the Camp than in the society. Thus, this research confirms that the industrial workers had not been the main opposition to the Occupation regime and that the Party presentation of „industry worker as an Avant garde of the society“ during the Second World War proved to be a stereotype which had no standpoint in the reality.¹⁰⁶



Detainees by „classes and occupation“

It is important to notice that the category of persons employed in commerce, credits and transportation, public services, army, freelancing occupation and education was represented in the Banjica Camp with as much as 21,30%. But, in the Yugoslav society this category participated with only 8,93%.¹⁰⁷ With other words, part of the intellectual elite had been one of the „target groups“ to which the Occupation Authority

¹⁰⁶ Overall population by classes and occupation in Banovina regions in 1931. *Definitivni rezultati popisa...*, Sarajevo, 1940, VII–IX.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

expressed distrust and considered opponent. In the society which didn't have a classic aristocracy and the intellectual elite held the leadership position in the society, terror and its brutal nature exercised on this category of population additionally explained the basic aims of formation and existence of the Banjica Camp.

Occupations essentially contribute to the perception of „a group portrait“ of Banjica Concentration Camp detainees. That portrait is very complex and stratified and, as Banjica Books revealed, over 400 different professions had been registered, and each profession brought its own uniqueness and shade. Majority of Banjica Camp detainees were farmers (10.942), but along with them agronomists (23), veterinarians (9), and forestry engineers (9) were arrested, too. In the category of industrial workers (782), there were craftsmen employed in the industry (toolmakers, locksmiths, metalsmiths, smelters, turners and printing mechanists – overall 250), and industrials, too (33). Among craftsmen (3.161), most numerous were tailors (456), shoemakers, cobblers and slipper-makers (375), locksmiths (318), carpenters (296), innkeepers (203), blacksmiths and farriers (163) bakers (136), butchers (119), waiters (118) electricians (107), house painters (97). The art of wood carving was known to carpenters, wheelers, basket weavers, cask makers. Grinders, copper caldrons, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, pottery makers manufactured products made of metal. Leather goods were manufactured by tanners, furriers, saddlers, gloves makers, handbag makers. There were advertisers, zinc engravers, graphic artists i.e. typographers, engravers, bookbinders, lithographers, type casters, type founder, typesetters, artistic type painters. In the Banjica Camp were detained aero and auto mechanics, gunsmiths, watchmakers. Along with them there were detained local food and drinks makers, like: bosa-drink, burek pie, ćevapčići and sweets makers, makaroni makers, flour-millers, brewers, brandy makers, club-soda and wine producers, pastry and bonbon makers, coffee grinders and coffee makers. The secrets of manufacturing textile were known to tailors, dyers, chemical dyers, weavers, carding rollers. Among detainees were also persons who had been engaged in service businesses, like barbers, chimney sweepers, photographers, hair dressers, hired coachmen, upholsterers, manicurers and masseurs, stonecutters, umbrella makers, brash and combmakers, soapmakers, ropemakers, goldsmiths, candlemakers. There were people engaged in construction business, like builders of metal frameworks, asphalt workers, well diggers, brickmakers, plaster workers, metalsmiths, cobblestone pavers, installers, floor-makers, stove makers, basement workers, grinders, window makers, welders, masons, plumbers, bricklayers, but also civil engineers (3), architects (6) and entrepreneurs (6). Numerous were those who had been very familiar with the trade business – directors, exporters and trade agents, shippers, grocers, wine and grain traders, milk producers, green-grocers, pharmacists, bookshoppers, sellers of every kind (caramel, fish, live stock, timber, leather, tobacco, flowers, shoes and newspapers). In the Banjica Camp were detained bankers (2), bank directors (11), bank

workers, bookkeepers, cashiers, finance agents. There were also shipowners, river traffic officers, ship captains, seamen, shipmen and boatmen. Even public services employees had been arrested, like heads of the traffic directorates, railways supervisors, agents of railway guard, workers of Directorate of Trams and Lights, post officers, air-force officers, locomotion drivers, switchmen, warehouse keepers, telegraphers, stokers, postmen, telephone operators, coachmen, coach drivers, road maintenance workers. Employees in many state institutions – from the Court to the ministries and regional offices, commune directorates and city offices. Inside the Banjica Camp also were detained 597 military persons – infantries, artillery men, border guards, engineers, members of cavalry units, navy, aviation, medical units. Army generals (2), colonels (7), lieutenant colonel (4) and majors (29), captains (144), lieutenants (77), second lieutenants (42), corporals in various ranks, soldiers, members of the Serbian State Guard (97), Serbian Field Guard (15), members of the foreign armies (British, Italian, Greek, German – 15) were registered to be inside the Banjica Camp. Besides the military men, 211 people employed in the police were detained, too. Among them especially numerous were members of the gendarmerie (114), from the rank of lieutenant colonel and major to common gendarme. Police commanders, agents, clarks, guards, administrative workers, and policemen found themselves in the Camp, too. Related to employees in justice sector, there were court presidents (2), judges (21), court apprentices (12), court clarks (24), likewise lawyers (94), lawyer apprentices (35), legal officers, scribes. Among medical workers (194) the most numerous were doctors (110) and pharmacists (25). Employees in the education sector were exposed to special interest of the Occupation Authority: school directors (3), secretaries of school (2), professors and secondary school teachers (34) and trade academies (3), professors, lecturers and teachers of other types of schools (261), educators (5). Besides professors, the Occupation Authority arrested pupils, too. Pupils, attendants of secondary school – gymnasium (219), students of the teacher-training schools (28), commercial and other academies (39), secondary technical, professional and trade schools (24), as well as 311 graduated pupils whose education level and profile couldn't be determined. In the Camp were detained academicians (1), university professors (33), assistant professors and assistants (7), holders of a doctorate, PhDs and holders of masters degree (3), graduated engineers and university educated (104), students and advanced university students (271). Out of 86 detained priests, 84 belonged to the Serbian Orthodox Church. Among them were monks (archimandrites, bishops, and monks), priests (archpriests, archdeacons, and priests), and professors of theology, religious teachers, and students. Artists of various profiles and those who considered themselves artists (135) – painters and sculptors, music professors, opera singers, musicians, actors, house-painters, radio singers, music players, cinema directors, cinema operators, decorators, modelists were detained as well. A manager of the daily newspaper „Politika“ and journalists (40), interpreters, writers,

librarians, radio operators, too. Overall 159 persons were registered as retired and among them had been high ranking state officials (minister, ban, and state councilors (11), departments' heads and ministry councilors, likewise regional administrators (9), educators (26), legal persons (6), military members (19), police servants (6). In the category of persons registered in the Banjica Books as „former“ (total of 145 persons) there were prime ministers, representatives in the assembly and commune presidents (4), public servants (41), tradesmen (32), bankers (6), military people (18), former police servants (21), former employees in the education department (8), in the justice department (3). In the Banjica Camp were detained gardeners, house keepers, couriers, doormen, attendants, guards, service women, chambermaids, nurses, household servants. There were estate owners and rentiers (11) also magicians, circus performers, horse riders, graphologists, secondhand dealers and people with unusual occupations. Among people without any qualifications there were registered stonecutters, channel diggers, day laborers, carriers, cleaning persons, shoe shiners. A considerable number of women were registered as „housewives“ (1.469) and their educational profile remained unknown.

Occupation Authority and Detainees

Hell like life for the camp inmates began with the very act of their arrest.¹⁰⁸ Many different actors participated in that particular ritual. The Banjica Books revealed that the majority of arrests and transports to the Camp had been done by the members of SS units. The total number of them was 11.331 and they made 48,03% of overall detained persons in the Banjica Camp. The arrested persons were almost regularly interrogated later in Gestapo and Special Police. Part of the interrogation was being done in the Center as well. In 1.773 cases the arrest, interrogation and transportation to a Camp had been done by the executive body of the German police and security services of Gestapo. That number represented 7,51% of all detainees. Part of inmates had been arrested by the German military forces which were responsible for security in the occupied territories. They arrested 1.224 people which made 5,19% of all detained persons. The field commands had shown almost the equal

¹⁰⁸ The first arrests and interrogations of people by Occupation Authorities and their domestic collaborators began in April and May 1941 in Serbia. However, it soon became clear that the “prison infrastructure” had not been sufficient for a large scale arrests. So, the Occupation Authority at the end of May 1941 started to “work out” the need for formation of a large concentration camp in Belgrade. Decision on formation of a camp to which “all individuals who endangered the public order” would be assembled in, was issued by the German Commander of City of Belgrade and the Gestapo Commander in the occupied Serbia, and the Decision was realized by the head of the Serbian State Security Service, Dragi Jovanović. The German Authority forwarded the Decision on formation of a camp to Milan Ćimović and his Commissariat Govern a few days prior to attack of Germany to Soviet Union. However, directly involved in the realization of the Decision was Georg Kiessel, deputy head of the Headquarters in the occupied Serbia, General Dr. Harald Turner. Georg Kiessel, with the assistance of Hans Helm and Dragomir Jovanović, made the first lists of hostages. The first group of arrested persons was transported to Camp on 9th July 1941.

efficiency which, in addition to camps that existed in the territories of their responsibility, sent 1.246 inmates to Banjica Camp. They made 5,28% of all detained persons. Summarizing the above said, the German military and police forces had arrested, interrogated and detained 66,01% of the Banjica Camp inmates.

„Arresting institution“	Total	Percentage
SS	11.331	48,03%
UGB (SP, OKP)	4.456	18,89%
Gestapo	1.773	7,51%
District offices	1.256	5,32%
Field Commands	1.246	5,28%
German Army	1.224	5,19%
Police	637	2,70%
SDS	397	1,68%
Other	269	1,14%
Unknown	1.004	4,26%

Detained persons by the institutions which arrested them (in comparison to overall detained persons – 23.593)

The Collaboration Authority participated with a significant percentage in arrests, interrogations and detention of people in the Banjica Camp. Special Police of the Belgrade City Administration, along with Gestapo, both directly subordinated to the Security Police (Sipo)¹⁰⁹, especially distinguished themselves in these activities. The Special Police of the Belgrade City Administration arrested and transferred to the Camp 4.456 people who made 18,89% of overall detainees. Serbian State Guard arrested 397 persons (1,68%). District offices, which came into function after the breakdown of the uprising movement in Serbia, directed 1.256 people into the Banjica Camp or 5,32% of detainees. Police arrested 637

¹⁰⁹ Since its formation on 21st April 1941, the Special Police was subordinated to the German Security services. Gestapo and Operative Unit Sipo (Sicherheitspolizei) directed and supervised its activity. One of the most important duties of the Special Police was to “arrest, torture, interrogate and punish communists”. As of February 1942, activities of all police departments and security services of military commands fell under the jurisdiction of the newly appointed commander of the SS and Police A. Meissner. From that moment on, the dual governance and the division of responsibilities between the local police authorities and the Gestapo became only apparent. Subordination of the Collaboration authorities to Occupation Authority became absolute. Only they were competent to finally decide the fate of prisoners in the Serbian part of the Banjica Camp, provisionally respecting “proposals” offered by the Special Police and the Camp Administration. There were also cases when Gestapo took over the interrogation process, categorized prisoners and decided on their fate without the knowledge and will of the Collaboration Government.

persons or 2,70% and forwarded them to the Camp. All referred data indicate that the Collaboration Authority arrested and directed to the Banjica Camp 28,59% of overall detained persons.

Year	Total	Percentage
1941	3.622	15,35%
1942	6.354	26,93%
1943	8.839	37,46%
1944	4.708	19,96%
No data	70	0,30%

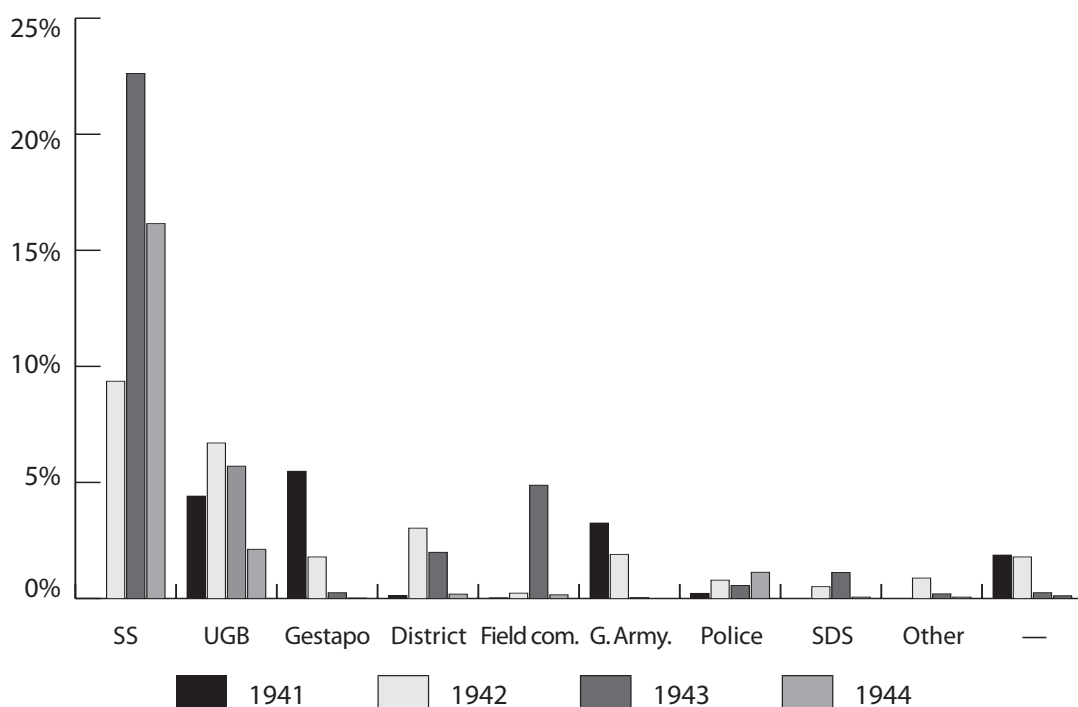
Detainees shown by years of their transportation to the Camp (in comparison to overall detained persons – 23.593)

Data indicate the „engagement“ of Occupation and Quisling forces in „filling in“ the Banjica Concentration Camp in the course of years. It is obvious that the Special Police in continuation directed the arrested and detained persons during the entire war period in Serbia. SS units were rarely engaged in the first war year, nevertheless, their engagement in arresting and forwarding people to the Banjica Concentration Camp gradually increased in the following years. Opposite to it, Gestapo had mostly done the arrests and transfers to the Camp in the first war years, but only symbolically in the last war years. The same applied to the German army forces. Watching data from the statistical point of view could be tricky, because Gestapo, during 1941 and 1942, mostly sent Jews and communists to the Camp, while in the years to follow mainly „treated“ the persons arrested in the military actions executed by the SS units and thus influenced their fates in the most direct way.

„Arresting Institution“	1941		1942		1943		1944	
SS	1	0%	2.204	9,36%	5.324	22,62%	3.802	16,15%
UGB (SP, OKP)	1.038	4,41%	1.578	6,70%	1.341	5,70%	498	2,12%
Gestapo	1.289	5,48%	421	1,79%	58	0,25%	5	0,02%
District offices	31	0,13%	712	3,03%	469	1,99%	44	0,19%
Field commands	6	0,03%	55	0,23%	1.148	4,88%	37	0,16%
German Army	766	3,25%	448	1,90%	9	0,04%	1	0%
Police	51	0,22%	187	0,79%	132	0,56%	267	1,13%

„Arresting Institution“	1941		1942		1943		1944	
SDS			120	0,51%	264	1,12%	13	0,06%
Other			208	0,88%	48	0,20%	13	0,06%
Unknown	440	1,87%	421	1,79%	60	0,25%	28	0,12%

Detainees shown by the arresting institutions and the years of executed arrests (in comparison to overall number of detainees - 23.593)



Occupation Authority and Structure of the Perished Detainees

Years of occupation were filled with terror. Any kind of resistance to the Occupation Authority and disturbance of the established order were most severely punished. Raids, arrests, martial courts, punitive expeditions "cleaning up of terrain", offensives, deportations, revenge – made the part of the war everyday life in Serbia. Likewise, population expressed no acceptance of the occupation, organized uprising, formed military units, liberated the first towns and created free territories, organized attacks and diversions on the key communication lines. „Pacification „ of

Serbia had never been successful. Spinning of terror became more intensive as months passed by and produced more and more victims. German data showed that during the combats with partisans and chetniks' units, until February 1942, 7.776 soldiers were killed, taken prisoners and executed, while in revenge actions 20.149 civilians perished.

Like a sensitive seismograph, which records all disturbances in a society, part of that war story of Serbia - data on the accession, perish and execution of detainees - was being recorded in the „Banjica Books“. Data reveal that out of the overall number of detainees in the Banjica Camp, majority had been brought in by the SS units (1.872 persons or 43,68% of all perished) and Special Police of the City Administration of Belgrade (1.409 or 32,87%).

„Arresting Institution“	Total	Percentage
SS	1.872	43,68%
UGB (SP,OKP)	1.409	32,87%
Gestapo	326	7,61%
SDS	135	3,15%
German Army	125	2,92%
Police	71	1,66%
District Offices	25	0,58%
Field Command	2	0,05%
Other	17	0,40%
Unknown	304	7,09%

Perished detainees by the arresting institutions (in comparison to overall perished persons – 4.286)

The extent of the crime committed by the Occupation and Quisling authorities in the Banjica Concentration Camp is revealed when comparing numbers of perished and executed detainees with the numbers of persons brought in by the arresting institutions. The analysis showed that 1.409 or 31,62% perished or were executed out of 4.456 detainees arrested and sent to the Camp by the Special Police. We highlight the fact that Special Police in most cases had those detainees interrogated, categorized and made proposals on further procedures, which Dragomir Jovanović confirmed, after Gestapo gave its consent.¹¹⁰ The members of the military formations of Serbian State Guard were equally brutal to political opponents coming from their own nation. Out of the total number

¹¹⁰ Majority of the cases referred to communists and their sympathizers.

of detainees the members of the Special Police forwarded to the Camp, the majority was interrogated by them and 34,01% of them perished. Representatives of Gestapo most directly affected 18,39% of the total number of 1.773 detainees whom they sent to the Camp, to perish. Thus, Gestapo participated in interrogating detainees and in making decisions on the final fate of persons whom SS units, Field Commands and German Army had forwarded to the Camp, so Gestapo was to be considered responsible for perishing of those persons.

„Arresting Institution“	According to individual „arresting institution“		
	Total of arrested persons	Total of perished persons	Percentage of perished
SS	11.331	1.872	16,52%
UGB (SP, OKP)	4.456	1.409	31,62%
Gestapo	1.773	326	18,39%
District Offices	1.256	25	1,99%
Field Command	1.246	2	0,16%
German Army	1.224	125	10,21%
Police	637	71	11,15%
SDS	397	135	34,01%
Other	269	17	6,32%
Unknown	1.004	304	30,28%

Perished detainees according to arresting institution (in comparison to number of detained persons by each individual arresting institution)

Out of the 4.286 perished detainees in the Banjica Camp male individuals made 89,24% and female 10,76%. The fact that these two categories of detainees participated in almost identical percentage in the overall number of detained persons (89,44% male and 10,56 female), additionally described the brutality of the Camp Authorities.

Gender	Total	Percentage
Male	3.825	89,24%
Female	461	10,76%

Gender structure of perished detainees (total 4.286)

The presentation of suffering experienced in the Banjica Camp completes the admission of children in the Camp. The analysis shows that the underage children came in the Camp along with persons arrested in mass raids, actions of „cleaning up terrain“, in extensive military operations, hunts and arrests of Jews and communists. Out of 838 detained children, 124 or 14,80% perished.

Years of Age	Total	Percentage
7 years and under	22	2,63%
8–12	14	1,67%
13–17	88	14,80%

Structure of perished underage children shown by their years of age (total 124)

With equal brutality the detainees in their oldest age were being killed in the Banjica Camp. As registered in the „Banjica Books“, the oldest executed person had been 87 years old.¹¹¹ There were other people over 80 years of age, who also perished in the most brutal ways, revealed the „Banjica Books“.¹¹² Data showed that the oldest female person executed by firing was 80 years of age.¹¹³

The Rhythm of Repression and Crimes

Intimidation, one of the main reason for the existence of a concentration camp in a city like Belgrade, in the country such Serbia had been, was being exercised intensively for 218 days out of 1.183 days of overall existence of the Camp. Perishing of detainees was being done in 209 days (killings during the interrogations, liquidations in the Camp site, death outcome...). When all dates of executions and perishing sum up, the fact comes out that people were being killed in the Banjica Camp for 312 days. In other words, every 3rd or 4th day someone was fired or taken away from the Camp site never to be returned. Sometimes, such outcome was considered as luck.

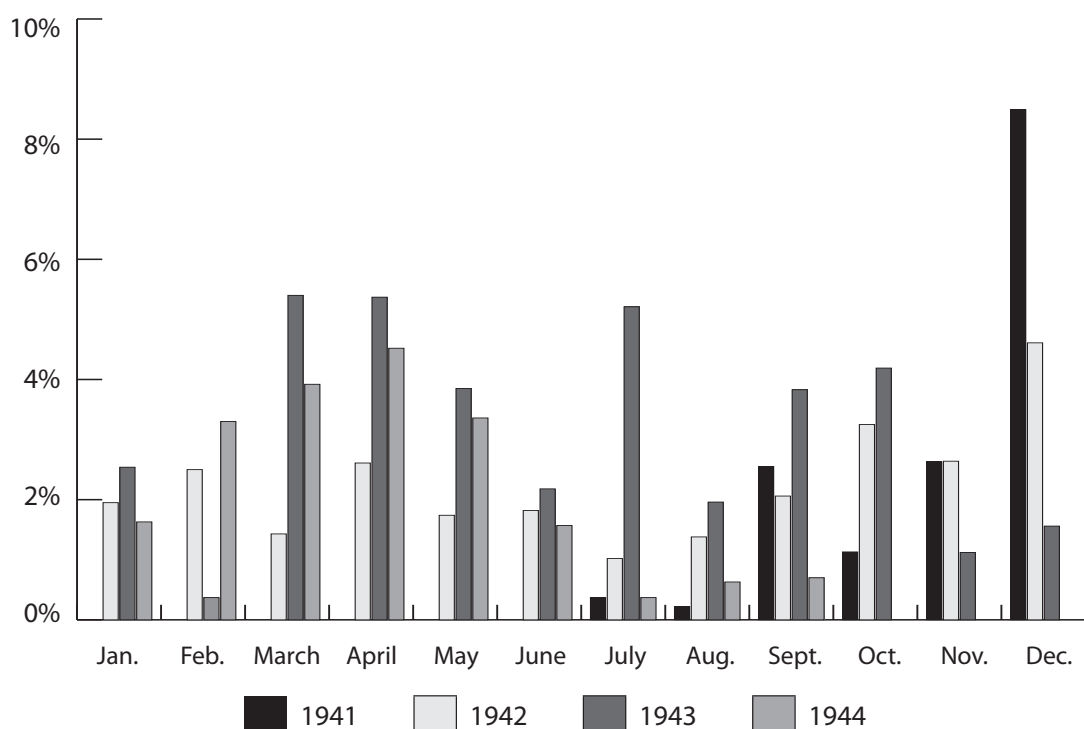
Month	1941		1942		1943		1944	
January			458	1,95%	597	2,54%	384	1,63%
February			589	2,50%	88	0,37%	777	3,30%

¹¹¹ It was Marinko Stojanović (No. 6.826), born in the Vranovče village, District Lebane, brought in on 10th August 1942, executed by firing on 24th August 1942.

¹¹² Stanko Mitrović (No. 13.860), born 1860 in Mala Ivanča, brought in on 19th May 1943, executed by firing on 25th May 1943.

¹¹³ Klara Levi (No. 5.978), brought in on 19th May 1942, executed on 28th May 1942.

Month	1941		1942		1943		1944	
March			336	1,43%	1.270	5,40%	923	3,92%
April			613	2,61%	1.263	5,37%	1.063	4,52%
May			410	1,74%	906	3,85%	791	3,36%
June			428	1,82%	513	2,18%	370	1,57%
July	88	0,37%	239	1,02%	1.225	5,21%	88	0,37%
August	51	0,22%	325	1,38%	461	1,96%	148	0,63%
September	601	2,55%	484	2,06%	900	3,83%	164	0,70%
October	265	1,13%	765	3,25%	985	4,19%		
November	619	2,63%	622	2,64%	263	1,12%		
December	1.998	8,49%	1.085	4,61%	368	1,56%		
Per year	3.622	15,40%	6.354	27,01%	8.839	37,58%	4.708	20,01%



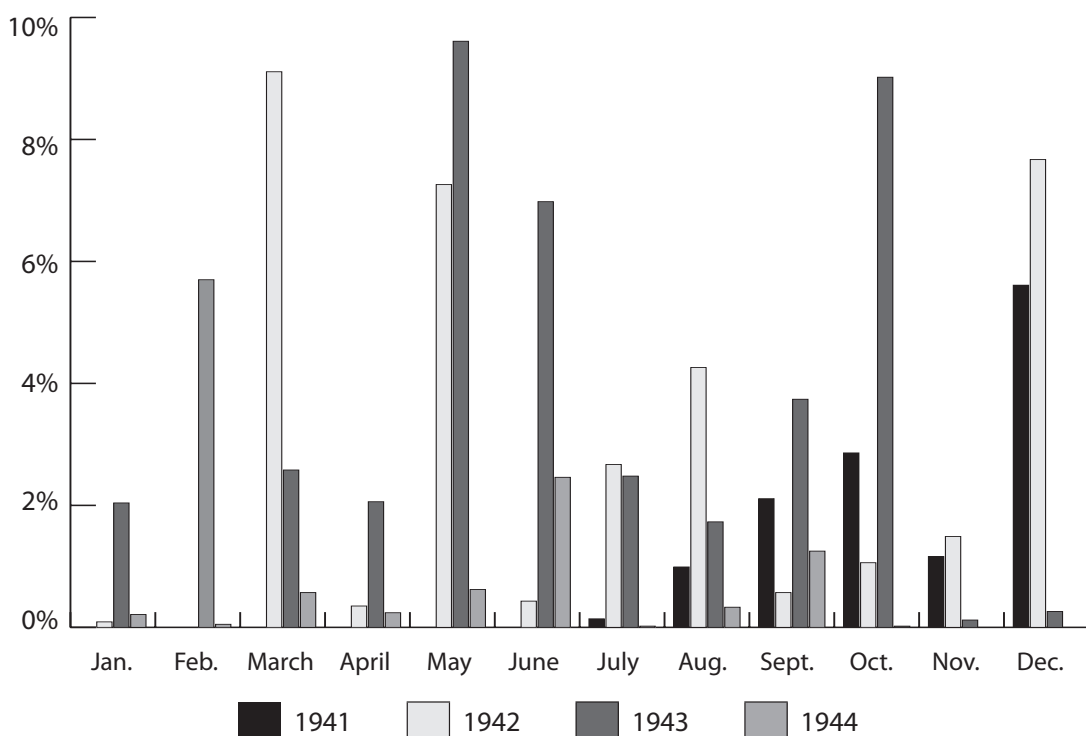
Structure of Detainees transfer to the Camp shown per month (overall 23.523)¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Out of the overall detained persons (23.593), 70 is to be deducted due to non-existence of the relative data.

Everyday and periodical „fills in“ and „discharges“ of the Banjica Camp were most directly connected to the developments of the war events in the territory of Serbia and the Balkans. During spring and autumn times, the number of detainees in Banjica Camp increased, likewise their perishing in revenge actions undertaken. That practice was provoked by the fear of possible renewal of uprising in Serbia, by the echoes of the worldwide fronts, by the political and military activities of the antifascist movements, by propaganda and political actions of the Royal Government in London. Furthermore, that was urged by the endeavors to intimidate the population, to punish unreliable persons, to warn villagers who hadn't cleared up their obligations to supply wheat and alimentary products, to defeat communists, to realize the „final solution“ of the Jewish issue, to liquidate those who committed assassinations and diversions. Comparative analysis of admissions, perishes and executions very precisely outlined the „rhythm of crimes“ that took place in the Banjica Concentration Camp.¹¹⁵

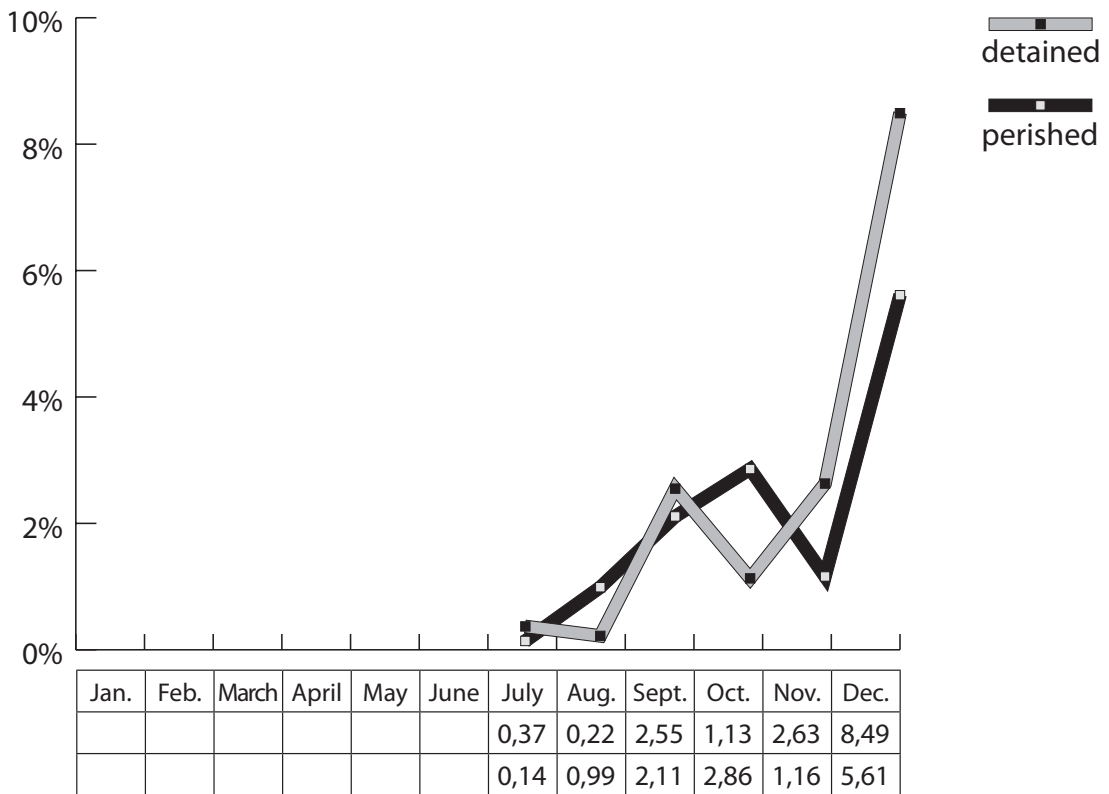
Month	1941		1942		1943		1944	
January			4	0,09%	86	2,04%	9	0,21%
February			3	0,07%	241	5,70%	2	0,05%
March			385	9,11%	109	2,58%	24	0,57%
April			15	0,35%	87	2,06%	10	0,24%
May			307	7,26%	406	9,61%	26	0,62%
June			18	0,43%	295	6,98%	104	2,46%
July	6	0,14%	113	2,67%	105	2,48%	1	0,02%
August	42	0,99%	180	4,26%	73	1,73%	14	0,33%
September	89	2,11%	24	0,57%	158	3,74%	53	1,25%
October	121	2,86%	45	1,06%	381	9,02%	1	0,02%
November	49	1,16%	63	1,49%	5	0,12%		
December	237	5,61%	324	7,67%	11	0,26%		
Per year	544	12,87%	1.481	35,04%	1.957	46,31%	244	5,77%

¹¹⁵ Out of the overall number of perished detainees (4.286), 60 is to be deducted, due to non-existence of relative data.



Structure of perished detainees shown per month (overall 4.226)

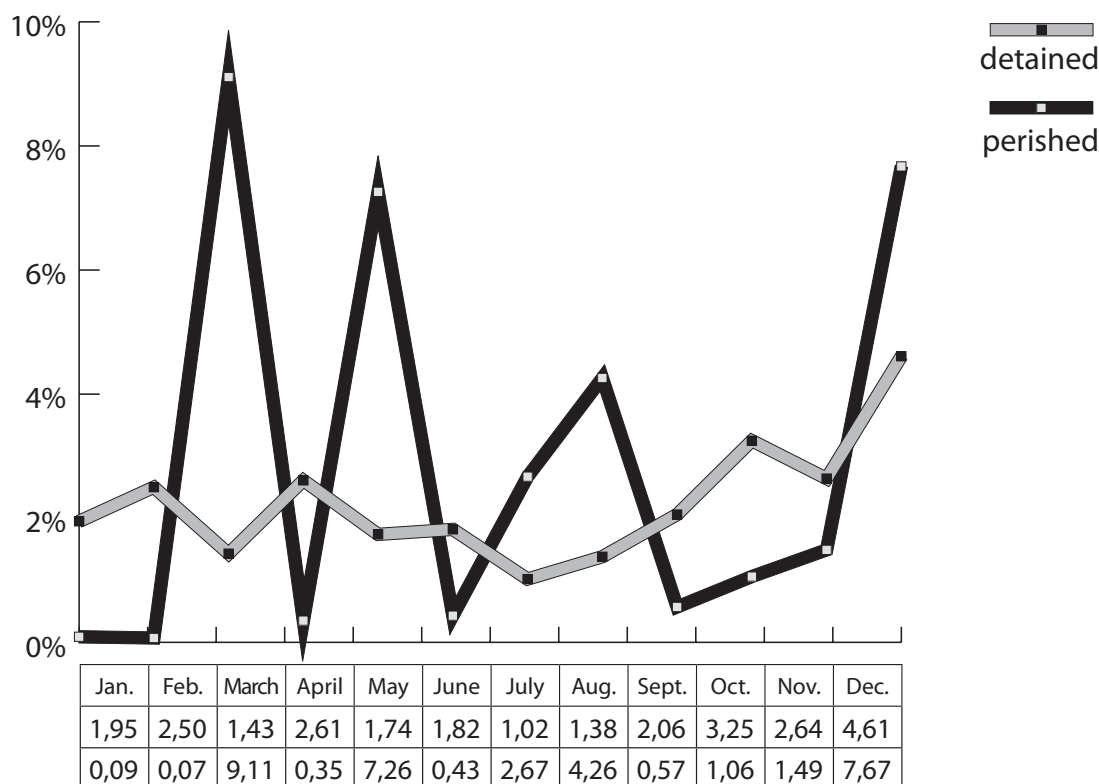
The proportions of the Uprising, successful actions of the insurgent movements, liberation of cities and forming of the free territory in the Western Serbia, in one hand, and decision on its unsuccessful break down, commencing of German offensives and break down of the Uprising in November and December, in the other hand, directly outlined the dynamics of the taking detainees in the Banjica Camp in 1941. Besides, preventive arrests, „break in“ of the illegal Party structure of broader extents, transportation of detainees from Banat Region, arrests of those accused for diversions, detaining of intellectuals, etc., should be added also. In six month period of the existence of the Banjica Camp, 3.622 persons were taken in, which made 15,40% of overall detainees. At the same time, 544 persons were executed by firing or perished, which made 12% of overall detained people. Related to that, specifically characteristic was December 1941, when 8,49% of detainees were brought in, and 5,61% perished out of all who by that time came in the Banjica Camp.



*Comparative structure of detained and perished persons in 1941
(in percentage)*

During the winter and the spring time 1942, the last remaining groups of partisans were being brought from the Western Serbia to the Banjica Camp. Number of detainees had been increased by disclosing of Party leaderships and raids which aimed to intimidate and to prevent the renewal of the Uprising. In the late summer and early autumn months, the so called „grain producers“, villagers who hadn't fulfilled their obligation related to grain purchase, filled in the Camp. Number of detainees increased by enormous arrests undertaken in the districts: Vračarski, Posavski and Kosmajski. In the second half of 1942 and the first months of 1943 the members of the „Ravna Gora“ movement were being brought to the Camp in „smaller or greater waves“. The main reason for their arresting, apart from their periodical cooperation, was a constant distrust which the Occupation Authority exposed towards the members of the „Ravna Gora“ movement. In late autumn 1942 the distrust was additionally provoked by disembarking of Anglo-American troops in French North Africa. In 1942, 6.354 persons were detained, which made 27,1% of all detainees. At the same period, 1.481 persons were perished or executed by firing, which made 35,04% of overall detainees. The influx of detainees along the year was equable, with small exceptions in October and December, when the number of detained persons increased (3,25%

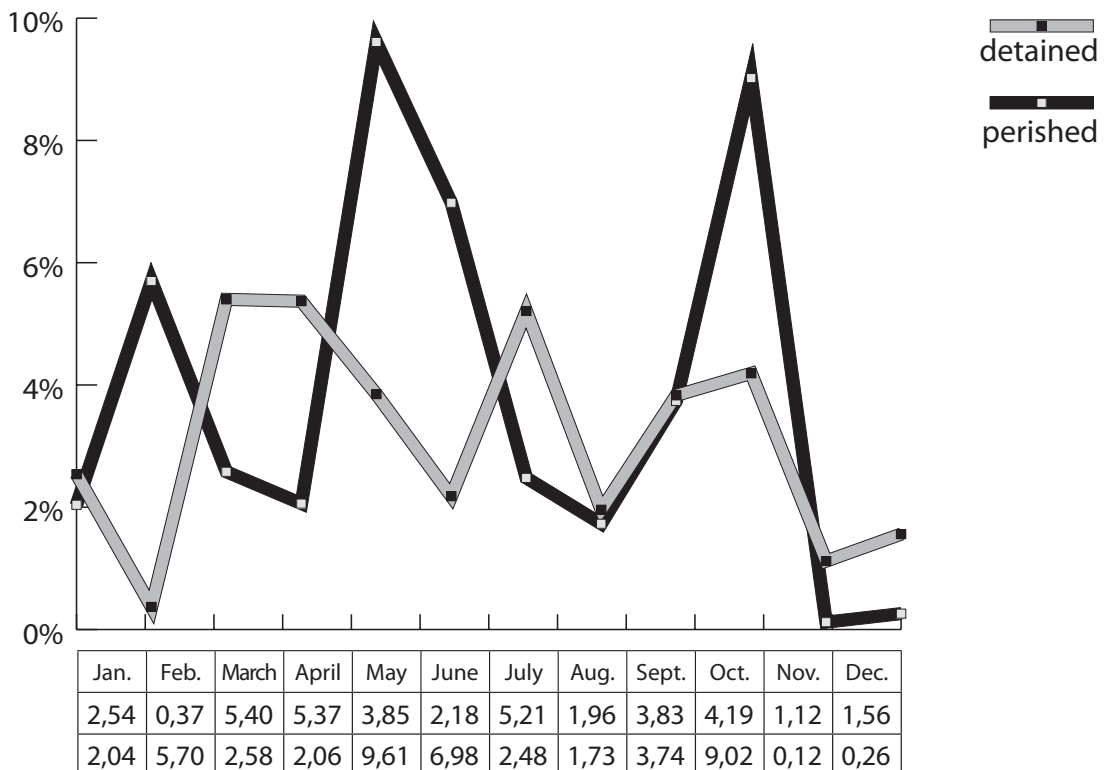
and 4,61%). In the same year there were revenge actions of greater scale (March – 9,11% of overall detainees, May – 7,26%, August – 4,26%, December – 7,67%).



*Comparative structure of detained and perished persons in 1942
(in percentage)*

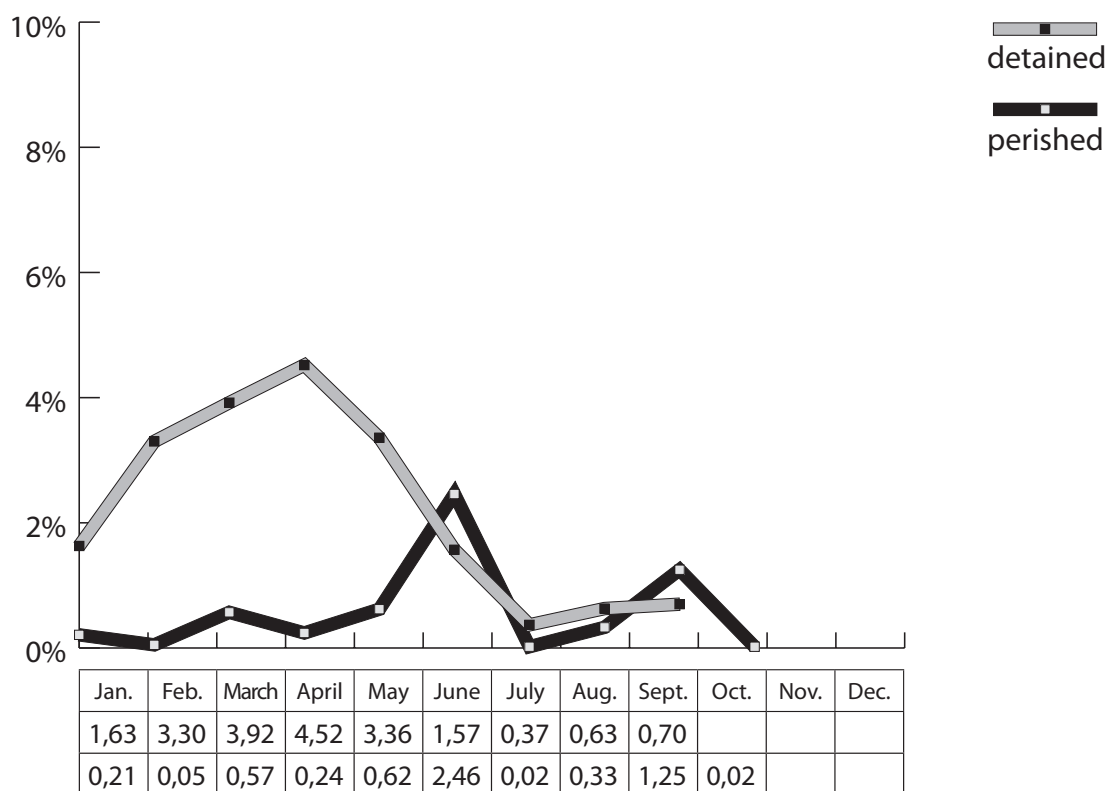
The most massive arrests were executed in 1943 (8.839 persons or 37,58%). At the same time, this was the year when the greatest number of detainees perished or had been executed by firing (1.957 persons or 46,31% of overall perished or executed by firing in the war years). The fear from possible disembarkation of Allies in Europe followed by a potential possibility of eventual Uprising in Serbia, initiated a wave of fighting against „unreliable elements“ and organizing numerous raids. A big group of officers (196) of the former Yugoslav Army found themselves within the walls of the Camp for a short period, which was deported to Germany due to their hostility to M. Nedić and the policy he led. Ending of military operations and capitulation of German and Italian troops in North Africa, disembarkation of Anglo-American troops in Sicily and a fall of the fascist regime in Italy had a direct impact and a wave of arrests and fights, along with revenge, deportations, interrogations commenced, „bringing“ new detainees in the Banjica Camp. In addition, the Occupation Authority attacked all persons suspicious of opposing the regime. Likewise, transportations of detainees need to be

mentioned: from Kosovska Mitrovica, Novi Pazar, Kraljevo, Bela Palanka, Čačak, Požarevac, Trstenik, Kruševac, Kragujevac... Arrests and revenge actions provoked intensified activities of partisans in the spring and summer 1943. During the autumn, persons caught in raids organized in various districts: Rasinski, Sokobanjski, Nišavski, Knjaževački, Jablanički, Ražanjski arrived in the Banjica Camp. A great number of people were arrested and executed by firing in the attack organized in the headquarters of D. Mihailović in the Družetići village (arrested 445 persons, 112 executed, 45 deported to the Mauthausen Camp). Military operations in the regions along the Drina River and in the Sandžak area, undertaken with the aim to disable the endeavor of People's Liberation Movement to move the focus of its activities to Serbia, resulted with arrests and transferring of the arrested persons to the Banjica Camp. Among the arrested persons were sympathizers of both movements from the Western Serbia, i.e. partisan and "Ravna Gora" movements. Among those arrested were some 500 "grain producers" from the vicinity of Belgrade and other parts of Serbia. Especially intensive arrests and transfers to the Camp during 1943 occurred in March (5,40% of overall arrested persons), in April (5,37%), in May (3,85%), July (5,21%), September (3,83%) and October (4,19%). Perish and revenge over detainees were especially significant in February (5,70% perished), May (9,61%), June (9,98%) and October (9,02%).



Comparative structure of transferred and perished persons in 1943 (in percentage)

In spring 1944, major arrest of patriots had been organized in Serbia, part of them was transferred to the Banjica Camp. Inside, the Camp was „filled in“ with groups of captured partisans from other parts of Yugoslavia, arrested during April in the actions of cleaning up the terrain from the „illegal chetniks“ (Rača, Kragujevac, Mladenovac, Smederevska Palanka...), transports of detainees who had been arriving from Greece and Albania. During nine months in 1944, 4.708 detainees or 20,01% of the overall people detained there, were brought to the Banjica Camp. Number of perished and executed persons during 1944 revealed the fact that actions of revenge somewhat decreased. During that year, 244 persons perished or were executed by firing, which made 5,77% of the overall number of perished. Comparative analysis of detained and perished persons showed that raids and arrests “filled in” the Banjica Camp during February (3,30% of all arrested people), March (3,92%), April (4,52%) and May (3,36%), while May was characteristic by the number of murdered people (2,46%). All data presented, prove that the real and only reason for the existence of the Banjica Concentration Camp was revenge and genocide.



*Comparative structure of transferred and perished persons in 1944
(in percentage)*

Outcome of Detention

For 37,97% of the detainees, Banjica Camp had not been the last station on their journey to further sufferings. As defined and foreseen by the categorization, part of the detained persons was being sentenced to „hard physical labor“ and „physical labor“ and transferred to other parts of the country, in Germany or abroad.¹¹⁶ It was in compliance with the Nazi doctrine to destroy opponents, with maximum exploitation of their lives and labor energy. Nevertheless, considering the outcome, those „sent to labor“ belonged to a more lucky group of detainees destined to leave the Banjica Camp. The chance to survive and live was much greater than for those who were sent to Auschwitz Concentration Camp or some other camps in the occupied Europe.¹¹⁷ Forwarding people, mostly Belgrade Jews, to camps in Zemun or „Topovske šupe“, meant the most certain death within few days or a week time. Returning to prison most often led to new interrogations, tortures, forcible extraction of guilt confession. Putting a detainee into hospital was a short break due to consequences of heavy beatings.

What was the fate of the Banjica Camp detainees? Though the „Banjica Books“ in that segment had not been that much precise and orderly, it still could be concluded that out of the total number of detained persons (23.593), 3.789 were executed by firing, 497 perished in various other ways (most frequently murdered during the interrogation procedure in the Camp), 7.779 released (it was not entirely clear that all of them were liberated), 9.560 transported away (it is determined where and by which authority, 8.827 persons were taken away), while for 1.968 persons data had not been registered. Indirectly we found out that 60 detainees broke away from the Camp during their transportation (in various ways).

Outcome	Total	Percentage
Executed by firing	3.789	16,06%
Perished	497	2,11%
Released	7.779	32,97%
Taken away	9.560	40,52%
No data	1.968	8,34%

Structure of detention outcome

¹¹⁶ During the Second World War the detainees coming from the territory of Yugoslavia had been deported to 63 different camps in Germany and other parts of the occupied Europe.

¹¹⁷ Ideologists of the Third Reich considered that destroying people in forced labor was economically justified. It especially became apparent when the Decree on unlimited working time was adopted in April 1942. Estimations of the German economists showed that the daily revenue coming from the labor came up to approximately 6 Marks. Since food and other expenses cost 0,70 mark, 5,30 Marks were earned on each detainee. Due to inadequate nourishment, the life time of people living in such conditions, lasted 9 months at maximum. S. Begović, n. d., 92–93.

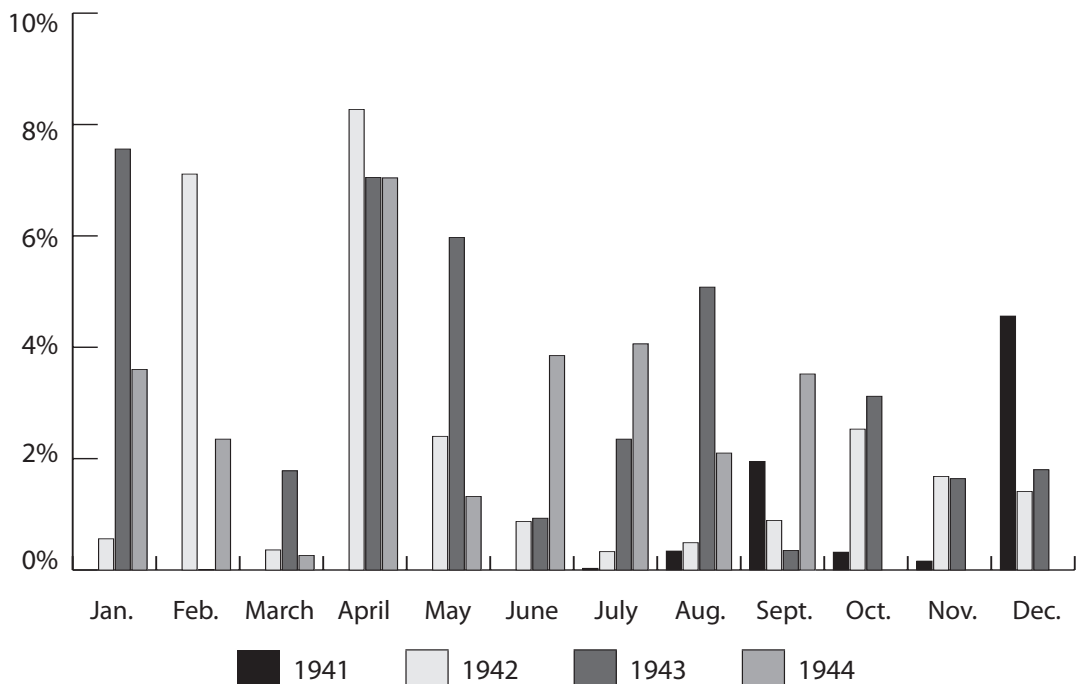
We quote these figures with full professional conscience even if they are not quite accurate, at least final, but they represent the result of our endeavor to get closer to the truth, as much as possible. In the „timeline analysis“ they are not absolutely correct, since they are „interwoven“ with different outcomes. Sometimes, for the same detainee, under the same date, it was recorded that he or she was „released“, and „executed by firing“, „taken away“ and „executed by firing“ or just „taken away“. In such cases we have taken the word „executed by firing“, being later added, as final outcome, which canceled the previously written and less precise information – „released“ or „taken away“. With other words, releasing or taking away a detainee with the aim to be executed was taken as a final outcome of a detainee. Thus, we haven't intended to „maximize“ certain figures, but to come closer to the accurate outcome, as much as possible. Nevertheless, we are convinced that they, globally, unmistakably reflect the main „relations“ (outcomes) of the Banjica Camp detention.

Taken away (destination)	total	Percentage
To another town in Serbia	1.088	12,33%
To a labor in Germany	154	1,74%
To Germany	52	0,59%
To another country (Norway)	377	4,27%
To Auschwitz Camp	116	1,31%
To Camp in Zemun	257	2,91%
To „Topovske šupe“ Camp	7	0,08%
To another camp	117	1,33%
To prison, detention, hospital	324	3,67%
To labor	6.097	69,07%
Others	238	2,70%

Structure of detainees taken away from the Banjica Camp with the registered destination (overall 8.827)

„Emptying“ of the Camp also followed its own rhythm. It was related to the logic of the war waged in the territory of Serbia, Yugoslavia and the Balkans and was very much incorporated into the requirements of the German war industry. Out of the total number of persons taken away, majority was recorded in 1943 (37,64%) and 1944 (28,10%).

Month	1941		1942		1943		1944	
January			54	0,56%	731	7,56%	348	3,60%
February			688	7,11%	1	0,01%	227	2,35%
March			35	0,36%	172	1,78%	25	0,26%
April			800	8,27%	682	7,05%	681	7,04%
May			232	2,40%	577	5,97%	128	1,32%
June			84	0,87%	90	0,93%	372	3,85%
July	3	0,03%	32	0,33%	227	2,35%	393	4,06%
August	33	0,34%	47	0,49%	491	5,08%	203	2,10%
September	189	1,95%	86	0,89%	34	0,35%	340	3,52%
October	31	0,32%	245	2,53%	302	3,12%		
November	15	0,16%	162	1,68%	159	1,64%		
December	441	4,56%	136	1,41%	174	1,80%		
Per year	712	7,36%	2.601	26,90%	3.640	37,64%	2.717	28,10%



Structure of detainees taken away shown per month (compared to overall number of detainees taken away 9.670)

Comparative analysis of perished and taken away people from the Camp showed that in 1941 December was the most tragic month related to number of revenge actions and taking away (5,61% perished and 4,56% taken away). It represented the attempts to „pacificate“ Serbia in the most brutal way, right after the break down of the Uprising. During 1942, the majority of revenge actions were organized in May (7,26%), August (4,26%) and December (7,67%); the Camp Authorities forwarded the largest number of detainees to other environment in February (7,11%) and April (8,27). The comparative chart, representing „emptying“ of the Camp, shows that the perish of detainees was greatest in 1943 in February (5,70%), May (9,61%), June (6,98%) and October (9,02%); the most frequent takes away from the Camp occurred in January (7,56%), April (7,05%), May (5,97) and August (5,08). In 1944 takes away were most intensive in January (3,60%), April (7,04%) and July (4,06%), while perishes were most massive in June (2,46%).

For a „group portrait“ of Banjica Camp detainees very illustrative could be data on duration of their stay in Camp. The research has proved for a fact that the Banjica Camp existed for exactly 1.183 days, from the foundation until the closing day. The longest stay among those who survived, registered in the „Banjica Books“, lasted for 951 day.¹¹⁸ The detainee who stayed in the Banjica Camp for 1.062 days, hadn't lived to get out of it – he perished at the very end of the War.¹¹⁹

Occupation Authority and Antifascist Intellectuals

„The Banjica Books“ witness that among detainees in the concentration camp were numerous antifascist oriented intellectuals, public figures, professors at the University of Belgrade, members of the Royal Academy of Sciences and distinguished citizens. The Occupation Authority endeavored to crowd together and put the pressure upon the Serbs, „being constant cause of unrest“, so, this category of detainees, in spite the provisions of the international legislation, had had a status of hostages to whom the measures of revenge should have been applied, too.

From the first moment, the Occupation Authority considered liberal intellectuals potential opponents and constant danger to the German New Order in the Balkans and in Europe. Unsuccessful attempt to „drive in collaboration“ of this part of the social elite, in greater extent, caused increased vigilance and placing that category of citizens under constant surveillance. Belief that the critic mind, defiant position, irreconcilable stands and viewpoints of the intellectual elite could weak the position of Germany and additionally compromise the Quisling Government in Serbia mid uprising movement, and thus affect the resistance of the

¹¹⁸ It was Ljubica Stojadinović (No. 3.930); she came to the Camp on 16th January 1942 and was released on 24th August 1944. Beside her, 11 other detainees stayed longer than two years.

¹¹⁹ It was Radmila Rajković (No. 869), who came in the Camp on 5th October 1941, perished on 11th September 1944.

population, had a crucial impact on the decision made to eliminate them by confinement. Extensive arrests of the intellectuals „whose stands had been anti-German in the previous years“, likewise „members of the Free Masons Lodge and communists“, were undertaken under the decision of General Turner issued on 2nd November 1941. According to existing resources, approximately 700 arrests of intellectuals had been planned, with the aim to guarantee with their own lives for the „security in the Serbian region“.¹²⁰

The massive arrests of intellectuals were entrusted to Operational Group of the German Police and Security Service, which, in collaboration with the Belgrade Special Police, had completed it on 4th November 1941. According to estimations of researchers, some 400 distinguished citizens and public figures had been investigated in the Belgrade City Administration and Gestapo, and 152 of them had been forwarded to the Banjica Camp until 18th November 1941.¹²¹ German resources quote 359 names in their lists for arrest, but actually they had arrested 172 persons. All the arrested persons were put in specially emptied and prepared rooms

¹²⁰ S. Begović, *Banjica Camp 1941–1944*, I, Belgrade 1989, 156–164; S. Begović, *Professors and Academy members in the Banjica Concentration Camp*, University in Belgrade 1838–1988. Collection of Works, Belgrade, 1988, 246.

¹²¹ That particular group of detainees was registered in the “Banjica Books” under the ordinal numbers starting from 1.183 to 1.335. The following professors of the Belgrade University were detained: dr Matija Ambrožić (No. 1.319), dr Dimitrije Antić (No. 1.201), dr Aleksandar Belić, Academy member (No. 1.219), dr Borislav Blagojević (No. 1.315), dr Milan Vlainac (No. 1.266), dr Aleksandar Deroko (No. 1.231), dr Ilija Dimitrijević (No. 1.214), dr Živojin Đorđević, Academy member (No. 1.257), dr Miloš Đurić (No. 1.323), dr Jovan Erdeljanović (No. 1.279), dr Miodrag Ibrovac (No. 1.275), dr Mihailo Ilić (No. 1.263), Petar Kolendić (No. 1.272), dr Aleksandar Leko (No. 1.253), Milan Marković (No. 1.335), dr Petar Matavulj (No. 1.237), dr Miloje Milojević (No. 1.284), dr Vojislav Mišković, Academy member (No. 1.309), dr Milutin Nešković (No. 1.324), dr Viktor Novak (No. 1.282), dr Đura Popović (No. 1.297), dr Nikola Sal-tikov (No. 1.268), dr Siniša Stanković (No. 1.232), dr Milan Fotić (No. 1.197), dr Mihajlo Čubinski (No. 1.294), dr Vaso Čubrilo- vić (No. 1.328), dr Ksenofon Šahović (No. 1.334), dr Radomir Aleksić (No. 1.330), dr Branislav Demetrović (No. 1.301), dr Aleksandar Jovanović (No. 1.204), Milenko Dabić (No. 1.292) and Dragoš Denković (No. 1.303). Some distinguished representatives of the cultural life were found in that group, too: Đivo Višić (No. 1.290), Vladislav Ribnikar (No. 1.288), Risto Stijović (No. 1.234) and Veljko Petrović (No. 1.200). Former government ministers and state and industry figures passed through the Camp: dr Velizar Janković (No. 1.187), Dragoljub Ikonić (No. 1.245), dr Milorad Đorđević (No. 1.333), Dimitrije Aleksijević (No. 1.271), Dimitrije Bogojević (No. 1.260), Aleksandar Bogojević (No. 1.258), Boza Boukal (No. 1.286), dr Milorad Vlaškalin (No. 1.183), Nikola Zuber (No. 1.254), dr Miloš Ilić (No. 1.332), Dušan Janković (No. 1.220), Svetislav Jelić (No. 1.265), Predrag Lukić (No. 1.230), dr Radomir Popović (No. 1.325), Jovan Radivojević (No. 1.276) and dr Dušan Uzelac (No. 1.210). All persons arrested within that group had played distinguished roles in political and social life, so it would be correct to mention them, too: Jakov Bajloni (No. 1.307), Dobrivoje Branković (No. 1.311), Klementije Bukavac (No. 1.244), Ljubisav Vučković (No. 1.195), dr Prvislav Grisogono (No. 1.262), dr Milutin Jovanović (No. 1.233), dr Boško Mašić (No. 1.216), Raša Čuković (No. 1.194), Milutin Stefanović (No. 1.247), dr Branko Pešić (No. 1.285), Veljko Ramadanović (No. 1.240), dr Velimir Stojković (No. 1.277), Miodrag Ugričić (No. 1.215). Among them were brought in several well-known professors of Belgrade high schools: Dušan Ivančević (No. 1.270), Grga Brigljević (No. 1.274), Dragoljub Tančić (No. 1.313), Božidar Tomić (No. 1.329). In the list of detainees compiled by Sima Begović there were dr Milivoje Sarvan (No. 3.390, University assistant professor, detained on 29th December 1941), as well as 15 other persons whose names had not been registered in the evidences of the Banjica Camp: dr Nikola Vulić, member of the Academy, dr Ivan Đaja, dr Tihomir Đorđević, member of the Academy, dr Toma Živanović, member of the Academy, Dragomir Jovanović, dr Aleksandar Lebedov, Branko Popović, dr Uroš Ružić, Borivoje Jevtić, writer, Risto Jocić, former minister, Momčilo Zdravković, appelatte judge, Jezdimir Đokić, bank manager, Marko Milutinović, Court cashier, dr Dragutin Protić, governor of the National Bank, and Dušan Cvetković, retired general. S. Begović, *Banjica Camp 1941–1944*, vol. 1, Belgrade, 1989, 158–159.

(room no. 3 in the basement and rooms no. 35 and 36 on the first floor inside the Camp building).¹²²

The detained intellectuals were separated from the rest of the detainees and were treated by the Camp authority in a more favorable way (they slept in beds; were allowed to send clothes and bed linen home for washing; could spend more time in camp strolls; were less exposed to torture and harassment).¹²³ However, it should be highlighted that the eminent Serbian intellectuals found themselves in the Banjica Camp in a moment when executions by firing and perish were done intensively and on daily basis and when the status of a hostage didn't guarantee to anyone to live to another day.¹²⁴ In addition, subsequential arrests and taking in were organized, thus the overall number of intellectuals summed up to 192 persons in the Banjica Camp.¹²⁵

¹²² Dragi Jovanović, in his speech held on 5th November 1941, explained the arrests of the intellectuals accusing them of connections with the "English plutocracy", "Jewish bankocratia" and Komintern. He considered that those arrests had been a mild punishment for treason and sins committed against their own people. Similarly, the daily "Novo vreme" of 7th November 1941 published an article on arrests of the intellectuals. The newspaper particularly stressed out the absurdity of struggle in which "hundreds of lives were sacrificed for a life of one person" and emphasized that distinguished intellectuals guaranteed with their own lives for the security in the Serbian territory". N. Jovanović, Relationship of Occupation and Quisling authorities to free masons in Serbia 1941-1942, Almanac of the City of Belgrade, 1971, XVIII, 98; Velimir Pejčić, Professors of the Belgrade University detained in the Banjica Camp 1941-1944, 20-21, unpublished work.

¹²³ Dimitrije Ljotić paid visit to General Turner on 5th November 1941 in his attempt to convince him that the arrested hostages had not been connected to communist activities. He was informed on that occasion that they had been arrested as members of the free masonry. Nevertheless, influenced by this intervention and the worry that new arrests would provoke additional uneasiness of the Quisling Authorities, M. Nedić was informed on 6th November that those detainees would not be treated as hostages but as ordinary detainees. N. Jovanović, n. d., 99.

¹²⁴ Prior to their coming to the Camp, a few major executions by firing happened: on 15th August (Skela village), 19th August, 16th and 29th September, 1st and 18th October, 20th October (eight detainees had been hanged inside the Camp site), 3rd November 1941. During their stay in the Camp, major executions by firing were organized on 3rd December (56 persons), 15th December (18 persons), 17th December 1941 (146 persons). Majority of the detained intellectuals were released and sent home by the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942. A number of them, being accused of masonry, had been detained longer, and some of them were later arrested again. By the very end of the war, the following intellectuals had been executed by firing: Đorđe Tasić and Mihailo Ilić, University professors, Milorad Đorđević and Voja Đorđević, former Government ministers, Gojko Gerić, the lawyer, while doctor Bukić Pijade died in Camp.

¹²⁵ According to the list of detainees compiled "at the very spot" by prof. dr Svetozar Tomić, 176 distinguished intellectuals had been detained in the Banjica Camp. The other, more complete list, which included those arrested in sub-sequential actions, upon the order of General Turner, contained 192 persons (189 names were typed in the list, three names were added handwritten somewhat later). The report, dated 5th December 1941, addressed to General Turner, head of the Headquarters, quoted that 359 persons were enlisted for arrest, but not all of them were found at their addresses. The same report stated that in the night 4/5th November 1941 total of 172 persons had been arrested, but the sub-sequential search detected 9 persons who had already been imprisoned at the Police and Security Service Operational Group upon "other accusations", 13 persons were found later, arrested and taken away to a reception camp, 20 persons were in the German war imprisonment, 35 persons were outside Belgrade (partly abroad), 36 persons stayed at the unknown addresses (a part of them died during the bombardment), 6 persons were in the Belgrade hospitals and were not in a condition for arresting, 9 persons were not arrested due to their very old age, 9 persons from the list had already died (one leading communist had been murdered on 15th August 1941), 1 person (Obradović) was not arrested since he was a holder of the Cross of Merit of the I degree German Eagle Order. The same report recorded that until 5th December 1941, 96 persons had been released from the collection camp: 26 were release because they were replaced by other persons, 13 were too old, 45 persons were released upon the intervention of dr Turner's state counselor and 12 persons were released upon the intervention of dr Kisel, counselor of the Military Administration. Out of 185 arrested persons, 70 had been recorded in the

Profession	Total	Percentage
University professors	34	22,37%
High-ranked public officials	17	11,18%
Other public officials	16	10,53%
Judges and lawyers	16	10,53%
Bankers	15	9,87%
Employed in Education Sector	14	9,21%
Doctors	11	7,24%
Traders	9	5,92%
Engineer	5	3,29%
Industrials	3	1,97%
Journalists	3	1,97%
Employed in Public Traffic	2	1,32%
Clergy	2	1,32%
Policemen	2	1,32%
Artists	1	0,66%
Others	2	1,32%

Professional structure of detained intellectuals 4/5 November 1941 (total 152)

The detained intellectuals, well recognized masters of various scientific disciplines, brought in a new dimension in the daily life in the Banjica Camp, filled with suffer and perish. Their spirituality made meaningless, in the best possible way, the narrowness limited by the Camp walls. Recorded data quoted that upon the initiative of Aleksandar Belić, President of the Kolarac Endowment and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 37 professors and intellectuals had given 72 lectures on various themes.¹²⁶ Thus, detainees crossed the thresholds of their camp rooms and limitlessly strolled in space and time – from atom to cosmos, from

list of free masons, while the rest of them, i.e. 115 persons were known as “friends of England and Soviet Union”, as politically suspicious and others who harmed the development of Serbia”. Archives of SANU, List of hostages detained by Germans in Belgrade during the night 4/5th November 1941, 13.584; Archives VII, NA, k-32, f. 6/1/2, Report of Commander Harald Turner on the completion of action in Belgrade 4/5th November 1941.

¹²⁶ In the daily life of the detainees in the Banjica Camp, filled with suffer and perish, the detained intellectuals, well recognized masters of various scientific disciplines, brought in a new dimension. Their spirituality made meaningless, in the best possible way, the narrowness limited by the Camp walls. Recorded data quoted that upon the initiative of Aleksandar Belić, President of the Kolarac Endowment and the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, 37 professors and intellectuals had given 72 lectures on various themes. Thus, detainees were crossing the thresholds of their camp rooms and were limitlessly strolling in space and time – from atom to cosmos, from Antic to contemporary times, culture to politics, matter to energy, and mathematics to poetry. Lectures and discussion afterwards made

antic to contemporary times, culture to politics, matter to energy, and mathematics to poetry. Lectures and discussions afterwards made the meaninglessness of detention be changed with meaningfulness of comprehending the world they lived in. In that way, the human spirit triumphed over power which denied the human dignity and extinguished human lives.

Making public the camp evidences of detainees and victims of the Banjica Concentration Camp is justified with at least two reasons. New researchers are given a new methodology of more complex „reading“ of this segment of the tragic history of the Second World War in Serbia, its contextualization within time and space, which affected its appearance and function. At first sight, scarce data contained in the lists, offer abundance of material for featuring a more complex situation given with all shades and changes, if carefully analyzed. Furthermore, free access to this precious, extraordinary historical resource, opens „a passage“ to reviewing and analyzing not only the effects of the genocide policy of the German occupation mechanism as well as activities of the domestic instruments – Collaboration administration, with all its bodies of repression of compatriots, but also makes everyone think about the destiny of every single victim of that dehumanized, criminal system. Dealing with victims inevitably opens issues related to organizers, direct and indirect perpetrators of crimes, their motivation, guilt... Verdicts and punishment of the leading figures of the Banjica Concentration Camp after the Second World War were supposed to bring them to justice¹²⁷ not to revenge; in the name of thousands of victims to point to horrors of the Banjica Camp experience, one among many other similar ones, until then unconceivable by its terrible deeds, which made a deep scar, to continuously remind on that and all other mass crimes committed during the Second World War.

Making these camp books available to future researchers and to public review, after more than six decades, one of the postulates of Banjica and similar mass crimes – seal in the darkness of anonymity every memory of victims, deprive them of right to name, graveyard and memory, is being canceled. Let's these books be understood as a paying respect to the Banjica Camp victims, likewise drawing attention to a real nature of time, system and ideology which produced it.¹²⁸

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the meaninglessness of detention be changed with meaning of comprehending the world they lived in. In that way, the human spirit triumphed over power which denied the human dignity and extinguished human lives.

¹²⁷ On the postwar destiny of the Banjica Camp leaders and the members of the Special Police see: Branislav Božović, *Special Police*, 477–481; *Ibid*, *Perish of Jews...*, 262. Svetozar Vujković was sentenced to death in 1949, while Peter Kruger committed suicide during the interrogation in Munich.

¹²⁸ Here we need to emphasize, with due respect, the results of those researchers who dealt with the history of the Banjica Concentration Camp, without which it would have been extremely difficult to compile this text. First and foremost we draw attention to works and publications on the Banjica Camp by Sima Begović and Branislav Božović, whom we quoted here many times.

Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica in the Occupied Belgrade – archival material

Reich Main Security Office (RSHA) had organized in the occupied territories a military, police and political system to resemble its own. Chief of the Security Police and Security Services (BdS), its IV Department Secret State Police (Gestapo) and the Intelligence Service (SD) were directly subordinated to RSHA.

Police service in Belgrade had been reorganized and modeled after the German Occupation Authority. Prewar Common Police, which used to cover the activities of the political police, changed the name into *Special Police*. That name was meant to sound terrifying to the population. The Special Police had the Anticommunist Division – titled the IV Division. The administrator of the City of Belgrade and the chief of the Serbian State Security Service, Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović, intended the Special Police not only to become a loyal but efficient partner to Gestapo. All concentration camps that had been founded, came under the jurisdiction of RSHA. In the formation of the *Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica*¹²⁹ upon the order of Gestapo, dr Georg Kisel,¹³⁰ deputy to dr Harald Turner, chief of the German Occupation Authority in Belgrade made its contribution. Subordinated to him were Milan Aćimović, President of the Commissariat Administration, and Dragi Jovanović, Administrator of the City of Belgrade. The Camp was a constituent part of the City Administration of Belgrade (1941–1944), and at first served as the camp for the population of Belgrade, later of the whole territory of Serbia. The order for formation of a camp had been issued by German Commander of Belgrade Ernst von Kajzenberg, head of the IV Division of the Security Police Operational Group (Sipo) and the Security Services (SD) Hans Helm and SS mayor Karl Kraus, head of the Operational Group of Gestapo, while Dragi Jovanović made it operational. His letter addressed to the President of the Commune of the City of Belgrade of 10th July 1941, proved that fact, though somewhat late according to the date, just in time when the first detainees had already come in the Camp.¹³¹ The Special Police provided the Camp Administration support and armed guard. All the engaged personnel came from the Special Police and the Command of the Serbian State Guard of the City Administration of Belgrade.

¹²⁹ Official title of the camp found in almost all documents of UGB OSP and Gestapo. The German part of the camp was being mentioned as Detention camp Dedinje. Colloquially, the camp was known as Banjica camp, camp on Banjica, transit camp, permanent camp. IAB, UGB OSP i IAB, BdS.

¹³⁰ On the postwar hearing in Bandbotel on 30th July 1946, dr G. Kisel confessed that he participated in a formation of the Banjica Camp. Together with K. Kraus, H. Helmom and D. Jovanović he compiled the lists of first hostages.

¹³¹ It is not precisely stated in the letter when the Commander of Belgrade signed the decision, which can make a bit of confusion over the precise date of the Camp formation. In historiography, 5th July 1941 is most often mentioned as date when Svetozar Vujković, newly appointed head of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica appeared in the Camp. The first detainees had been brought in the Camp on 9th July. Letter of Dragomir Jovanović, dated 10th July 1941 addressed to the City of Belgrade Commune, IAB, OGB, k. 520.

Archival Material

The German Occupation and Serbian Collaboration institutions, in the course of 1941-1944, created the documentation related to their activities and mutual communications, which makes a relevant source for studying the history of the Second World War. Though not preserved in integral format, but in fragments, the documentation is important for researching events and individuals in that period.

Historical Archives of Belgrade took over the fonds *City Administration of Belgrade – Department of Special Police*, from the Secretariat of Interior of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on 10th October and 23rd December 1968. The archival material comprises books, personal dossiers of agents and employees of the Special Police, Serbian State Guard, and dossiers of the detainees arrested by the Special Police, minutes, reports, acts, correspondence, and photographs. In July 1982, the Archives took over, from the same institution, the fonds titled *Commander of the Security Police and Security Services (BdS–Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes)*. The fonds documentation comprises files of arrested persons, personal card files of the Gestapo employees, agents and administrative workers, as well as the card files of the arrested or monitored suspicious individuals and the general archives. Documents were written in German language.¹³² In December 2003 the archival material was taken in the Archives from the Security Information Agency comprising the documentation created by the City Administration of Belgrade, Department of Special Police, German Military and Police forces, BdS and Gestapo, and the Department for Protection of People, later called State Security Administration. The archival material dates from twenties to sixties of the XX century. The documentation is composed of files, general archives and an album containing photographs of the agents and employees of the City Administration of Belgrade.

Concentration Camp Beograd–Banjica Books of detainees' personal data

Historical Archives of Belgrade took over the Books of detainees' personal data, compiled in the Banjica Concentration Camp, in October 1968¹³³ within the archival fonds created by the City Administration of Belgrade – Special Police Department. The takeover minutes quote that exactly eight books had been taken over. However, the seventh book was lost when the Historical Archives of Belgrade moved from the Vase Čarapića Str. No. 20 to a new building in Palmira Toljatija No.1 Str., Novi Beograd in 1973. Besides the books, the reference card file of the Federal Public

¹³² 90% of original documents are accompanied by translation, person and subject register.

¹³³ Takeover minutes on the archival material of the fonds titled UGB SP, No. 04–632/1 of 6th November 1968.

Prosecutor, compiled after the Second World War, arranged in alphabetical order, was taken over too. Data to be found in the seventh book had been reconstructed from the above mentioned card file and the card file of the War Crimes State Commission, obtained from the Archives of Yugoslavia. When the books were taken over they had been in a very bad condition, with pages and covers damaged, due to frequent operational use as evidential material during the trials led against the war criminals. The most damaged was the eighth book – its first seven and the last fifteen pages. Based on the evidenced state of damage, the books were restored, both manually and in a machine used process, in the Archives' restoration department. Dry conservation and restoration method had been applied, because the ink used for handwriting, ran in water. After the completion of the restoration and conservation process, the books were rebinded and recovered again and labeled with new cover labels. The original labels containing the titles of the books had been preserved and glued in the undercover of each book. Pagination and foliation had been done by the interrogating officers in the Department for the Protection of People, later called State Security Administration. The first four books had been paginated by interrogator Mile Milatović,¹³⁴ officer of OZN (UDB /Serbian acronym for State Security Department/), during the period 1946-1949, and marked with the initials M.M.

The First book of personal data of detainees of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica, 10th July 1941 – 30th October 1941, ordinal numbers 1-1.000 (number of registered persons 999), number of pages 226, number of leaves 113, format 21x33. Comment on the back cover: *All pages and leaves marked after the war, 1949, interrogator M.M.*¹³⁵

The Second book of personal data of detainees of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica, 31st October 1941 - 9th December 1941, ordinal numbers 1.001-1.970 (number of registered persons 971), number of pages 200, number of leaves 100, format 21x33. Comment on the back cover written by the interrogator: *All cards fully filled in: executed by firing, taken away, released and died. 24th November 1944. Belgrade. Dobr. Milančević, prof. Drag. Popović, legal apprentice. This book has 100 (hundred) leaves, 200 pages. 21st October 1949. Interrogator M.M.*¹³⁶

The Third book of personal data of detainees of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica, 9th December 1941 – 26th December 1941, ordinal numbers 1.971-3.418 (number of registered persons 1.510), number of pages 294, number of leaves 147, format 21x33. Comment on the back cover: *all cards filled in, No. 3.418 inclusive, 25th September 1944. This book has 147 leaves, 294 pages, 21st October 1949. Belgrade. Initials M.M.*¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Interrogator in the trials led against the war criminals upon the files of investigations of Milan Nedić, Dragomir Jovanović, Božidar-Boško Bečarević, Svetozar Vujković. IAB, OSB; IAB, BIA F I/P 2; IAB, BIA F IX/P 7.

¹³⁵ IAB, UGB, inv. br. 195/SP-4.

¹³⁶ IAB, UGB, inv. br. 195/SP-5.

¹³⁷ IAB, UGB, inv. br. 197/SP-6.

The Fourth Book of personal data of detainees of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica, 31st December 1941 – 10th October 1942; ordinal numbers 3.419–7.757 (number of registered persons 4.237), number of pages 596, number of leaves 298, format 24x39. Comment on the back cover: *Compilation of a book done on 5th December 1944 by M. Kapetanović. This book has 596 pages, i.e. 298 leaves. 21st October 1949. Belgrade. Head in charge M.M.*¹³⁸

The Fifth book of personal data of detainees of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica, 10th October 1942 - 25th March 1943, ordinal numbers 7.758–11.682 (number of registered persons 3.925), number of pages 592, number of leaves 296, format 24x39. Comment on the back cover: *This book has 592 pages. Completed on 1st December 1944. Žuržul P. Aleksandar.*¹³⁹

The Sixth book of personal data of detainees of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica, 25th March 1943 – 11th June 1943; ordinal numbers 11.683–14.426 (number of registered detainees 2.744), number of pages 392, number of leaves 196, format 24x39, Comment on the back cover: *The book has been completely filled in on 29th November 1944. S. Mlađan, Nada Vujić.*¹⁴⁰

The Seventh book of personal data of detainees of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica, 11th June 1943 – 30th July 1943, ordinal numbers 14.427–15.769 (number of registered detainees 1.342/less 3).¹⁴¹

The Eighth book of personal data of detainees of the Concentration Camp Beograd-Banjica, 30th July 1943 – 2nd October 1944, ordinal numbers 15.770–23.637 (number of registered detainees 7.868), number of pages 992, number of leaves 496, format 29x41. Comment on the back cover: *IX book C.C. Banjica, ordinal numbers 23.452 to 23.637. The rest of the book has not been preserved.*¹⁴²

During the binding and leaves sewing of this book, the mistake had been made after the page 968 with the last ordinal number 23.451. New leaf had been inserted with the initial ordinal number 23.612, ending with the last ordinal number 23.627. After that, the new leaf i.e. page started with ordinal number 23.452 and the interrupted sequence continued up to 23.637, from the page 1 to 24, which actually meant that the Ninth book was preserved from the number 23.452 to 23.637 and as such binded together with the Eighth book.

¹³⁸ IAB, UGB, inv. br. 198/SP–7.

¹³⁹ IAB, UGB, inv. br. 199/1, SP–8. Žuržul Petra Aleksandar was a detainee in the Banjica Camp, member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a soldier who took part in the battles of the Srem Front; killed in battle on 20th April 1945 in Kindrovo. IAB, MG 424.

¹⁴⁰ IAB, UGB, inv. br. 199/2, SP–9.

¹⁴¹ This book has been reconstructed in the Historical Archives of Belgrade during the process of digitization of the Banjica Books. It was done under the organization of Vojislav Prodanović, in the period 1998-1999. The reconstruction was completed in 2009, based on the cardfile of SJT and the cardfile received from the Archives of Yugoslavia. Three ordinal numbers have not been reconstructed: 14.551, 14.626 and 15.644.

¹⁴² IAB, UGB, inv. br. 200/SP–10.

The books were written in handwriting, in Serbian language, in Cyrillic alphabet, in black, blue, green and red ink. First and the last name of a detainee had been written in letters bigger than the rest of the script, then in a smaller letters were added profession, date and place of birth, name of a father, name and maiden last name of a mother, names of children, marital status, name of a spouse, maiden last name of a wife and address. In some of the entries, there were registered previous guilt and punishments.

Validity of data depended on the detainees themselves, their education and age – it happened that some of them hadn't known all personal data required from them. It has to be stressed out that this quantity of data and evidences on each detainee was not always being entered during the entire existence of the Camp. At the beginning, the evidences were very detailed and data entered in a clean and precise way, but, as the time went by and the number of detainees increased, the data decreased. Most detailed was the First book. According to handwriting, it could be concluded that the entries had been written by several registrars, with various degree of literacy, which produced a lot of difficulties in recognition of some of the letters or whole words.

The date of detainee's coming into the Camp had been registered in a new line, likewise the institution which brought him/her in and from where. Then, a few rows were left empty, later to be filled with various pieces of information on detainee's movements: taken to interrogation, sent to hospital or camp medical unit, taken to interrogation to SP or Gestapo, sent to other labor camps, sent to free labor,¹⁴³ forced labor, captivity in Germany and other camps in occupied Europe, in Banat, Bor Mines, Trepča Mines or to other labor depending to needs of the German Authorities, released from the camp or forcible or natural death.¹⁴⁴ Since the beginning of 1942 three stamps had been in use for entering data:

„Executed by firing _____ 194_ in Belgrade“

„Taken away to labor _____ 194_ by Gestapo–UGB“

„Liberated _____ 194_ by Gestapo–UGB“

¹⁴³ Free labor meant freedom of moving and work in fields, factories, at families.

¹⁴⁴ It happened that registrars didn't always enter that piece of information. At few entries the registrar didn't enter i.e. left out the data on bringing in the detainee or his further destiny; very often there were not entered both pieces of data: in the fourth book, No. 2.829, for the first time we recorded the nonexistence of data on bringing in the detainee in a camp. In the first book, No. 306, for the first time we recorded that there was no data on the further destiny of the detainee. In the eight book, No. 21.389 we recorded that there were no data on the bringing in of the detainee in the camp and his further destiny.

Registrars entered dates and additional remarks related to a detainee. For a considerable number of detainees it wasn't recorded what had happened with them after their take in. Such entries were recorded with the sign [*].

The order of data in the entries was strictly defined. Sometimes, but in irrelevant number of cases, that order was disturbed. In front of each name the ordinal number was first entered.

1. The ordinal number (register) came in the scope from 1 to 23.637.

There appeared few errors in adding the ordinal number, some numbers were omitted, some reentered with the addition of a subnumber i.e. letter sign „a“. In the third book the ordinal numbers in scope 2.640a-2.699a had been corrected twice. The sequence was disturbed in the following entries: a detainee registered under the two sequential numbers, Jovanović Hađi Gligorije No. 934 and Hadži Jovanović Gligorije No. 935, No. 935 with the accompanying text had been crossed out. Ordinal numbers 1.094 and 2.276 had got their subnumbers 1.094a and 2.276a. After the ordinal number 2.699 the registrar got back to ordinal number 2.640 and added the subnumber, letter sign „a“, thus adding new 60 entries in the scope from 2.640a to 2.699a. Newly formed numbers were left in places where the registrar put them, since almost all detainees were brought in group at the same time. The register of the detainees continued from the number 2.700 to 2.746, then the number 2.746a was added, the sequence continued up to the ordinal number 3.759. After that number, hundred of numbers had been left out, and the first following one was 3.860 until 5.049. After 5.050 the sequence of numbers continued until the end of the eight book, up to 23.637. Some of the detainees had been arrested and registered more than once. Overall number of registered detainees was less than the number of all detained persons in the Banjica Camp. Sometimes smaller, sometimes bigger groups of arrested or captured people had been brought in the camp, slept over the night and then taken to the execution sites or to other camps. Some groups had spent only couple of hours in the Camp.¹⁴⁵

Lists of arrested persons forwarded to the Banjica Camp were found In the BdS files and their names had not been registered in the Camp books.¹⁴⁶ There are still alive detainees of the Banjica Camp who were

¹⁴⁵ Successful break out of the three detainees of the Banjica Camp from the execution site in Jajinci on 8th December 1942 confirms that the arrested detainees had been brought in the Banjica Camp and then taken away to execution without registering in the Banjica books. Memories of two survived detainees, dr Radomir Milutinović and Stevan Stevanović, taken to the execution site with a group of 20 other detainees for execution by firing. IAB, BL 603. The third one who ran away with them was Lazar Spalević. He had been registered in the fourth Banjica book under the No. 7.544.

¹⁴⁶ Many groups of Jews and other arestees by Gestapo and the Special Police had been forwarded to the Banjica Camp, but their names had not been registered in the camp evidences. Lists of arrested persons forwarded to the Banjica Camp. IAB, BdS-542, A-617, A-616, B-1439, D-400, D-1093, T-681...

not registered in the evidences.¹⁴⁷ Estimations show that some 30.000 persons had been detained in the Banjica Camp.¹⁴⁸

2. Surname and name of a male i.e. female detainee had always been entered in the evidence book. They have been corrected or added only in cases when we have other resources available (statements of the family members, cardfile of the Belgrade citizens, fonds: *City Administration of Belgrade-Special Police Department, Commander of the Security Police* and the *Security Services (BdS)* and other archival material from that period preserved in the Historical Archives of Belgrade, *Red Cross of Yugoslavia* files, *Register of Births and Marriages of Jews in Belgrade*, data received from the *Jewish Historical Museum* in Belgrade, *Organization of Romas of Yugoslavia*). Entering names and surnames in the evidence books depended on many circumstances: how a detainee pronounced his/her name, how a registrar heard the name and how he entered it in the book. It happened very often when the close relatives of the arrested persons, who bore the same surname, entered the camp, but the surnames were registered differently. With the names and surnames of foreign origin, recognition of vowels was most difficult. Various registrars wrote the letter a, e, o in different ways. With consonants the typical example made the letter j: in the surname Koen and Kojen, the name Mihajlo (we found other forms, like Mijajlo, Mijajilo, Mijailo, Mihailo and Mihajlo). Which of these forms was correct is difficult to say without additional checkings in other resources. The similar situation happened with the various forms of the Jewish name Rahela - Rahel, Rakela, Rakel, Rašela. It has been proved for a fact that some members of the Leftwing organizations, communists¹⁴⁹ and Jews¹⁵⁰ presented themselves under the false names. In such cases, whenever we presented different form from the one registered in the evidence books, we made a comment in the square brackets.
3. Date of birth was written in the most cases. For a number of detainees a registrar put only the year of birth or just age the detainee he/she had at the moment of his/her entering into the camp. In a few cases the date of birth hadn't been entered at all, while in a very small number of cases only the month and the year of birth were entered. Dates were entered in different manners: in Arabic and Roman numerals and letters. That data related to each detainee we wrote in the same

¹⁴⁷ The eighth book of the Banjica camp, No. 23.428, Filipović Đorđe, Italian internee brought in by Sipo Ljubljana in the Camp Dedinje (Banjica) on 16th August 1944 and after a month released and liberated. IAB, BdS cardfile. According to the statement made by his son Vladeta Filipović, there had been in the camp his father, his mother and himself. A woman and a son had not been entered into the book of evidences.

¹⁴⁸ Statements made by Svetozar Vujković, Božidar Bečarević and Dragomir Jovanović during the trial sessions, evidence and court files. IAB, OSB, K 1; IAB, BIA, F I / P 2; BIA, F IX / P 7; i BIA, F II / P 1.

¹⁴⁹ The fifth book, No. 10.771, Čobanović Ljubica, a false name for Desanka Ležajić; the sixth book, No. 11.910, Obradović Marijana, false name for Đuka Dinić; the sixth book, No. 12.164, Jovanović Stojan, false name for Stevan Milanko; the eighth book, No. 21.763, Jovanović Nikola, false name for Vasilije Buha.

¹⁵⁰ The first book, No. 269, Demajorović Lazar (Demajo Elizar); the fourth book, No. 6.858, Rozenberg Anita as Marković Branka. IAB, UGB SP IV-191/2; the fourth book, No. 6.859, Rozenberg Erna as Mihajlović Vera. SP IV-191/A; the fourth book, No. 6.860, Frojter (Fruhter) Marta as Stojanović M. Jelica. SP IV-191/1.

way: date in Arabic, month in Roman and year in Arabic numerals. In the same manner the dates of the coming of detainees in the Camp and data on their further movements were written in. The information related to age of detainees has been further explained by adding a word „old“ in corresponding gender. It happened sometimes that the registrars wrongly entered the dates of birth instead the date of their coming into the Camp. That problem had been solved by checking, likewise the situations when the dates of birth originally hadn't been entered at all, but later, after researching was done, were put into the square brackets.

4. Profession had been entered for every detainee, with some small exceptions. Different professions were recorded. The majority of detainees were peasants, who were recorded as farmers or plowmen. Under the general term *worker* many different occupations stood for. There were a lot of students, pupils, professors and teachers, legal specialists, doctors, engineers, administrative workers, craftsmen of various specialties. Profession was very often abbreviated and was given in full form without square brackets. In cases when the abbreviated form could be understood to have multifold meanings, the abbreviation was left as it was. Abbreviations standing for the institutions were explained at its first appearance. A list of abbreviations and a list of rare and less known professions were given in the end of the book.
5. Place of birth almost always had been entered in; omission of that data was seldom. In addition to the place of birth, the relevant district was being recorded, by default. Without the information related to district it would be almost impossible to check the names of places, especially the names of villages, hamlets, as the most numerous ones. Registers and censuses of inhabited places were being used for checking up their names. Some names of places had never been resolved. Names of places outside the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were also checked, but some of them had not been resolved. The names of places of birth and living, entered in the books in wrong forms, had been resolved in square brackets, in nominative case. The authentic declination in the manuscript had been kept, without other phonetic changes. (For example: Šabac – Šabcu, Golubac – Golubcu).
6. Name of father and mother had been registered for every detainee, with some rare exceptions. Mother's maiden surname was registered in a less number of cases, but sometimes the registrars just marked a sign „N“ or „n.n“. The researched data were resolved in square brackets.
7. Marital status was regularly entered in the evidences, but not the name of a spouse's name, surname. Only in the first book the names of married couples had been entered, even divorced ones. The marital status had been written in different ways: various variations of the basic word (for example: *married, unmarried, not married, widower, widow*).

8. Names of children and their number had been entered in a precise manner and meticulously only in the First book. Later, only the number of children had been entered, most often in letters, less in numerals.
9. The place of living and the address were entered almost always. If the detainees had come from Belgrade, a registrar didn't put that information regularly. The place of living was being checked up in the same manner as the place of birth. So were the names of streets in other larger cities. The corrections were put in the square brackets. Names of the Knez Mihailova Str., Džordž Vašington, Žorž Klemanso etc. were entered as were accustomed in the prewar period: for example: Knez Mihajlova, Đorđa Vašingtona Str., Đorđa Klemansoa Str. In such cases, we kept the original form.
10. Nationality was not regularly entered for each detainee. It was usually done for Jews and „Gypsies“ (Roma), rarely for Serbs and Croats and some foreigners.
11. Religious status was recorded in minor number of entries.
12. Data on fines and punishments received prior to and during the war were recorded in some of the detainees' entries. Mostly, it referred to communists and leftwing oriented citizens, arrested in compliance with the provisions of the State Protection Law, or for criminal acts and deviant activities. UGB OKP (Criminal Police Department of the City Administration of Belgrade) brought in the persons convicted for criminal acts.¹⁵¹ The first groups came into the Camp from 9th to 11th December 1941. Some of them were convicted before the war, some during the war, and some during the period of occupation in various places in Serbia, particularly in Belgrade, for heavy criminal acts: murders, heavy and small criminal deeds, for short or long term time confinements in prison. Extremely large group of criminals was brought into the Banjica Camp on 13th February 1942. It contained 230 persons taken from the Penal Institution in Sremska Mitrovica. Majority was executed by firing, especially those convicted for heavy criminal acts and long term confinement.¹⁵² A small number of criminals were sent to German labor camps even less insignificant number were sent back to Penal Institution in Požarevac, to further serve the punishment.
13. Date of camp accession was being registered regularly. In a few cases it was omitted. In some cases it was not correct, and after being checked it was corrected in square brackets. Registrars usually wrote *came to camp*, *transferred to camp*, sometimes *transported to camp*, seldom *brought in camp*, very often just *in camp since*, followed by date and arresting institution. It was not always registered wherefrom

¹⁵¹ The Second Banjica Book: smaller group, ordinal numbers from 1.869 to 1.873, all detainees in that group were categorized in I group and were fired to death. One person avoided the firing because he had been hospitalized and after leaving the hospital he was sent to a labor camp; major group, ordinal numbers 1.903 to 1.932, by the decision on detention in camp, got characterized as K II.

¹⁵² The Fourth Banjica Book, No. 4.238 to No. 4.463.

the detainee had been brought in. The majority of detainees were arrested and brought in the camp by Gestapo, the executive body of the German Police and Security Services, and Belgrade Special Police, which had its branch offices throughout Serbia. Transportation to the camp was being done by the Wehrmacht units (AK, OKW and SS).¹⁵³ Fieldcommands, Craiscommands participated significantly less in arrests and transfers of people to the camp, mostly for minor, non-political offenses of orders issued by Occupation authorities. Fieldcommand of the Nourishment Directorate made arrests of peasants who hadn't provided too high quotes for repurchasing of grains. Referred to Collaboration Authority, besides the City Administration of Belgrade – Special Police Department, Criminal Police Department and Prices Supervising Department,¹⁵⁴ arrests and transfers to the Camp had been done first by Gendarmerie, then, the Nedić and Ljotić's armed units: Serbian Volunteer Corps, Serbian Volunteer Detachments, Serbian State Guard, the Serbian Armed Detachment, Serbian State Field Guard, the Serbian Field Guard, Serbian Border Guards, while in villages during the first war years by Chetnicks Commands of Kosta Milovanović Pećanac, later of Dragoljub Draža Mihailović, as well as district and commune departments of the Administration of Nedić government, which came again into existence after the break down of the Republic of Užice /*Užička republika*/. *The seats of city police were established in all major cities. Arrestees were often and subsequently interrogated inside Special Police and Gestapo prisons, often within the Camp. In the Camp the following group of persons was being transferred: prewar opponents to the State regime, intellectuals, patriots and democrats, captured partisans, illegals, communists and leftwing oriented citizens, members of the Chetnicks' movement, citizens gathered in police raids, hostages,*¹⁵⁵ criminals, lunatics, peasants, wheat producers.¹⁵⁶ Detainees were of various age,

¹⁵³ The sixth book, ordinal numbers from 13.250 to 13.283, registered group of 34 persons, out of which 15 were children, almost all born in Germany. Grown ups were artists. They lived shortly in Zagreb in the same house. They had been in Niš when the AK (Abwehrkommando – Command of the German Intelligence Service) transported them into the Banjica Camp. SS took them away to an unknown destination. In the BdS files, under the name Šmit Vilhema and Šmit Selma comments were added in German which read as following: *They damage the German reputation abroad.*

¹⁵⁴ In August 1941 the Department of Price Monitoring was organized within the City Administration of Belgrade.

¹⁵⁵ All of the detained persons to whom revenge could be applied had been considered hostages. Members of the families who escaped to woods made a special category of detainees. Gestapo took for hostages members of the Chetnick's movement while City Administration of Belgrade and Special Police (UGB SP) took members of the leftwinged parties and communists. The German Authority considered hostages a group of cca 200 intellectual and prominent citizens, declared for free masons. There were distinguished persons from the cultural and scientific life in Serbia.

¹⁵⁶ Special group of arrested during the German raids made wheat manufacturers called dirisovci (žitari) – persons who had not been able to provide the quote for the mandatory repurchase of wheat. They were being brought in the camp in autumn, stayed for few months and then released to freedom. Major groups were being brought from the vicinity of Požarevac, Verliko Orašje, Vrčin.

Id people,¹⁵⁷ men and women with children, babies just born, some of the babies were born in the Camp,¹⁵⁸ men and women of various nationalities.¹⁵⁹ Most numerous were detainees 20 to 30 years of age.

14. Information related to further destinies of detainees was not always entered into the books. The reasons for their detaining or taking away from the camp had been recorded: interrogation in Special Police or Gestapo; hospitalization or taking in the ambulance, returning to the camp; data on execution – when, where and by whom; released – when and by whom; taken away – when, where and by whom; transfer to other camps to labor, forced labor in captivity – especially if the detainees had been officers or other military persons,¹⁶⁰ *to free labor (voluntary) in Germany, Norway, France or to labor in Banat, Bor Mines or other parts required by German authorities and OT.*¹⁶¹ Special Police of the City Administration of Belgrade forwarded the detainees of younger age, high school attendees and students to the Institute of Compulsory Education of Youth in Smederevska Palanka. Many of them had been taken to other concentration camps Europe wide: Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Dachau, Ravensbrück, Buchenwald, Korgen, Ozen, Lund, Potsdam...The detainees were taken into or from the Command 1005,¹⁶² Dulag 172.¹⁶³ A great number of detainees of the Banjica Camp had been taken to execution by firing in Jajinci site, Central Cemetery (Marinkova Bara), Jewish Cemetery, Jabuka village near Pančevo and other execution sites in Belgrade and vicinity. Many of the detainees ended their lives after heavy tortures during the interrogation procedures and confession extortion in the prisons of Gestapo and Special Police by hanging or by firing squad in the Camp itself. Some died of natural death. Some detainees were liber-

¹⁵⁷ The seventh book, ordinal No.14.861, the oldest detainee was Jovanović Vuksan, former bookseller, born 1843 in Danilovgrad. This hundred years old man spent nine months in the Banjica Camp.

¹⁵⁸ The eighth book, ordinal No. 23.579, Marković Slobodanka, born 11th September 1944, was the last baby born in the camp. Insted of being register in the Registry of Born persons, she was entered into the Banjica Book of personal data of detainees.

¹⁵⁹ In addition to smaller or greater groups of foreigners – Greeks, Italians, Albanians, Russian, English, French, Polish – one Belgian woman found herself in the camp too; the eighth book, ordinal No. 1.760, Vandenbuše Marija, Catholic, dressmaker, born 1904 in Belgium, residence in Marseilles, sbrought in the camp on 5th December 1941, released after two and a half months by Gestapo.

¹⁶⁰ Camp for war prisoners: Oflag for officers, Stalag for non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who labored in agriculture and industry.

¹⁶¹ Military and industry Organization Tot (Organisation Todt), besides police bodies, played an important role in Serbia in organizing and maintaining labor camps.

¹⁶² Special German Command Sonderkommando 1005, since the late autumn 1943, worked on cremating corpses of people fired in the Jajinci execution site, using detainees of the Banjica and Sajmište Camps as laborforce. Since March 1944 this Command worked on destroying evidences of crimes committed on other places of execution – in Jabuka and Niš.

¹⁶³ At the confluence of the River Sava into the Danube, a transitory prisoners Camp (Dulag 172, Semlin) existed since autumn 1943, in which were detained Italians, Soviets, partizans and other prisoners of war. In the Easter bombardment of Belgrade by the Ally airforce on 16/17th April 1944, this camp was almost completely destroyed, survived prisoners were transferred to a newly formed prisoners' camp in Milišićeva ciglana (Dulag 172, Belgrade) in Zvezdara, Belgrade.

ated after shorter or longer stay in the Camp. The registrars simply wrote that piece of information in the following wording *released to freedom* or just *released* or variation of that syntagmatic expression. Decisions on releasing someone to freedom were issued by Military units of Wehrmacht (AK, OKW, SS), Gestapo Police Forces, Fieldcommands, Serbian Police and Military authorities, Ministry of Interior, head of the Serbian State Security, Command of Serbian State Guard. This piece of information had not been always entered. At some detainees' entries the following wording was entered at the end of the text *released, taken away or executed by firing*, then the comment followed (*on intervention or by order of*) Šubert, Fridrih, Kriger,¹⁶⁴ Lederer,¹⁶⁵ Huber(t),¹⁶⁶ Paranos, Vujković, Jovanović.

15. In some entries, within the text body related to detainees of the Banjica Camp there was an information on the categorization of a detainee. Sometimes that piece of information was written next to ordinal number and to surname, in the form of K=I or K=II; for other categories there was no data in the original Banjica Books.¹⁶⁷

Volume of the original documentation (eight books) defined a scientific apparatus. Due to the lack of space, specific features and quantity of the archival material which is being published, we have decided to modify a bit the classic way of representation of the original text, footnotes and annotations. We replaced them with shorter comments, explanations and references, written in square brackets. Comments were not written for each detainee, but only for those where we determined for certain that the registrar had made a mistake, so we corrected it and gave corresponding reference. Our intention was to initiate and direct scientific and wider public to quantity, content and importance of the archival fonds treasured in the Historical Archives of Belgrade, which we consulted for this occasion as supplement to data on the Banjica Camp detainees, i.e. archival fonds of *City*

¹⁶⁴ Fridrih Šubert, Vili Fridrih and Peter Kriger – executive commanders of the Banjica Camp for longer or shorter period of time. Kriger, volksdeutchers of Crvenka, former distributor of goods in Department Store Mitić, kept that position longest of all others.

¹⁶⁵ Karl Lederer, SS non-commissioned officer, was the head of the Unit IV C 2 (until the end of September 1942). That unit kept the central cardfile of BdS. The lists of those forseen for execution by firing as revenge had been compiled there, as well as the list of those planned for transportation to forced labor and other camps and concentration camps. IAB, cardfiles of the members of BdS.

¹⁶⁶ In the archives of the State Commission on Determining War Crimes, Inv. No. 14.951, it was indicated that in BdS ued to work Huber(t), non-commissioned officer who wore the official badge 41 – and administrated the group within the unit IVC. That unit was in charge with matters such as: raids, prisons, camps, transports, lists of arrested persons for revenge. To this unit the group in charge for Jews was added. IAB, cardfiles of the members of BdS.

¹⁶⁷ Since June 1942, in the files of Special Police, lists of detainees filed in four cathegories as well as decisions on their cathegorization and forwarding to the Camp were being found. Later, cathegories III and IV got subcathegories. In August 1944 Milan Nedić introduced V and VI cathegory. Commission for cathegorization worked at first within the Special Police Deartment, later in the Banjica Camp. It had steady members and their deputies. I AB, UGB SP IV–33/46; SP IV–211/198; SP IV–236/36; SP IV–243/A; SP IV–275; SP IV– 358/A.

*Administration of Belgrade – Special Police Department (UGB OSB), City
Administration of Belgrade – Criminal Police Department (UGB OKP),
BdS, Commune of the City of Belgrade (OGB), besides the extensive
memoire and documentary material.*

*Evica Micković,
archivist counselor*

*Milena Radojčić,
archivist counselor*



Concentration camps in Belgrade – Banjica, Sajmište, Topovske šupe and Milišićeva ciglana, shown on the map printed in 1949



Svetislav Milin, one from the group of five people, hanged on the Terazije Square in Belgrade on August 17th, 1941



Retaliation of the occupying forces in the Skela village, August 15th, 1941

UPRAVA GRADA BEOGRADA
Odeljenje specijalne policije
Pov II. Br. 27. 1941
10 juli 1941
Beograd

Gospodinu

PRETSEDNIKU OPŠTINE GRADA BEOGRADA

B E O G R A D



Odlukom Nemačkog komandanta mesta i Nemačke državne tajne policije naredjeno je, da se organizuje koncentracioni logor na Banjici / u zgradi kasarne bivšeg 18 peš. puka / u najkraćem roku.

Istom odlukom svi materijalni izdaci oko popravke, adaptiranja zgrade, instalacije, nameštaja, kao i izdražavanja krivaca pada na teret Beogradske opštine.

Sa izloženog, a u vezi već našeg usmenog razgovora, molim Vas za naredjenje, da se potrebni radovi što više forsiraju, tako da sve bude gotovo najdalje do kraja ovoga meseca.

Sve što je potrebno da se uradi, u glavnim linijama već je poznato određenoj režijsko-inžinjerskoj komisiji, a detalji će se saopštiti istoj komisiji čim budu planovi podneti ovoj Upravi.

Vrlo je hitno !.

КРАЉЕВИНА ЈУГОСЛАВИЈА
ГРАДСКО ПОГЛАВАРСТВО
БЕОГРАД
ТЕХНИЧКА ДИРЕКЦИЈА
VI Бр. 47.37
11 јула 1941
У БЕОГРАДУ

UPRAVNIK GRADA BEOGRADA :

Man. G. Jovanović

Рече. кав. у Управе Града Б.

30. VII. 41

Б.Д.-Шефа
Архитектонског одека,

арх. Д. Јовановић

Dragi Jovanović, Mayor of the City of Belgrade, communicated a letter to the Belgrade Commune, related to the foundation of the concentration camp on Banjica site, on July 11th, 1941



top: Relatives of the detainees standing nearby the main entrance to the Banjica Camp, in the Banjički venac Str. (nowadays Generala Pavla Jurišića Šturma Str.)

bottom: A shot of the Banjica Camp taken from the Šumadijska Str. direction (nowadays Boulevard of Liberation/Bulevar oslobođenja)



top: Watchtower and the barracks inside the Banjica Camp yard



Corridor in the Banjica Camp

Рађено 23 маја 1943 године
у Одељењу специјалне полиције
Управе града Београда

2.

ЗАПИСНИК

О извршеном саслушању МИТРОВИЋА ВЕЛИМИРА, земљорадника,
са станом у селу Бегаљицама, среза грочанског.

I

Ја се зовем Митровић Велимир, по занимању сам земљорадник,
рођен сам 1916 године у селу Бегаљицама, среза грочанског, од оца
Љубомира и мајке Ђилинке рођ. Симеуновић, вере православне, Србин, оже-
њен, отац двоје деце, неосуђиван и некажњаван, душевно и телесно здрав
и способан да будем саслушан, те позван изјевљујем следеће:

II

Рођен сам у селу Бегаљици где стално живим и обрађујем
моје имање око 20 ланаца земље у заједници са оцем од чега издржа-
вам моју породицу од седам чланова.

Био сам у јесен прошле године у Пољској државној стражи
у Гроцкој а затим поновно сам позван пред Божић па сам остао све до
фебруара месеца ове године. Кад сам се вратио у село срео сам се са
ЈОВАНОВИЋЕМ ЖИВАНОМ који ми је пребацивао што сам ја био у стражи,
и рекао ми је да ћу ја да надрљам зато што сам био тамо. Ја сам се
у прво време уплашио и растао сам се од њега. Након седам осам дана
по доласку у Бегаљицу саопштио ми је у марту месецу Живан Јовановић
једне вечери да и ја узмем пушку и муницију и да пођем са ним и ре-
као ми је да ће се вршити напад на жандамериску станицу у Гроцкој.
Када ме је он позвао ја сам пошао од куће и понео сам пушку и 20 ко-
мада бојевих метака. Отишао сам пред кафаном где су се већ били оку-
пили остали, неки сељаци из села Бегаљице и то: ЖИВАДИМ МИТРОВИЋ, ЖИВАН
ЈОВАНОВИЋ, ЖИВАН МИТРОВИЋ, ~~ИЛИЈА МИТРОВИЋ~~ и ми смо се кренули од
кафане ка Гроцкој путем са још неким људима које нисам могао у мрак
да препознам. Идући тако дошли смо моста зв. "Река" и продужили
смо још један део пута и мене су оставили код Митине магаци, а они
су продужили лево и десно, где су се расподелили по полаку, врбаку.
Мене су водили да им покажем пут зато што сам био у Пољској стражи
а када сам им показао они су ме вратили натраг код Митине магаци, а
које налазио лево и десно од мене то ми није познато. Кад су почеле
пушке да пуцају а сам мало пренутао па сам почео и ја да пуцам на
жандамериску станицу. Том приликом испалио сам око 10 до 15 метака.
Напад је почео ко 11 сати а завршио се око пола два сата. Кад је
престала пуцњава мени је дошао Живан Јовановић и рекао ми је ајде
напад је завршен.

Пушку са којом са учествовао у нападу нисам предао на
тражење Пољске страже која је дошла да ме ухапси, а иста се налази
код моје куће закопана у башти по више куће у рибану. Сем овога напа-
да нисам учествовао ни у каквим акцијама.

Друго немам шта да кажем и све су моје речи у њему тачно
записане, те га за своје признајем.

Потписујем,

Велимир Митровић

По предању

САСЛУШАО И ОБЕРАЂАВАО

Записник, 23. маја 1943.

Р. С. Јурић

НАБ. УГБ СП. У. 236/36

Special Police minute from May 23rd 1943 about the hearing of Velimir Mitrović, who
was taken to Banjica Camp the next day, and executed on May 24th

Својеручни потпис:
Eigenhändige Unterschrift:

Марковић Бранка

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ПРЕТСТОЈНИШТВО ГРАДСКЕ ПОЛИЦИЈЕ — ЧАЧАК
POLIZEIVORSTAND — ČAČAK

ЛЕГИТИМАЦИЈА
PERSONENSTANDSKARTE

Број 1446/42

Презиме Јанковић - Јанковић
Familienname

Име Надежда - Nadežda
Name

Име оца Нedeljko - Nedeljko
Name des Vaters

Занимање доматица - Hausfrau
Beruf

Место рођења Аленица - Alenica
Geburtsort

Особени знаци нема - keine
Besondere Merkmale

датум рођења 2-V-1920 год
Geburtsdag

брачно стање удова - vidve
Familienstand

Отисак

Потпис сопственика
Unterschrift des Inhabers der

Јанковић Надежда

Претстојник градске полиције
Vorsteher des Polizeivorstand

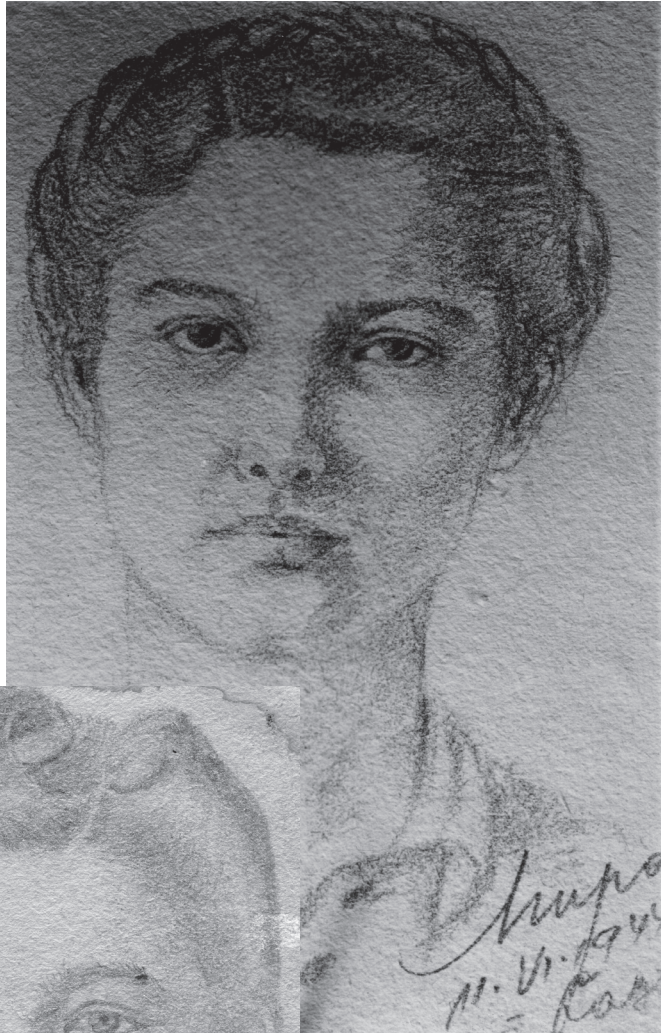
Бранка

24511001E-6/9m/22

top: Identity card of Anita Rosenberg, issued with her false name BrankaMarković

bottom: Identity card of Nadežda Janković, executed on 7th June 1943 in Belgrade
(see page 41)

Srbijanka Bukumirović shot
by firing on September 7th,
1944, drawing by pencil done
by Mira Jovanović Jazet,
camp detainee



Jovanka Bukumirović
Bogdanović, killed in the Camp
on September 11th, 1944,
drawing by pencil done by Mira
Jovanović Jazet, camp detainee



top: Group of underground activists and communists arrested in Belgrade during the March Break-in and transferred to the Banjica Camp after being interrogated in the Special Police, 1942



bottom: Execution by firing in Jajinci site



top: Execution site in Jajinci

bottom: Exhumation of the Banjica Camp detainees executed by firing on the Jewish cemetery along the north-east wall, November 22nd–23rd, 1944



Funeral of Banjica Camp victims on 24th November 1944 on New Cemetery



Funeral of Banjica Camp victims on 24th November 1944 on New Cemetery



Photographs from the archival fonds and collections in the custody of the Historical Archives of Belgrade

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