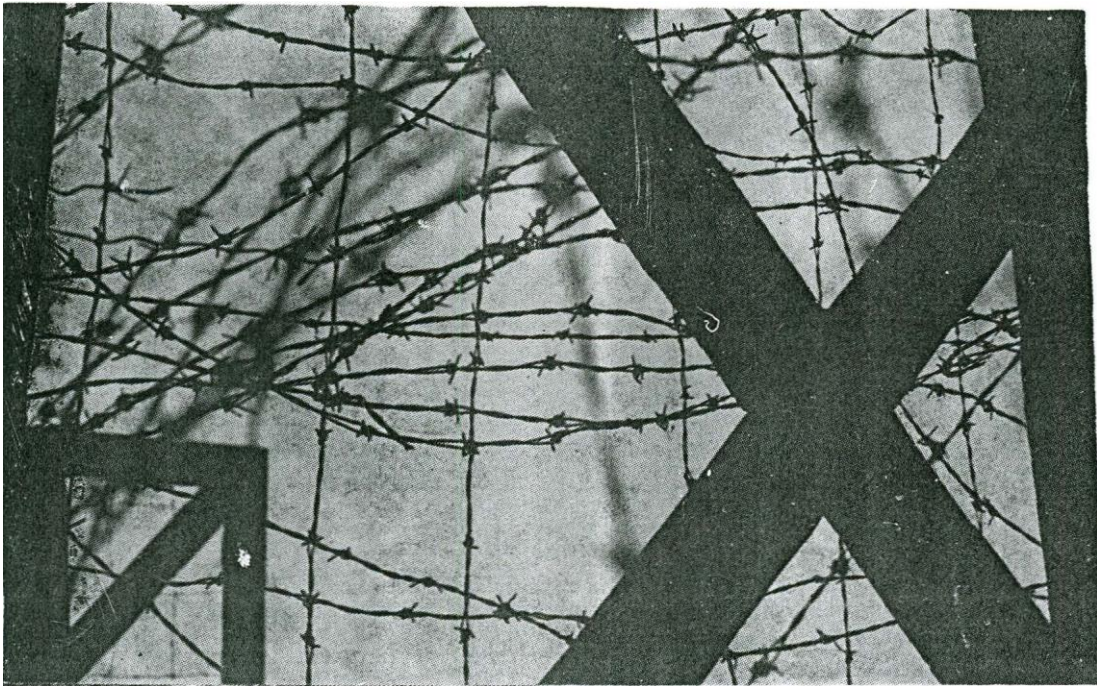


National Museum ~ Niš



Jewish Prisoners of the Concentration Camp “Red Cross”

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Jewish Prisoners of the Concentration Camp “Red Cross”

Niš, 1978

Foreword

The Jewish people experienced great tragedy of massive executions during the Second World War orchestrated by the criminal fascist regime. The tragedy of the Jewish people in Niš during the Fascist rule is a part of the overall tragedy of many countries and nations but it should be considered as a result of a monstrous plan created by the Nazis.

Just before the Second World War there were more than 100 Jewish families with around 360 members in Niš. Besides native Jews there were refugees from other cities in Serbia as well as a larger group of 155 immigrants from Central Europe which were transported to Niš from Kuršumlijska Banja. All of them were brought to the Concentration Camp "Red Cross," tortured and humiliated both physically and psychologically and then shot on the hill Bubanj near Niš or gassed at Sajmište (a concentration camp located in Belgrade). In this way, more than 1,000 Jews from the Concentration Camp "Red Cross" were killed. Thus, we decided to prepare an exhibition about Jewish people which is a part of the permanent exhibition in the Concentration Camp "Red Cross." The aim of the exhibition and the accompanying catalogue is to keep a memory of their tragic destiny and to inform the visitors about this tragedy.

National Museum Niš

Jews are one of the oldest nations that also lived in Yugoslavia and their history is a part of the history of our nations. Jewish settlements have existed in our country since the Romans. In the 16th century a number of Jews who were forced out of Spain and Portugal settled on the Balkan Peninsula. Sephardic municipalities in Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Dalmatia originated from these immigrants, while Jews living in Croatia and Vojvodina were Ashkenazi Jews from Hungary, Slovakia and Poland.

In Yugoslavia, before World War II, there were 117 Jewish municipalities in which there were around 70,000 Jews. Just before the war started 5,000 more Jews emigrated from Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany which increased the number to close to 75,000. They predominantly lived in larger cities: Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Skopje, Subotica, Bitolj, Novi Sad, Niš, and others.

In Niš there were Jews even during Roman times. Their number increased in the 17th century with new immigrants. In the period that followed the liberation of Niš from the Turks in 1878 there were 12,817 citizens including 900 Jews¹. This number decreased over time due to Jewish people moving to larger cities such as Belgrade and Skopje resulting in the Jewish population in Niš being a bit more than 100 families with 360 members. The President of the Jewish society (municipality) of Niš was Dr. Borivoje Beraha who was, just before the war, replaced by Borivoje Hazan who was a bank clerk. In the city, Jews were known and respected as successful merchants who were influential in all areas of the society. Jewish people were mainly merchants; there were merchant assistants, representatives of many companies, handymen, clerks, as well as many other professions. This is a list of occupations of Jewish people in Niš:

Profession	Number
Textile Workers:	1
Drivers:	1
Handymen:	29
Merchant Assistants:	9
News Reporters:	1
Merchants:	47
Medical Doctors:	2
Renters:	2
Geometers:	3
Clerks:	20
Priests:	1
Industrialists:	1
Lawyers:	2
Pharmacists:	2
Professors:	1
Engineers:	1
Artists:	1
Children and students	69
House Wives:	128
Unemployed:	2

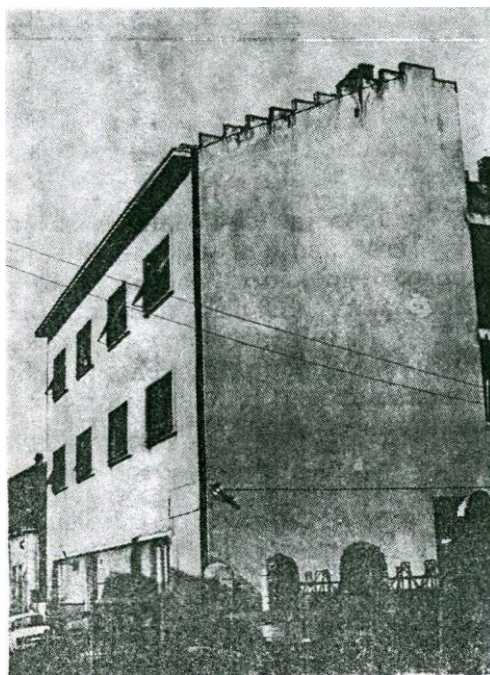


Figure 1. Jewish Society (Municipality) Building in Niš

Given the list of professions, there can be observed a wide variety of professions of Jews from Niš as well as the fact that there were 132 who were employed and thus supported their family members. Comparing the number of employed Jews with the number of families (just over 100) implies that each family had one or less often two employed members. The number of children and students indicates that Jewish families in Niš had one or two children while some families had no children².

Because trading was the dominant profession of Jews in Niš, there were many wealthy people among them who owned large properties and wealth. They had more than 50 houses, a number of land parcels, stores, vineyards and other property.

Before the war, the Jews constituted around 1 percent of the total number of citizens of Niš³. Beside the municipality, they had other organizations: national, cultural and sport/recreation related. In particular, the choir “David” contributed greatly in spreading the choir musical culture in the city. Since their arrival in the city, Jewish people shared good and bad times with other citizens and actively participated in economical, cultural and social activities of the city while as a minority group they created their own social and cultural way of life. According to the data of the Committee for War Crimes from 1945, on the day of the separation/segregation of the Jews, the numbers were as follows:

Number of permanent Jewish residents	356
Number of Jewish people in transit	51
Number of Jewish immigrants (citizens of other countries)	155
Total number	562 ⁴

During the Second World War the Jews experienced tragedy and were massively exterminated by the forces of the criminal fascism⁵. Discrimination against Jews, that was known since centuries ago for religious, economical or other reasons, culminated in the 30's and 40's of the 20th century in the form of an anti-Semitic movement when national-socialist party came to power in Germany. This movement originated from the fascist ideology which experienced expansion during the Second World War, and its consequences were atrocities against Jewish people.



Figure 2. Gestapo used this building during the World War II (years 1941-1944)

As the national-socialist party gained power, anti-Semitism appeared in more dangerous forms with tragic implications during the Second World War.

In 1939, at the beginning of the World War II, a plan for “solving the Jewish issue” was created in Germany. This plan was to be implemented not only in Germany but in all countries under German occupation. This plan included genocide of the Jews and expropriation of their property by the Third Reich. The plan was implemented with a systematic persistence in Germany as well as all other countries occupied by Hitler’s forces.

On April 9, 1941, the Germans occupied Niš and harsh times came for all citizens of Niš and in particular its Jewish citizens. This was due to the established Nazi politics in occupied countries and the intention that the same will be enforced in Niš too. The first indications appeared in the newspaper “New Times.” The Jews were falsely accused of anti-German propaganda leading to uprisings against Germans on the 27th of March,

1941, of fighting against the Third Reich and other charges. The German occupation government in Niš systematically conducted racist policies against the Jews.

In the “List of statements of the military government of Serbia,” number 7 and 8 which appeared on May 31, 1941, a proclamation about Jews was published and also reported in the occupation newspaper “New Times.” The Nazi command office 809 took a number of actions against Jewish people accordingly.

One of the proclamations was that all people of Jewish origin must be reported to police stations in the areas of residence. During the registration Jewish properties were documented. It was also decided that Jewish people must be marked. All Jewish people were forced to carry yellow ribbons with the writing “Jude-Jevrejin” (Jew) and the Star of David sign on their chests and backs. Their movement was limited, including walking in public places, streets and markets, as well as purchasing at stores and markets. Another restriction was that Jews were allowed to purchase at markets only after 12pm. They were forbidden to work in any public-related professions. These included practicing of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, law, veterinary, etc. They were allowed to treat only their own people. Jews were forbidden to go to theaters, swimming pools and baths, sport manifestations, cafes, and public markets. They were not allowed to go to “Niška Banja” (a famous spa in Niš) and use trams. At numerous places in the city announcements with “Für Juden Verboten” appeared⁶. Jews could not be nannies, teachers, and owners of educational institutions or employed there. It was also forbidden for Jews to leave their homes without permission of the Nazi government.



Figure 3. Ribbon that was used by Germans to label Jews



Figure 4. “Red Cross” Concentration Camp in Niš

Jews were forced to register their companies with information including: type of business, income according to the most recent tax report, value of the storage buildings and the quantity of the raw material.

The announcement included the death penalty if anybody offered help in hiding and protecting Jews and their property.

For war damage repayment, for Jewish man between ages 14 and 60, hard labor for purposes of the German army and government was imposed as mandatory. If one would refuse to do it then the penalty was either imprisonment or death.

This insulting announcement that excluded Jewish people from the social life, taking away all human rights that they had previously, shows the difficulties Jews experienced during war days in Niš. By constraining their movements, not allowing any social activities, by confiscating their property, imposing hard labor, ordering them to wear identifying ribbons and by imposing various other restrictions from the announcement, the Jewish people were deprived of any human rights as citizens. They were humiliated at every possible occasion as the first step which was later followed by their physical extinction. The Germans were soon to start implementing their “plan from hell.”

Stealing Jewish property started with the Germans’ arrival to Niš. It was mostly done by Germans and “folksdojčers” (members of the German minority in Yugoslavia) as well as domestic traitors. The Jewish property’s destiny was very specific. The Nazis’ plan predicted as the main goal in the first stage to steal Jewish property. Everything was done in a systematic way. Immediately upon the arrival of the occupation forces all Jewish property was to be reported. When the property was documented, the Gestapo inspected the apartments and houses and took away valuables without providing any documentation. In this unprecedented robbery German occupational forces were aided by “folksdojčers” who were showing them where Jewish houses, stores and factories were located. After these criminal acts were done, other property such as furniture, linens,

clothing etc., were stolen as well. In this robbery, the Germans were greatly helped and accompanied by representatives of the German minority in Yugoslavia (“folksdojčers”) which left devastation in Jewish houses, stores and small businesses⁷. All items of any value were taken. The whole machine park was taken from companies and smaller businesses and was either moved to German storages or transported to Germany. This way, in a short period of time, all Jewish companies were liquidated except for the leather company of Mr. Dajč which continued to function under the local government’s jurisdiction. This way, in the three months of occupation, all Jewish stores and companies, saving accounts, deposits, treasure boxes, and pretty much all personal belongings and property were taken away.



Figure 5. (on the left) Dr. Velizar Pijade, medical doctor from Leskovac
Figure 6. (on the right) Rafael Geon’s ring which was made in the concentration camp

Belongings and personal items were taken with Jewish people to the concentration camp where later were stolen either during searches or before death penalties were carried out. After the deportation of women and children, in February of 1942, the German occupation government ordered that all remaining items should be taken from Jewish houses and apartments and moved to the building which was used as the Officers club. More valuable items were taken by Germans and the less valuable ones were taken by “folksdojčers” (members of the German minority in Yugoslavia). Empty Jewish apartments were occupied by Germans, “folksdojčers” and some of citizens of Niš whose apartments had been taken away by Germans. Jews were initially only left some land but the Germans soon took that too. In the new proclamation on July 22, 1941, all Jewish property was confiscated by the Third Reich.

Without any civil rights and economically destroyed, left without any incomes to make a basic living, Jews were in an incredibly difficult position; exhausted by suddenly

becoming poor, by hard labor, by being humiliated and in constant fear of what the future will bring, the Jews experienced massive genocide.

The tragedy of Niš's Jews starts at the beginning of April of 1941 and mostly ends in May of 1942. That period of one year can be split into three phases. From April 1941 till October 1941 was the first phase: in this period the Nazis documented all Jewish people and their property, marked them with yellow ribbons, restricted their movements, stole their property, introduced forced labor etc. In the second phase, from October 1941 till February 1942, Germans arrested all Jews, imprisoned them in the concentration camp "Red Cross" and killed the men on the hill Bubanj. In the third phase from February till March of 1942, the Germans deported women and children to the concentration camp Sajmište in Belgrade and gassed them.

On October 26, 1941, Dr. Turner wrote to the occupation command offices: "We should start from the initial point that the Jews are... the unreliable element and thus present a threat to society. Jewish intellect started this war and must be destroyed..."⁸

Based on this proclamation, in October of 1941, the German government ordered that all adult Jews from Niš report to hotel "Park" for further instructions. Thinking that the further instructions would be related to forced labor they all appeared and registered. On the contrary, Germans arrested them all and took them to the concentration camp "Red Cross." The commander was security colonel Schäffer (Šefer in Serbian), and it was guarded by the German soldiers. The Jews were placed in the attic (loft) of the main camp building, separated from the other prisoners, and forbidden any contact with other people. When in October of 1941 hostages and families, whose members were in the partisans, were arrested in Niš, they already saw Jews in the concentration camp. Most of the Jews were arrested in October as well as in early 1942 but there were also later arrests depending on when these individuals were discovered. In this way, more than a hundred men older than 14 years were brought to the camp. They were all Jews from Niš and from other places in Serbia (mostly from Belgrade) who came to Niš to be with their relatives around April 6 as well as a number of immigrants from central Europe who were taken from the center in Kuršumljijska Banja. Beside domestic Jews, refugees and immigrants, Jews from other places in Serbia such as Aleksinac, Leskovac, Zaječar, Kruševac and other cities, were also deported to the camp. It is known, that in October-November 1941, a group of 20 Jews from the vicinity of Niš and 70 Jews from Poland were brought to the camp. In the early 1942, the 12th military unit arrested 7 Jews in Niš. They were mostly from Belgrade and were hiding in Niš for fear of being arrested and killed. On the third of March 1942, the same unit brought in a larger group of Jews consisting of elderly, children and about 70 women. During the same month a group was brought from Leskovac as well as other cities in the eastern and western parts of Serbia. In this group there were sick people, bedridden, women and children who were later transported to Sajmište with the remaining women and children from Niš. After one shooting there were only children left who were all crying and repeating: "We will never see our dearest nor will they see us. They will kill us too."⁹ The occupation forces in Niš arrested all Jews except for some women that were married to Christians.

The life of Jews in the "Red Cross" concentration camp was under a very harsh camp regime. The camp was a place of torture, suffering and death. Despite this, the morale of the camp inmates was very high. The stronger ones helped the weaker ones; they shared food, and were helping each other, in general.

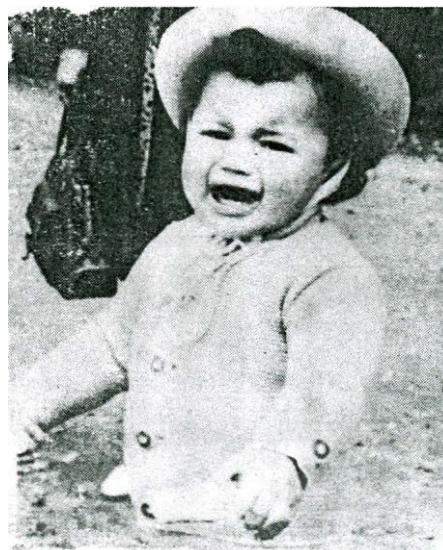
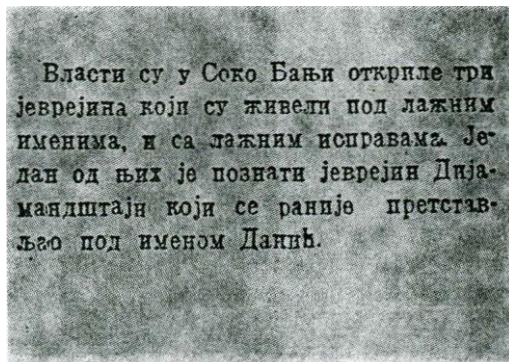


Figure 7. (on the left) Text from “New Times” published on March 7, 1942

Figure 8. (on the right) Saša Goldštajn who was put to death in a gas chamber at Sajmište

This relationship made the suffering easier to live through. The treatment of Jews in the camp was sadistic. The Germans always wanted to show their superiority over these innocent people. They would often enter rooms and beat people mercilessly. They would take women out and shave their heads or would shave only a strip to humiliate them and would cynically laugh. They would also make guard dogs attack them and enjoy watching scared camp inmates. Often the guards would come from the city drunk and then they would express their animal behavior by beating and torturing inmates. They would beat the inmates for no reason. There were cases of murder in the camp. The first Jew to be shot was Kon, owner of the glass company in Niš. He was shot and murdered in the camp and buried outside of the camp fence. Torturing and insults occurred daily. Stealing the remaining property was a specialty of the Germans. Some Jews kept the money and jewelry on them. The Germans systematically stole this property and through their collaborators managed to take the remaining property belonging to their families outside of the camp. In case they would not surrender their property they were threatened that their relatives would be tortured and killed. Collaborators in these dirty businesses were folksdojčers and domestic traitors who worked closely with the Germans.

Living conditions in the camp were extremely difficult. The inmates slept on concrete and only some of them had bedding brought with them to the camp. Many did not expect any of this so they came only with their clothes on. Space dedicated to each inmate was not larger than 50cm so the inmates were lying on their sides, very densely packed one next to the other.

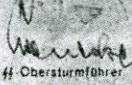

<p>DER HÖHERE #-UND POLIZEIFÜHRER im Bereich des Beyoll. Kdr. Generals in Serbien Der Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei u. des S D in Belgrad</p> <p>Aussenkommando Nisch</p> <p>AUSWEIS Grünberger Lilli Die Jüdin <u>Stojiljkovic Ljubica, geb.</u> geb. am <u>13.11.1910</u> in <u>Bjelina</u> wohnhaft <u>Nisch, Gen. Lesjanina 61</u> kann auf Grund Genehmigung obiger Dienststelle vom <u>4.9.42</u> weiter in <u>Nisch</u> verbleiben.</p> <p>Nisch, am <u>24. 9. 1942</u></p> <p> ff. Obersturmführer</p>	<p>VISI #-I POLICISKI VOĐA na teritoriji Opunomoćenog Komandujućeg Generala u Srbiji Zapovednik Policije Sigurnosti i Obaveštajne Službe u Beogradu</p> <p>Ispostava u Nišu</p> <p>O B J A V A Grünberger Stojiljkovic Ljubica, rođj. Jevrejka rođjena <u>13.11.1910</u> u <u>Bjelini</u> sa stanom u <u>Nisu, Gen. Lesjanina 61</u> može, na temelju odobrenja gornjeg Naslava, od <u>24.9.42</u> da ostane i dalje u <u>Nisu</u></p> <p>Niš, am <u>24. 9. 1942</u></p> <p> ff. Visti Jurišni Vođa</p>
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Figure 9. No figure caption but it is a copy of the permission that Ljubica Stojiljkovic, who is a citizen of Niš, can stay in Niš. The document is both in German and Serbian.

There were very many people in the attic. In the summer it was too hot and in the winter it was too cold. A few holes in the roof were the only sources of the fresh air. That attic in the summer was literally a place where people would suffocate from heat and would freeze like in an “ice machine” from cold in the winter. One could not say when it was worse, in the summer or in the winter, but the innocent people would heroically endure these conditions. In terms of hygienic conditions the situation was very bad, especially where there were small children. Personal hygiene could not be maintained because there were very few sanitary places/devices and those were very primitive septic holes. Because of the overpopulation and no possibility of taking a bath, the smell was horrible and what made it worse was the presence of “kibilas” which were used as toilets. Such hygienic conditions posed a permanent danger of various diseases and epidemics. There were few cases which fortunately did not spread throughout the camp. In the camp there was only one medical doctor who could only give advice since there were no medicine/drugs available. Sporadically there were some small shipments of drugs from the Red Cross in Niš but that was not nearly enough, keeping in mind that there were up to 2,500 people in the camp. Everything was left to the human body to fight for itself but that was not good enough since the people were weak due to conditions in the camp. Thus, cases of death were not rare in the camp. In particular, this was the case with children younger than 14 as well as the elderly and sick. In these horrible conditions, unbelievable and unselfish help not only to his people but everybody in the camp came from the inmate Dr. Velizar Pijade. He was a remarkable and heroic man, first of all a loving and highly ethical man who, beside medical help, would offer help in areas where he was not an expert. Since he was fluent in German he was also an interpreter (translator) in the camp. Using his position he would advise people how to behave and what to say when being interrogated. He was helping partisans and often he would revise statements during translations, if he thought that it would help the accused. He also had connections with the local businessman Blagoje Stanković who was in charge of bringing

food to the camp. He used him to send and receive messages from the outside world. In this way, he was informed that on the hill “Bubanj” pits were being dug for the inmates in room 12. He conveyed this to the cook of the camp, and he forwarded this information to the organizers of the escape. In this way the escape planned for February 12, 1942, was moved earlier. Even today many survivors of the camp remember and talk with great sympathy and respect about Dr. Velizar Pijade.

Food was not only of low quality (low carbohydrate and low fat) but also low in quantities. The municipality of Niš was in charge of feeding all people (including Jews) in the camp. Every day, a worker (employee of the municipal office) with a cart would bring food in small quantities from which, in the camp kitchen, meals would be prepared for hundreds of inmates. Again, the food was of low quality as in all camps. Bread was given irregularly and in low quantities. The daily portion was only about 150 grams. Food was given only to keep the inmates alive so they would not die from starvation. Bad food and hard work were exhausting the inmates. Forced hard work of 7-10 hours daily, often even longer, as well as doing other jobs was exhausting for the camp prisoners. They worked in storages, worked on loading and unloading on the train station and on building highways Niš-Medoševac, Popovac-Novo Selo, etc. Jews were often beaten and tortured while working, for no particular reason. After work was done, tired people were victims of various bestial and horrific behavior by the guards who were inventing terrible ways to humiliate and torture them as human beings.

Since all males older than 14 years were gathered and brought to the concentration camp “Red Cross” in October, the process of liquidation (elimination) of Jews of Niš entered its final and most tragic phase. They were in the camp for four months, until the mid February of 1942, when they were taken to be killed (by shooting) on the hill “Bubanj” near Niš.



Figure 10. (on the left) Hazan Izrael, student of medicine from Niš
 Figure 11. (on the right) Danilo Bukiš, lawyer from Niš



Figure 12. Danti Rahman's family: wife Dijana and sons Aron, Alfred, Mile and Aca

On February 12, 1942, a famous plan of escaping from the camp was conducted when a group of 147 inmates attacked the German guards and broke out (breached) through the barb wire fence. During this escape attempt, 42 of inmates were killed and 105 made it to freedom, and majority of them joined the partisans. In the attack some German guards were killed. As retribution (retaliation) the Germans conducted mass killings by shooting on February 17, 1942. Then, many inmates, mostly Jews, were killed. Two days later, on February 19, there was another mass killing when many Jews died. After this, the camp was almost empty since only 17 inmates were left alive¹⁰. About these mass executions of Jews and other homeland patriots there are many statements from witnesses. We quote only few that are representative: "...In the month of February 1942, I was taken by the German army guards early in the morning around 4am, together with 125 of my countrymen, in a truck to the place called "Bubanj." Upon our arrival, we were given shovels and pickaxes and waited till 6am when the truck with Jewish people started to arrive. When a truck would arrive, the Germans would take 12 people and, if they had better clothes on, they would make them undress and then escort them around 30-40 meters from the truck. There they would line them up with their backs toward the Germans and shoot them from 6 meters away. There were around 12 Germans with guns and on the given command they would shoot aiming at the neck of the victims. After they had finished with the first 12 victims, the Germans would bring another 12 and continue to do so until 4pm, so that on that day they shot (killed) over 1000 people. All of them were Jews and among them were 2 women and about 12 boys ages 12-13. They killed them with shot guns using "dum-dum" bullets so that the skulls of the victims were completely blown to pieces. If any of the victims were not shot directly to the head, then one of the Germans would kill the victim with a revolver. The grave with the bodies was so full that they could cover it with only 10cm of soil/dirt¹¹." This statement given by

Omerović was backed up (confirmed) by many other witnesses and his countryman Aneđi Kurtić adds: "...When they were killing children then one boy (13-14 years old) kneeled and asked for mercy by saying "Bitte, bitte" but he was still killed with the other children. Two days after this horrible incident (February 19, 1942) they took me again to "Bubanj" where the same incident repeated as before. From 6am till 3pm the Germans were constantly killing people. There may have been over 800 people, but this time it was not only Jews but also Serbs¹²."



Figure 13. Fake identification document of Albert Levi on the name Aleksandar Lekić that he used while living in Niš during the war

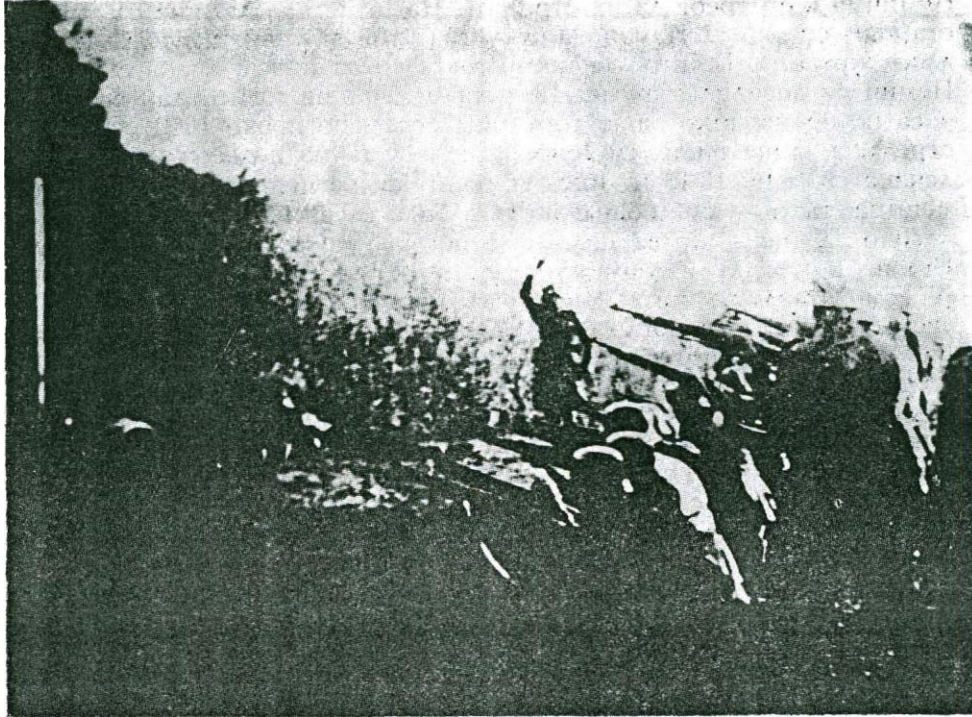


Figure 14. Killings by shooting at “Bubanj”

In July of 1942, Germans committed another horrible mass killing of Jews from the concentration camp “Red Cross.” Those were Jews from other cities in Serbia brought to the camp in the meantime. There were a few groups of around ten people who were killed by the Germans on an undetermined day in July of 1942. In January 1943, Dr. Velizar Pijade, the camp’s medical doctor, and Đurika Gros with four of his family members were killed. On October 17, 1943, the Germans killed 17 more Jews and that was the last killing of a larger scale. The Jews were taken by trucks to the place where they were killed. Directions were as follows: they used streets 12th of February and October Revolution till the crossing of Stanko Paunović and October Revolution streets, then they took Vardarska street till Dr. Boris Kidrič street, then Kidrič street till the military engineering dormitories and finally Vojvoda Putnik street till “Bubanj”¹². All Jews behaved heroically, brave and with distinction. In particular, the attitude of Dr. Borivoje Beraha, his son and son in law were to be praised. Just before they were shot they told the Germans that they are barbaric and will eventually have the same destiny as their victims. As a response to this “arrogance” (as the Germans viewed it) they were badly beaten with gunstocks and bayonets first and then killed after the torture was over.

During the summer of 1944, a few months before the liberation of Niš, the Germans dug up and burned all dead bodies (corpses) on “Bubanj” and thus destroyed all evidence of their crimes.

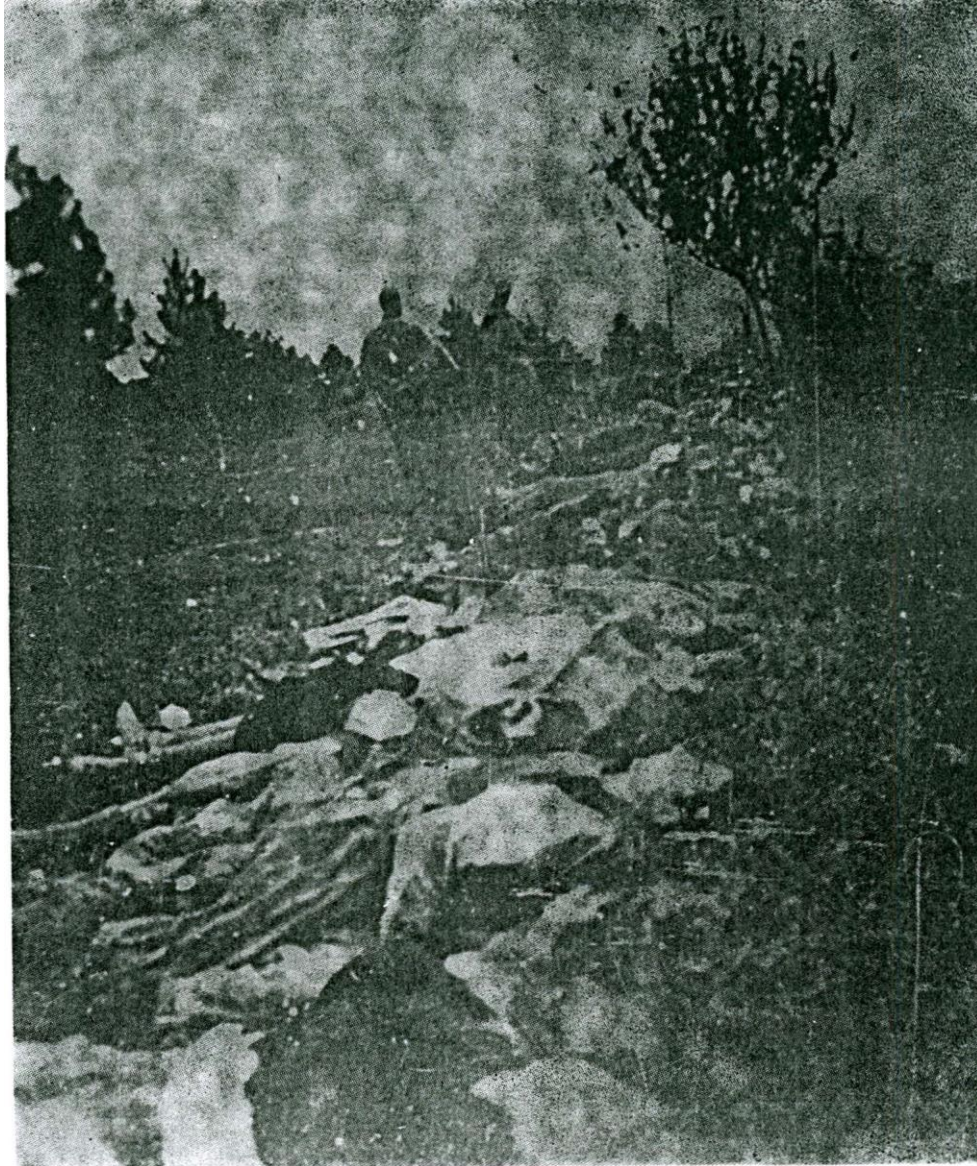


Figure 15. Bodies of dead people at “Bubanj”

After killing Jewish men, the Germans brought all women and children under 14 to the camp and in February of 1942, transported them with trains via station “Red Cross” to “Sajmište.” On the streets of Niš you could no longer see any Jews with yellow ribbons around arms as well as while doing forced labor. Any trace of them is lost at “Sajmište.” Nobody came out alive from there after the war. What happened with them is a question? According to the collected information and statements of the witnesses, it may be concluded that the women and children were pent-up in a special “Sauer” truck which had been sent from Berlin for this purpose, and then were buried at “Jajinci” near Belgrade. This truck was in fact a gas chamber adjusted so one can fit 100 people in it. It had equipment for killing with gas and it was hermetically closed. Many people willingly entered the truck thinking they will be transported to another camp. Unfortunately, the crowded trucks were heading toward “Jajinci.” During the drive, the deadly gas was being released and in 15 minutes everybody died. Witnesses described it as: “... Groups

of people were leaving one after another in a huge truck which was completely closed and of dark blue color. You could fit 100 people in that truck. There were no seats in it. The truck was always parked at the entrance to the camp. Those picked to be transported were ordered to bring most valuable possessions and to pack everything else and give their home addresses. Immediately after that they were ordered to get into the truck... These “transportations” were organized on a daily basis. Nobody in the camp suspected that these people were taken to be killed... The last “transport” left “Sajmište” around May 10, 1942... Out of 8,000 people there were only 8 of us women left...¹³”

“...I was digging graves for the murdered Jews but we who were digging were not throwing dirt over the bodies. When we dug graves we would be asked to leave and burying dead Jewish people was done by people whom Germans would bring in their trucks... I noticed on one occasion (near XV block) one lighter German car in which there was one officer. It was followed by guards, and behind the guards there was a big truck (well closed) from which smoke was coming out. The Germans were killing Jews in this truck. For the whole two months between March and the end of May of 1942, I worked on digging the graves. 81 or 82 graves were dug. I participated in digging ditches (trenches) that would take at least 100 bodies and we were ordered to anticipate the size for this number. These ditches were used only for those killed by gas, and for those who were shot other ditches were dug¹⁴.”

“...They were also using another enclosed automobile and I saw myself how the Germans would take out dead bodies and that meant that these people were killed by gas.¹⁵”

In the period between March and May of 1942, 8,000 people were killed by gas at “Sajmište.” Among those people were women and their children from Niš.



Figure 16. (on the left) Family Eškanazi from Niš: Leon, Žak and Vida

Figure 17. (on the right) Busa Mandil with her grandson Isak

The tragic destiny of the Jews from Niš, including their elimination lasted for four months, from the mass killing in February at “Bubanj” when all Jewish men were killed till May when all women and children were killed by gas at “Sajmište.” The elimination was complete. This was genocide in the actual sense. The main perpetrators who committed these crimes were the following: Feldkommandant von Botmer, Dr. Eduard Hanke (director of the German command group 809), chiefs of Gestapo Hamer and Erik Vineke. Among the folksdojcers from Niš, Karlo Ungar and Štefan Živković (both agents of the Gestapo) as well as domestic traitor and chief of the Special Police Mirko Živanović were particularly involved¹⁶.

A very small number of Jews tried to hide using fake documents with fake names and some individuals were successful but the majority was captured by the agents of the Gestapo with the help of “folksdojčers.” “Among many Gestapo agents, Jeriho was known as a specialist for the “Jewish issues.” He was happy if he could capture another Jew who was still hiding. Once he brought a woman who worked as a cook to his Officers club under a Serbian name. He killed this poor woman with great pleasure. “I have a sense/smell for Jews” he would brag to the others in the camp.¹⁷”

Captured people were taken to the camp and their destiny was already determined. Yet there were a few people who survived the war. Those were three Jewish women married to Serbs, and three Jewish women from Niška Banja (Katon Mevorah Regina with her mother and her daughter Nina) who were hiding in a leather company during the war. Among others, a three member immigrant family from Zvornik in Bosnia was hiding in Niš: Aron Hajon, merchant, his wife Sofija and their daughter Julijana, and they lived with Staniša Stojanović at Todora Milovanovića 67. They were able to get fake identification documents in the names Aca, Dara and Mirjana Marković, respectively. Mirjana worked in a printing house for the whole duration of the war. Aron died in 1967 and Sofija died in 1973 in Niš. Mirjana (Julijana) still lives in Niš. Also the family Danon with four members: father Jozef (died in 1972), mother Berta (died in 1968), daughter Simka (died in 1976) and son Jakov (now a Professor in Belgrade). They were hiding under the fake names as Mirko, Nada, Ljubica, and Žarko Milošević, as well as seven more people who were in captivity or were hiding in some other countries such as Albania. In this way Peša Eškenazi, Leon Eškenazi, Dr. Albahari and others survived the war. If you count as Jews from Niš also people who arrived after April 6, 1941, to visit their families, as well as all refugees emigrants from Kuršumlijska Banja, because all of them were taken to the “Red Cross” camp, it may be concluded that there were 1,000 Jews who were either shot at “Bubanj” or killed by gas at “Sajmište.” It is very possible that this number is even larger, since the Germans, during 1942 and 1943, were sporadically bringing smaller groups of Jews from other cities to the camp.



Figure 18. (on the left) Samuilo Hazan, dentist, with his wife Nita and daughter Amanda
 Figure 19. (on the right) Persa Levi, a member of the Jablanički partisan unit, captured by Nedić's people in March 1942, brought to the concentration camp in Niš and then transported to Sajmište where she was killed

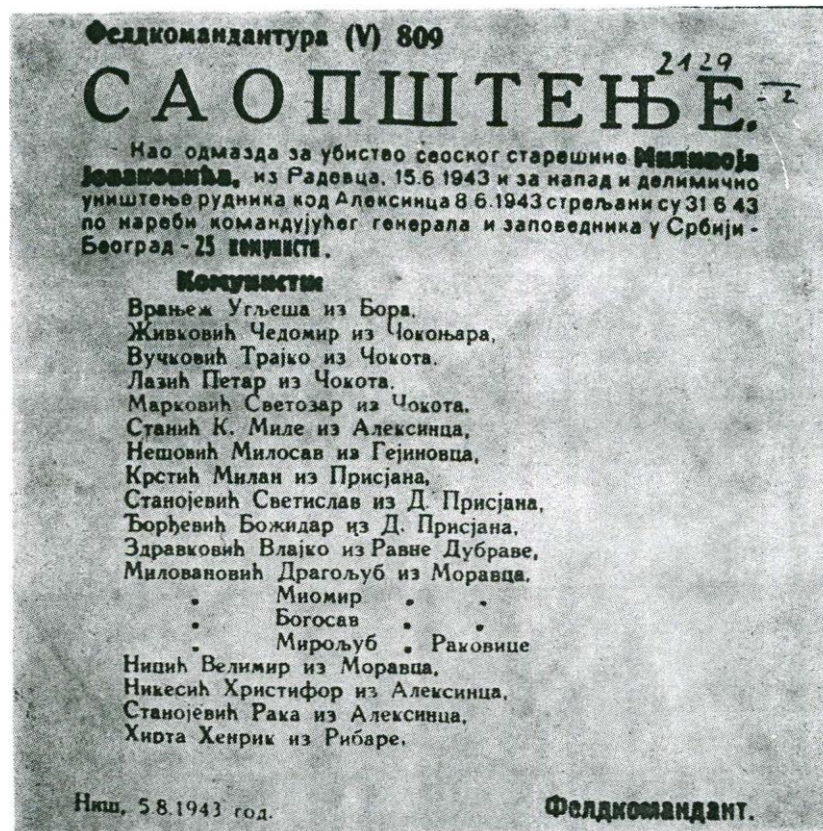


Figure 20. Announcement of shooting including the name of Hemir Sirta (misspelled as Henrih Hirta)



Figure 21. Family Sirta: Hemir, Lidija and Paula, killed on June 31, 1943 at “Bujanj”



Figure 22. Monument at "Bubanj"

The tragedy of the Jewish people in Niš, under the fascist regime is a part of the tragedy of many countries and nations. However, the tragedy of the Jewish people must be understood as a part of the horrific plan which the fascists prepared for them and that was their elimination in a brutal and inhuman way. Just a fact that somebody was a Jew was enough for that person to be murdered. The tragedy that Jews and others including their countrymen in our and other countries experienced was a result of the systematic politics of the Germans against the Jews. Despite the fact that the Germans tried to connect the problem related to Jews to an uprising against them in our country, this was only an excuse which was hiding the real intentions of the Nazi leaders. Elimination of

Jews was planned and systematically conducted, even before. The destiny of Jews was determined even then. The Nazi anti-Semite machinery that started running some years earlier did not stop.

Zoran MILENTIJEVIĆ

Footnotes:

1. City Document of Niš, 1937, page 45
2. Just before the war, there were more than 100 Jewish families in Niš with around 360 members, in total. From employment documents it could be concluded that there were 331 people. However, this document includes only those people who were recorded.
3. According to the statistical data, Niš had around 40,000 citizens just before the war.
4. According to the War Crime Tribunal data from 1945. The document is kept at the Jewish historical museum.
5. Six million Jews were killed during the Second World War. This is the largest known genocide known in the history of mankind.
6. Forbidden for Jews.
7. There were 24 families of the German minority (“folksdojčers”) with 80 people living in Niš before the war. This number increased during the war since some people came from Macedonia and Vojvodina.
8. Collection/book of documents and data about Yugoslav partisans’ movement.
9. Recollections of Mira Popović – Memoirs of the National Museum in Niš.
10. Recollections of Dr. Jovan Popović– Memoirs of the National Museum in Niš.
11. Jewish historical museum, K-22-1a/1
12. The same as 10.
13. Crimes of fascist occupation forces and their collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia, Belgrade, pages 29-31, recorded hearing of Hedvige Šenfajn.
14. The same as 12, page 32, recorded hearing of Vladimir Milutinović.
15. The same as 12, page 32, recorded hearing of Arandjel Milenković.
16. Jewish historical museum, doc. no. 2398.
17. From the recollections of Dr. Jovan Popović- Memoirs of the National Museum in Niš.

References

1. Simon Dubnov. Short history of the Jewish nation (people), Belgrade, 1962.
2. Lazar Ivanović. Terror against the Jews in occupied Belgrade 1941-1944, Annual report of the city of Belgrade, book XIII, 1966.
3. Crimes of the fascist occupation forces and their collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia, Belgrade, 1952 (printed by the Jewish historical museum).
4. Niš in the whirlwind of the liberation war, Novi Sad, 1968.
5. City Document of Niš, Niš, 1937.
6. Vjenceslav Glišić, Terror and crime of Nazi Germany in Serbia 1941-1944, Belgrade, 1970.

Archives material

1. Foundation of the Commission for Determining War Crimes by the Occupation Forces, Jewish historical museum, Belgrade.
2. Foundation “Kozara”, Historical archive of Niš.
3. Memoir documents (statements and recollections), National Museum, Niš.
4. Private archives of Gedalj Peša, Niš.

Appendices

1. List of Jewish citizens of Niš on April 6, 1941.
2. List of Jewish people who arrived in Niš after April 6, 1941.
3. List of refugees-emigrants from Kuršumlijska Banja.

Appendix 1 (The names are translated from the Serbian spelling)

List of Jewish citizens of Niš

No.	Last and first name	Date of birth	Occupation	Address
1.	Alkalaj Marko	1873	Shoe maker	Carice Mare 7
2.	Alkalaj Oru	1873	House wife	”
3.	Alkalaj Moša	1907	Travel agent	”
4.	Alkalaj David	1887	Tailor	Kej prest. Petra
5.	Alkalaj Deška	1885	Housewife	”

6.	Alkalaj Aron	1914	Photograph	Kej. prest. Petra 1
7.	Alkalaj Nisim	1922	Electrician	''
8.	Alkalaj Zimbul	1866	Housewife	Davidova 3
9.	Alkalaj David	1887	Merchant	''
10.	Alkalaj Sofija	1896	Housewife	''
11.	Alkalaj Estera	1918	Housewife	''
12.	Alkalaj Avram	1889	Merchant	''
13.	Alkalaj Sara	1897	Housewife	''
14.	Alkalaj Majir	1917	Assistant merchant	''
15.	Alkalaj Jakov	1920	Student	''
16.	Alkalaj Estera	1922	Housewife	''
17.	Alkalaj Mazal	1926	Housewife	''
18.	Alkalaj Nisim	1930	Student	''
19.	Alkalaj Avram	1870	Merchant	''
20.	Alkalaj Bukas	1875	Housewife	''
21.	Alkalaj Rahamin	-	Merchant	Vojvode Vuka 10
22.	Alkalaj Avram	1934	Child	''
23.	Alkalaj Mordehaj	1914	Engineer	Trg. K. Milana 15
24.	Alkalaj Samuilo	1880	''Amreldžija''	''
25.	Alkalaj Lenka	1886	Housewife	''
26.	Alkalaj Rahela	1934	Student	''
27.	Alkalaj Zumbula	1916	Housewife	''
28.	Alkalaj Vida	1919	Housewife	''
29.	Alkalaj Marija	1823	Housewife	''
30.	Albahari Danilo	1870	-	Mrnjavčevićeva 6
31.	Albahari Eliza	1876	Housewife	''
32.	Albahari Berta	1907	Housewife	Mrnjavčevićeva 4
33.	Albahari Danilo	1935	Child	''
34.	Albahari Benjamin	1939	Child	''
35.	Abenšoam Bora	1900	Merchant	Skopljanska 1
36.	Abenšoam Marika	1910	Housewife	''
37.	Abenšoam Jeuda	1935	Child	''
38.	Abenšoam Jakov	1874	Unemployed	''
39.	Abenšoam Edija	1908	''	''
40.	Abenšoam Marko	1906	Renter	Knjeginje Ljubice 9
41.	Abenšoam Buna	1912	Housewife	''
42.	Abenšoam Rika	1934	Child	''
43.	Abenšoam Delisija	1938	Child	''
44.	Abenšoam David	1870	-	''
45.	Abenšoam Rika	1886	Housewife	''
46.	Abravanel Rena	1926	Housewife	''
47.	Abravanel Jeuda	1929	Student	''
48.	Arijas Šimon	1915	Geometer	-
49.	Baruh Adolf	1905	Stamp Maker	Trg K. Aleksandra 14
50.	Baruh Marijeta	1908	Housewife	''
51.	Baruh Elija	1938	Child	''

52.	Baruh Rifka	1915	Housewife	Trg Kneza Mihajla 4
53.	Baruh Haim	1878	-	Lešjaninova 33
54.	Baruh Regina	1901	Housewife	''
55.	Baruh Ilija	1924	Plumber	''
56.	Baruh Regina	1924	Housewife	Lešjaninova 33
57.	Bejakov Perla	1924		Dobračina 1a
58.	Bejakov Pon	1898	-	''
59.	Ben-Avram Sara	1865	Housewife	Davidova 6
60.	Beraha Hana	1922	Student	Đ. Vašingtona 6
61.	Beraha Moša	1871	Priest	Rajičeva 31
There is a mistake in the original document since number 62 is omitted.				
63.	Beraha Dona	1877	Housewife	''
64.	Beraha Uriel	1913	Lawyer	''
65.	Beraha Ester	1913	Housewife	''
66.	Beraha Isak	1902	Merchant	Skopljanska 1
67.	Beraha Marijana	1917	Housewife	''
68.	Beraha Avram	1936	Child	''
69.	Beraha Vinka	1940	Child	''
70.	Beraha Leon	1903	Geometer	Trg Kneza Mihajla 4
71.	Beraha Borivoje	60 years	Med. Doctor	-
72.	Beraha Rahela	50 years	Housewife	-
73.	Beraha Isak	30 years	-	-
74.	Beraha Vinka	25 years	-	-
75.	Beraha Stela	22 years	-	-
76.	Beraha Malvina	18 years	-	-
77.	Beraha Izrailo	1908	Clerk	Lešjaninova 25
78.	Beraha Sojka	1914	Housewife	''
79.	Bemoše David	1908	Ass. Merchant	Masarikov Kej 13
80.	Bemoše Jeuda	1938	Child	''
81.	Boton Rahela	1913	Housewife	Cetinjska 4
82.	Bukiš Geršon	1879	Clerk	Kralj. Marije 10
83.	Bukiš Greta	1899	Housewife	''
84.	Bukiš Leon	-	Electrician	''
85.	Bukiš Danilo	1915	Journalist	''
86.	Bukiš Samuilo	1918	Electrician	''
87.	Bukiš Berta	1920	Tailor	''
88.	Bukiš Jakov	1922	Student	''
89.	Bukiš Sara	1936	Student	''
90.	Bukiš Bora	1907	Clerk	Cara Nikole 27
91.	Bukiš Klara	1908	Housewife	''
92.	Vajs Rudolf	1899	Clerk	-
93.	Vajs Luna	1904	Housewife	-
94.	Vajs Vilhem	1925	Student	-
95.	Varon Haim	1880	Merchant	Cara Nikole 14
96.	Varon Natalija	1880	Housewife	''
97.	Varon Jakov	1906	Clerk	''

98.	Varon Moša	1909	Lawyer	''
99.	Varon Luna	1920	Housewife	''
100.	Varon Solomon	1865	-	Masarikov Kej 11
101.	Varon Hajim	1905	Merchant	''
102.	Varon Mirjam	1908	Housewife	''
103.	Varon Rika	1930	Student	''
104.	Varon Solomon	1934	Student	''
105.	Varon Ilija	1902	Merchant	Knjeginje Ljubice 10
106.	Varon Rika	1908	Housewife	''
107.	Varon Solomon	1929	Student	''
108.	Varon Sabetaj	1933	Student	''
109.	Varon Majir	1939	Child	''
110.	Varon Leon	1871	Merchant	Cara Nikole 14
111.	Varon Linda	1875	Housewife	''
112.	Varon Buna	1918	Housewife	''
113.	Volfiš Josif	1912	Merchant	Trg Kneza Mihajla 4
114.	Gedalja Nahum	1879	Collector	Davidova 2
115.	Gedalja Streja	1886	Housewife	''
116.	Gedalja Isak	1910	Clerk	''
117.	Gedalja Sara	1915	Clerk	''
118.	Gedalja Gedalja	1921	Student	''
119.	Gedalja Malkuna	1892	Housewife	Lešjaninova 35
120.	Gedalja Isak	1915	Merchant	''
121.	Gedalja Menahem	1922	Student	Davidova 2
122.	Gedalja Moša	1898	Merchant	''
123.	Gedalja Marijeta	1902	Housewife	Prijezdina 3
124.	Georgenberger Amalija	1897	Housewife	''
125.	Georgenberger Benjamin	1921	Student	Obrenovićeve 111
126.	Georgenberger Isidor	1902	Merchant	C. Konstantina 29
127.	Greber Aleksandar	1897	Merchant	''
128.	Greber Regina	1904	Housewife	''
129.	Greber Vladimir	1931	-	''
130.	Greber Djordje	1932	-	O. Venac 74
131.	Gros Bela	1888	Trading Representative	''
132.	Gros Edita	1912	Student	''
133.	Gros Berta	1900	Housewife	''
134.	Gros Djordje	1911	Plumber	''
135.	Gros Lujza	1913	Housewife	
136.	Gros Menahem	1939	Child	-
137.	Golnštajn Žak	34 years	Merchant	-
138.	Golnštajn Vili	30 years	Merchant	-
139.	Golnštajn (wife of Vili)	27 years		-
140.	Golnštajn (child of Vili)	3 years		-
141.	Golnštajn Mimi	27 years	Housewife	-
142.	Golnštajn (mother of Mimi)	53 years	Housewife	-
143.	Dajč Ernest	1893	Manufacturer	Jevremova 22

144.	Dajč Greta	1897	Housewife	''
145.	Dajč Mini	1922	Student	''
146.	Dajč Alfred	1924	Student	''
147.	Daniti Nehama	1909	Housewife	''
148.	Daniti Jeuda	1936	Child	''
149.	Daniti Albert	1936	Priest (??)	Davidova -
150.	Elazar Simha	1885	Housewife	Trg K. Aleksandra 11
151.	Elazar Moša	1911	Merchant	''
152.	Elazar Aron	1912	Tailor	''
153.	Elazar Josif	1909	Merchant	''
154.	Elazar Samuilo	1917	Student	''
155.	Eškenazi Leon	1884	Merchant	St. Novakovića 12
156.	Eškenazi Vida	1888	Housewife	''
157.	Eškenazi Jakov-Žak	1921	Singer	''
158.	Eškenazi Kumbru	1880	Housewife	Lešjaninova 33
159.	Eškenazi Žak	1907	Ass. Merchant	''
160.	Eškenazi Joško	1915	Ass. Merchant	''
161.	Eškenazi Avram	1915	Merchant	''
162.	Eškenazi (wife of Avram)		-	
163.	Eškenazi (child of Avram)		Child	''
164.	Eškenazi (child of Avram)		Child	''
165.	Isaković Bukas	1855	Housewife	Beogradska 8
166.	Isaković Josif	1888	Merchant	J. Dimitrijević 5
167.	Isaković Berta	1896	Housewife	''
168.	Isaković Ester	1923	Housewife	''
169.	Isaković Avram	1894	Merchant	Hereljina 9
170.	Isaković Sarina	1900	Housewife	''
171.	Isaković Geršon	1921	Watch Maker	''
172.	Isaković David	1922	Ass. Merchant	''
173.	Isaković Malaka	1929	Student	''
174.	Isaković Bukica	1894	Housewife	Beogradska 8
175.	Isaković Isak	1905	Merchant	''
176.	Isaković Sara	1916	Housewife	''
177.	Isaković Rajna	1937	Child	''
178.	Isaković Naomi	1940	Child	''
179.	Josifović Jakov	1898	Ass. Merchant	Knjeginje Ljub. 10
180.	Josifović Berta	1897	Housewife	''
181.	Josifović Tuvi	1924	Ass. Merchant	''
182.	Josifović Rika	1926	Ass. Merchant	''
183.	Kalaji Valter	1911	Merchant	Hreljina 21
184.	Kalaji Suzana	1922	Housewife	''
185.	Kalderon Samuilo	1891	Ass. Merchant	Momčilova 11
186.	Kalderon Mirjam	1915	Housewife	''
187.	Kalderon Elisa	1922	Housewife	''
188.	Kamhi Hajim	1923	Ass. Merchant	Karadžićeva 6
189.	Katan Kalmi	1907	Clerk	Trg K. Milutina 15

190.	Katan Albert	1908	Clerk	Niška Banja
191.	Katan Sofija	1935	Child	Trg K. Milutina 15
192.	Katan Josif	1910	Geometer	"
193.	Katan Hana	1900	Housewife	Pašićeva 34
194.	Kario Moša	1898	Clerk	Kraljice Marije 10
195.	Kario Sarina	1900	Housewife	"
196.	Katan Lale	1910	Housewife	"
197.	Kajon Josif	1910	Geometer	"
198.	Koen Sabitaj	1895	Electrician	Knjeginje Ljubice 12
199.	Koen Rahel	1908	Housewife	"
200.	Koen Mirjam	1931	Student	"
201.	Koen Mardehaj	1937	Child	"
202.	Koen Levi	1879	Merchant	"
203.	Konfino Majer	1905	Electrician	J. Dimitrijević 5
204.	Konfino Matilda	1908	Housewife	"
205.	Kon Josif	42 years	-	-
206.	Kon (son of Josif)	18 years	-	-
207.	Kon		Manufacturer	Trg K. Aleksandra
208.	Kosi Majer	1912	Hairdresser	Rajićeva 4
209.	Kosi Malvina Malka	1908	Housewife	"
210.	Leonović Nisim	1866	Tailor	"
211.	Levi Binja	1897	Clerk	Skopljanska 1
212.	Levi Matilda	1903	Housewife	"
213.	Levi David	1886	Merchant	Momčilova 9
214.	Levi Matilda	1888	Housewife	"
215.	Levi Jeud	1867	Merchant	Lešjaninova 29
216.	Levi Buna	1884	Housewife	
217.	Levi Sara	1870	Housewife	prest. nas. Petra
218.	Levi Isak	1866	Merchant	Jevremova 3
219.	Levi Perla	1904	Housewife	"
220.	Levi Oru	1904	Housewife	"
221.	Levi Malvina	1903	Housewife	"
222.	Levi Josif	1903	Merchant	Obrenovićeva 18
223.	Levi Bela	1918	Child	"
224.	Levi Avram	1940	Tailor (?)	"
225.	Levi Benjamin	1888	Housewife	Davidova 4
226.	Levi Mazal	1894	Antiquary	Trg K. Aleksandra 12
227.	Levi Rahamin	1910	Housewife	"
228.	Levi Buča	1915	-	"
229.	Levi Avram	1864	Merchant	Momčilova 8
230.	Levi Rahamin	1912	Housewife	"
231.	Levi Hana	1916	Photograph	"
232.	Levi Jakov	1914	Housewife	"
233.	Levi Sol	1917	Photograph	Masarikov Kej 9
234.	Levi Menahem	1913	Housewife	"
235.	Levi Vida	1920	Merchant	Carice Jelene 3

236.	Mandil Leon	1869	Housewife	''
237.	Mandil Venezija	1884	Housewife	''
238.	Mandil Moša	1905	Merchant	Masarikov Kej 9
239.	Mandil David	1870	Housewife (?)	''
240.	Mandil Rajka	1875	Housewife	Dj. Vašingtona 4
241.	Mandil Nahan	1898	Housewife	''
242.	Mandil Estera	1904	Student	''
243.	Mandil Rahamin	1929		Dj. Vašingtona 4
244.	Mandil Isak	1934	Student	Masarikov Kej 9
245.	Mandil Isak	1894	Merchant	''
246.	Mandil Rebeka	1893	Housewife	''
247.	Mandil Hajim	1920	Student	''
248.	Mandil Nisim	1924	Student	O. Venac 21
249.	Mandil Moric	1897	Merchant	''
250.	Mandil Vida	1900	Housewife	Momčilova 9
251.	Mandil Avram	1886	Tailor	''
252.	Mandil Rahela	1895	Housewife	''
253.	Mandil Mazal	1922	Housewife	Princa Andreje 3
254.	Mandil Mordeha	1865	Housewife	''
255.	Mandil Rahela	1875	Housewife	Voždova 14
256.	Mandil Isak	1892	Photograph	''
257.	Mandil Mazal	1899	Housewife	''
258.	Mandil Buna	1924	Housewife	Momčilova 9
259.	Mandil Nisim	1912	Merchant	''
260.	Mandil Rahela	1914	Housewife	''
261.	Mandil Rina	1940	Child	''
262.	Mandil Lesi	1941	Child	''
263.	Mandil Nina	1888	Housewife	''
264.	Mandil Oru	1919	Housewife	Mrnjavčevićeva 6
265.	Mandil Efraim	1901	-	K. Prvovenčanog 5
266.	Mandil Franka	1901	Housewife	''
267.	Mandil Klara	1920	Housewife	Momčilova 9
268.	Mandil Moric	1876	-	''
269.	Mandil Lika	1886	Housewife	''
270.	Mandil Mika	1914	Clerk	''
271.	Mandil Marsela	1941	Child	Carice Mare 9
272.	Mandil Busa	1887	Housewife	''
273.	Mandil Moša	1912	Pharmacist	''
274.	Mandil Josip	1914	Clerk	-
275.	Mandil Žak	-	Med. Doctor	-
276.	Mandil Oskar	37 years	-	-
277.	Mandil (wife of Oskar)		Housewife	-
278.	Mandil (child)	9 years	Child	-
279.	Manhajm Bela	55 years	-	-
280.	Manhajm (wife of Bela)	50 years	-	-
281.	Manhajm (daughter)	16 years	Student	-

282.	Mevorah Mirjam	1881	Housewife	Knjeginje Ljubice 13
283.	Mevorah Jakov	1904	Clerk	"
284.	Mevorah Heskija	1911	Merchant	"
285.	Mevorah David	1901	Merchant	"
286.	Mevorah Sofija	1907	Housewife	"
287.	Mevorah Mirjam	1931	Student	"
288.	Mevorah Klara	1935	Student	"
289.	Mevorah Mazal	1912	Housewife	"
290.	Mevorah Dane	1937	Child	"
291.	Mevorah Bela	1900	Assemblyman	"
292.	Mevorah Sara	1907	Housewife	France Deprea 32
293.	Mevorah Marta	1929	Student	"
294.	Mošić Leon	1870	Merchant	Masarikov Kej 13
295.	Mošić Matilda	1876	Housewife	"
296.	Nahum Robert	1902	Hairdresser	Trg K. Aleksandra 11
297.	Nahum Bukas	1909	Housewife	"
298.	Nahum Jahim	1923	Hairdresser	"
299.	Nisim Šaul	1899	Merchant	Obrenovićeva 10
300.	Nisim Leška	1907	Housewife	"
301.	Nisim Delisija	1929	Student	"
302.	Nisim Rahela	1933	Student	"
303.	Nisim Moric	1897	Merchant	"
304.	Nisim Hana	1903	Housewife	"
305.	Nisim Isak	1934	Student	"
306.	Nisim Čibi	1892	Merchant	"
307.	Nisim Sol	1903		Obrenovićeva 10
308.	Nisim Delisija	1924	Housewife	"
309.	Nisim Isak	1925	Housewife	"
310.	Nisim Rahamin	1928	Student	"
311.	Papo Jahiel	1909	Student	Davidova 5
312.	Pardo Rafailo	1898	Geometer	Trg K. Aleksandra 34
313.	Pardo Julija	1896	Merchant	"
314.	Pardo Nata	1917	Housewife	"
315.	Pardo Bela	1922	Student	"
316.	Pardo Jakov	1924	Student	"
317.	Pijade Jakov	1896	Student	Momčilova 2
318.	Pijade Solči	1902	Merchant	"
319.	Pijade Luna	1927	Housewife	"
320.	Pinkas Moša	1905	Housewife	Davidova 5
321.	Pinkas Matilda	1903	Chauffeur	"
322.	Pinkas Vida	1933	Housewife	"
323.	Pinkas Josef	1935	Student	"
324.	Totis Arpad	1896	Student	"
325.	Totis Klara	1914	Housewife	-
326.	Fišer Ida	1873	Textile Worker	-
327.	Fišer Olga	1916	Housewife	Kapetan Kostina 5

328.	Fišer Imre	1909	Housewife	''
329.	Fišer Joško	1915	Plumber	''
330.	Fišer Magda	1911	Plumber	''
331.	Hazan Borivoje	45 years	Clerk	-
332.	Hazan (wife of Borivoje)	35 years		-
333.	Hazan Hajin Mika	1881	Housewife	Jovana Skerlića
334.	Hazan Rahela	1896	''Sitničar''	''
335.	Hazan Bisa	1920	Housewife	''
336.	Hazan Bencion	1883	Housewife	Pasterova 6
337.	Hazan Izrailo	1915	Electrician	Obrenovićeva 56
338.	Hazan Rahela	1925	Student	''
339.	Hazan Menahem	1909	Student	''
340.	Hazan Bulisa	1922	Changer (prob. money)	''
341.	Hazan Samuilo	1884	Housewife	Lešjaninova 32
342.	Hazan Sarina	1895	Merchant	''
343.	Hazan Perla	1923	Houswife	''
344.	Hazan Debora	1926	Student	''
345.	Hazan Samuilo	1897	8 Code Camp	Poenkareva 22
346.	Hazan Ester	1907	Dentist	''
347.	Hazan Simha	1932	Housewife	''
348.	Haravon Čibi	1861		Dušanova 43
349.	Haravon Rahela	1892	Excise Employee	''
350.	Haravon Simha	1925	Housewife	''
351.	Haravon Rafajla	1927	Housewife	''
352.	Haravon Solomon	1929	Student	''
353.	Heršković Aleksandar	1921	''	K. Prvovenčanog 22
354.	Heršković Jelisaveta	1924	''	''
355.	Heršković Ruža	1898	Tailor	''
356.	Čelebonović Zaharije	1869	Clerk	Knjeginje Ljubice 12
357.	Čelebonović Bukas	1875	Housewife	''
358.	Čelebonović Šaul	1898	Lottery Tickets Seller	''
359.	Čelebonović Moša	35 years	Medical Doctor	-
360.	Čelebonović (wife)	30 years	Housewife	-
361.	Čelebonović (child)	9 years	Child	-
362.	Čelebonović Vinka	42 years	-	-
363.	Švarc Stevan	1902	Clerk	Kapetan Kostina 15
364.	Šoamović Moša	1876	Professor	Pašićeva 51
365.	Šoamović Berta	1886		''
366.	Šoamović Bora	1909		''

**Appendix 2. (The names are translated from the Serbian spelling)
List of Jewish people who arrived in Niš just before the war and who lived with their relatives.**

No.	Last and first name	Occupation	Birth year	Since when this person lived in Niš and the address	From where did this person come from
1.	Albahari Avram	Assis. Merchant	-	29.4.41. Dušanova 43	Belgrade
2.	Albahari Malvina	Housewife	-		
3.	Albahari David	Clerk	1905		
4.	Albahari Rahela	Housewife	1908		
5.	Albahari Sarina	Child	1933		
6.	Alkalaj Lazar	-	1875		
7.	Alkalaj Rozalija	Housewife	1886		
8.	Alkalaj Bela	''	1880		
9.	Azriel Avram	-	1900		
10.	Azriel Rašela	Housewife	1906	23.4.41. Davidova 3	''
11.	Adut Avram	Merchant	1886	25.4.41. Obrenovićeva 10	''
12.	Adut Lika	Housewife	1895		
13.	Albala Josif	Architect	1902		
14.	Albala Rašela	Housewife	1908		
15.	Albala Vidoje	Child	1934	9.4.41. Davidova 5	''
16.	Adanja Marija	Unemployed	60 years	28.4.41. Učitelj Tase 6	''
17.	Baruh Baruh	Shoe Maker	1914	1.4.41. Davidova 2	''
18.	Baruh Ela	Housewife	1919	25.4.41. ''	''
19.	Gedalja Rašela	Housewife	1906		
20.	Gedalja Neni	Housewife	1920		
21.	Demajonović Renita	Child	1935	- Lešaninova 33	Sofia
22.	Eškenazi Avram	Merchant	-		
23.	Eškenazi (wife)	Housewife	-		
24.	Eškenazi (son)	Child	-		
25.	Eškenazi (son)	Child	-		
26.	Karakaglanović Jakov	Merchant	1897		
27.	Karakaglanović Mara	Housewife	1909	30.4.41. Trg. K. Aleksandra 64	Belgrade
28.	Karakaglanović Marko	Student	1934		
29.	Kalderon Jakov	Clerk	40 years		
30.	Kalderon Sarina	Tailor	33 years	24.4.41. Obrenovićeva	Niška Banja
31.	Kalderon Isak	Student	11 years	26.4.41. Lešjaninova 33	Belgrade
32.	Kalderon Hana	Child	6 years	25.4.41. Lešjaninova 17	-
33.	Kadaš Petar	Engineer	1914		
34.	Kapon Moša	Chauffeur	1890	11.3.41. St. Protića 13	-
35.	Klajn Nora	Merchant	1887	3.4.41. P. Andreje	Belgrade
36.	Klajn Jelisaveta	Tailor	1921		
37.	Koen Jakov	-	1897	1938 Lj. Nedeljковиć	
38.	Koen Marko	Clerk	30 years		
39.	Koen Belka	Housewife	25 years		
40.	Konfino Biti	Electrician	30 years		
41.	Konfino Venezija	Housewife	28 years	22.3.41. Obrenovićeva	Belgrade
42.	Konfino Samuilo	Child	6 years	'' Lešjaninova 41	''
43.	Konfino Petar	Child	1 year		
44.	Koli Avram	Clerk	1921		
45.	Levi Samuilo	Assis. Merchant	46 years		
46.	Levi Bojana	Housewife	33 years	25.4.41. Obrenovićeva 10	''

47.	Levi Naton	Child	8 years			
48.	Levi Zelma	Child	2 years			
49.	Levi Regina	Housewife	1924			
50.	Mandil Jakov	Medical Doctor	1897	28.4.41.	Davidova 2	Belgrade
51.	Mandil Marika	Housewife	1907	''	Davidova 9	''
52.	Mandil Klara	Housewife	-	24.4.41.	Dj. Vašingtona 4	''
53.	Mandil Jakov	Merchant	1901	''	O. Venac 21	''
54.	Mandil Samuilo	Merchant	1907	3.4.41.	P. Andreje	''
55.	Mandil Moša	Assis. Merchant	46 years			
56.	Mandil David	Assis. Merchant	42 years			
57.	Medina Stela	Housewife	27 years	28.4.41.	Trg. K. Aleksandra 34	
58.	Medina Anita	Child	5 years	-	Masarikov Kej 13	''
59.	Medina Mile	Child	2 years	24.4.41.	Masarikov Kej 11	Sarajevo
60.	Mojis Moše	Student	20 years	29.4.41.	Dušanova 43	Belgrade
61.	Mošić Menahem	Merchant Aide	1903			
62.	Romano David	Merchant	59 years			
63.	Sis Avram	Merchant Aide	1918			
64.	Čelebonović Moša	Medical Doctor	1902			

**Appendix 3. (The names are translated from the Serbian spelling)
List of Jewish refugees-foreign immigrants residing in Niš.**

No.	Last and first name	Address
1.	Birkenfeld Isak	Davidova 2a
2.	Birkenfeld Majer	Carice jelene 18
3.	Birkenfeld Aurelija	''
4.	Borgeniht Franciska	Kraljice Marije 10a
5.	Vajs Moris	Davidova 11
6.	Vajs Rahel	''
7.	Vajs Fric	Knjeginje Ljubice 10
8.	Vajs Eugen	Davidova 2a
9.	Vald Markus	Čupićeva 18
10.	Veliš Gustav	Davidova 11
11.	Veliš Sidoni	Davidova 11
12.	Vajs Salamon	Davidova 2a
13.	Viner Aron	Davidova 3
14.	Viner Sifra	''
15.	Višnicer David	Vladimira Gortana 3
16.	Višnicer Sidonija	''
17.	Vertajm Samuel	Generala Bože Jankovića 14
18.	Volf Majer	Lešjaninova 28
19.	Vulkan Sali	Cetinjska 5
20.	Goldfinger Haja	Knjeginje Ljubice 10
21.	Gotlib Helena	Sojana Novakovića 12
22.	Gribaum Marija	Jelene Dimitrijević 5
23.	Grinfeld Gustav	Beogradska 3
24.	Grinfeld Aranka	''
25.	Grinbaum Abraham	Sarajevska 6

26.	Grinbaum Tobah	”
27.	Epštajn Berhard	Jelene Dimitrijević 5
28.	Kern Julijus	Davidova 2
29.	Kern Tereza	”
30.	Kern Joland	”
31.	Kern Aleksandar	”
32.	Kern Rut	”
33.	Kern Kurt	”
34.	Kern Roza	”
35.	Klajman Ana	Momčilova 9
36.	Klauber Artur	Dž. Vašingtona 2
37.	Klauber Štefanija	”
38.	Kornfajn Bela	Davidova 3
39.	Kornfajn Hedvig	”
40.	Kornštajn Antonije	Skopljanska 1
41.	Kodiček Emil	Mrnjavčevićeva 6
42.	Kodiček Roza	Obiličev Venac 21
43.	Kraus Trudo	Jevremova 22
44.	Kroner Majčard	”
45.	Kroner Peter Leo	”
46.	Kroner Edit	Obrenovićeve 10
47.	Kun Hajnrih	”
48.	Kun Frederika	Jug Bogdanova 1
49.	Lazar Gertruda	”
50.	Lazar Salo	Lešjaninova 33
51.	Lajtman Jozef (Josef Leitmann)	Poenkareva 22
52.	Landman Pepi	
53.	Lap Leo	General Bože Jankovića 14
54.	Lastman Salo	Cara Nikole 14
55.	Laks Dezider	Davidova 2
56.	Levi Jozef	Masarikov Kej 9
57.	Levi Etel	”
58.	Lederer Helena	Davidova 2
59.	Lederer Ingo	”
60.	Lederer Karlhanc	”
61.	Lefković Julijus	Davidova 2a
62.	Lempart Leo	Knjeginje Ljubice 13
63.	Lebental Alojz	Čupićeve 18
64.	Lithauer Bernard	Davidova 3
65.	Lithauer Sara	”
66.	Lithauer Leon	”
67.	Libreht Martin	Davidova 2a
68.	Lozercon Juda	Davidova 2
69.	Lončner Natan	Masarikov Kej 9
70.	Lončner Frana	”
71.	Majer Rika	Lešjaninova 28

72.	Malc Peti	Jelene Dimitrijević 5
73.	Malc Jozef	”
74.	Marković Hajnrih	Čupičeva 18
75.	Menkes Isidor	Cara Nikole 14
76.	Menkes Valerija	”
77.	Medak Oskar	Masarikov Kej 9
78.	Medak Hilda	”
79.	Morgenštern Šteri	Davidova 2
80.	Nagler Jozefina	Davidova 3
81.	Nagler Rihard	”
82.	Perlman Fajge	Stojana Novakovića 20
83.	Rajs Manfred	Knjeginje Ljubice 13
84.	Rajs Gustav	Prijezdina 3
85.	Rajs Secilija	”
86.	Ramin Salamon	General Bože Jankovića 14
87.	Redlih Martin	Vučičeva 10
88.	Rozental Jakves	Vladimira Gortana 3
89.	Rozental Herta	”
90.	Rozecvajng Fajga	Masarikov Kej 13
91.	Rozecvajng Rut	”
92.	Rot Žiga	Davidova 2a
93.	Rubinfeld Jozef	Knjeginje Ljubice 10
94.	Rudolf Franc	Nušičeva 55
95.	Rudolf Elen	”
96.	Rubinštajn Noah	Momčilova 11
97.	Rus Fric	Davidova 2
98.	Simković Ludvig	Knjeginje Ljubice 10
99.	Simković Oto	”
100.	Simković Kurt	”
101.	Simković Nikola	Poenkareva 22
102.	Skal Ervin	Knjeginje Ljubice 12
103.	Skal Ida	”
104.	Skal Paula	”
105.	Skal Berta	”
106.	Teler Abraham	Momčilova 9
107.	Teler Karolina	”
108.	Torbal Jakob	General Bože Jankovića 14
109.	Urih Paul	Poenkareova 22
110.	Urih Lili	”
111.	Fas Ida	Masarikov Kej 13
112.	Fas Sali	”
113.	Ferger Berta	Dž. Vašingtona 4
114.	Fišer Moris	Masarikov Kej 9
115.	Fišer Eter-Ela	”
116.	Flajšer Klar	Momčilova 11
117.	Fonjo Margit	Cara Nikole 14

118.	Fridlender Sali	Davidova 2a
119.	Fridlender Norbert	”
120.	Froberg Herman	Čupićeva 18
121.	Fuks Leo	Davidova 11
122.	Fuks Marija	”
123.	Hakel Perla	Jevremova 3a
124.	Hamelštajn Rut	Kapetan Kostina 5
125.	Hanc Vilhem	Obilićev Venac 21
126.	Hazerije Ernestina	Skopljanska 2
127.	Hindes Volf	Vučićeva 10
128.	Hindes Edit	”
129.	Horn Olga	Knjeginje Ljubice 10
130.	Huber Malvina	Davidova 4
131.	Cimerman Jakov	General Bože Jankovića 14
132.	Šabel Roza	Momčilova 9
133.	Šiml David	Čupićeva 18
134.	Šiml Leopold	”
135.	Šerf Herš	Davidova 11
136.	Šerf Rahel	”
137.	Šlaber Abraham	General Bože Jankovića 14
138.	Šlag Margita	Momčilova 9
139.	Šlezinger Šandor	Mrnjavčevićeva 6
140.	Šlezinger Eliza	”
141.	Šlezinger Julijo	”
142.	Šlezinger Manfred	”
143.	Špigl Albert	Carice Jelene 3
144.	Špigl Šarlota	”
145.	Švarc Majer	Masarikov Kej 11
146.	Švarc Pepi	”
147.	Švarc Valter	Davidova 4
148.	Šrajber Rudolf	Cara Nikole 14
149.	Šrajber Irne	”
150.	Štern Valter	Knjeginje Ljubice 10
151.	Šteri Hilde	Vučićeva 10
152.	Špingarn Isak	Carice Jelene 18
153.	Špingarn Marta	”
154.	Šuster Marta	Obilićev Venac 21
155.	Štajber Roza	Voždova 10

Appendix to the lists-additional data received later

Levi Persa, born in 1898, from Belgrade. Arrested as a member of the Jablanički partisan battalion in March of 1942.

Dijamanštajn (Danić) arrested by the Ljotić's forces in Soko Banja in March of 1942 and shot/killed on Bubanj hill.

Cajt Ludvig-Laci, worker in the factory for train wagons in Kraljevo, born in 1907 in Nevesinje. Arrested by S.P. on August 13, 1941.

Sirta Hemir, refugee from Sarajevo, captured by “četniks” near Ribara and transported to the concentration camp “Red Cross” and shot/killed on Bubanj hill. His wife Sirta Paula and daughter Sirta Lidija were arrested with him.

Harvan Avram, 15 years old.

Havran Sovija, 13 years old.

Levi Efraim, geometer employed in Niš.

Altarac Šalon, from Sarajevo who was employed in Niš.

Atijas Šimon, geometer, born in 1915 in Sarajevo, employed in Niš.

Baruh Leon, geometer, born in 1910 in Bugojno, employed in Niš.

Glazberg Konrad, geometer from Bosanska Dubica who was employed in Niš.

Valfiš Josif, assistant merchant, born in 1918 in Kulpin near Bački Petrovac, who was employed in Niš.

Levi Jakov, merchant, born in 1901 in Leskovac, escaped from Belgrade and captured near Doljevac.

Naftoli Nahman, merchant from Belgrade, captured near Doljevac.

Harvan Avram, from Niš who was 16 years old.

Summary (copied from the booklet with some minimal corrections)

The history of the Jews, one of the oldest people who also live in Yugoslavia, represents the integral part of the history of our people. They have been present on the territory of our country since time immemorial. Jews also lived in Nish in the Roman period. In 1878, shortly before the liberation from the Turks, there were 900 Jews out of 12817 inhabitants. The number was gradually reducing by migrations into bigger towns and on the eve of the war there were more than 100 families with 360 members. In World War II they experienced the tragic destiny of mass destruction. German anti-Semite orders outlawed them: the Germans limited their movement, deprived them of public functions, robbed and confiscated their property, took them for forced labor and stamped with yellow bands. In October 1941, they arrested the men and put them into the concentration camp “Red Cross.” After the famous breakout from the camp on the 12th of the February 1942, the Germans took reprisals for the attack and carried out mass execution on Bubanj hill near Nish on the 17th and 19th of February 1942. Hundreds of camp inmates were killed on that occasion. In February, after the liquidations of men in these mass executions, the Germans transported all women and children to the concentration camp Sajmište. They were suffocated in a special car and buried at Jajinci, the famous place of execution, near Belgrade.

Jews from many other parts of Serbia were also imprisoned in the concentration camp “Red Cross” and killed on Bubanj hill.

The tragedy the Jews experienced in Nish under Fascism is a part of the universal tragedy of many countries and peoples during World War II. But the tragedy of the Jews must be also understood as a part of the realization of a horrible fascist plan for mass destruction in a brutal and cruel way. It was the result of the systematic German policy towards the Jews.

This summary is followed by its translations in French and Russian.

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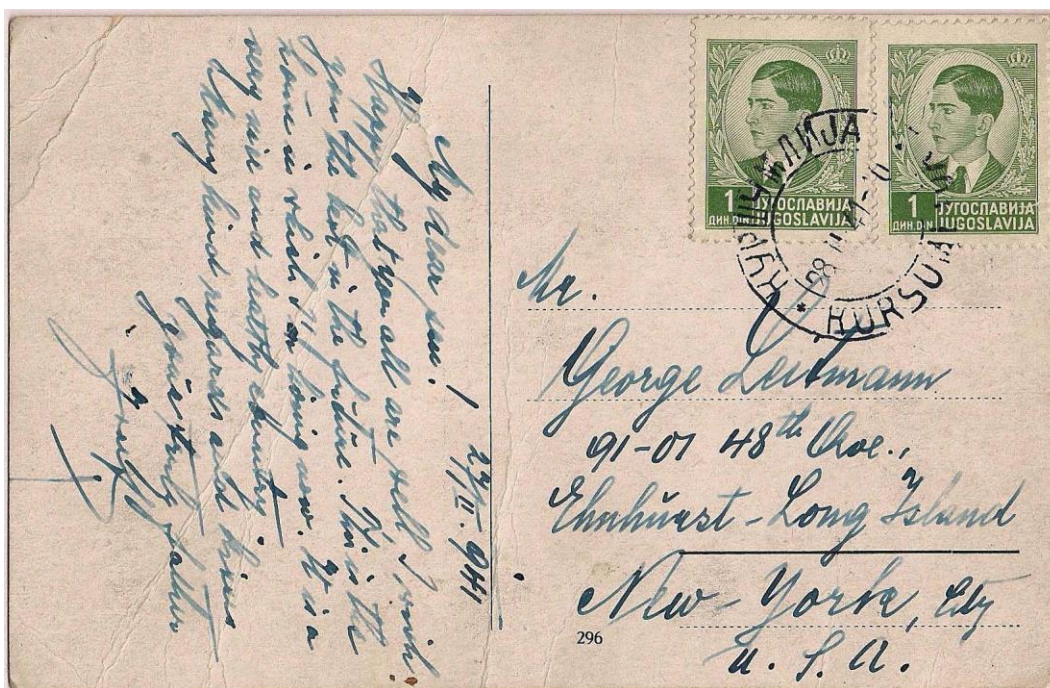
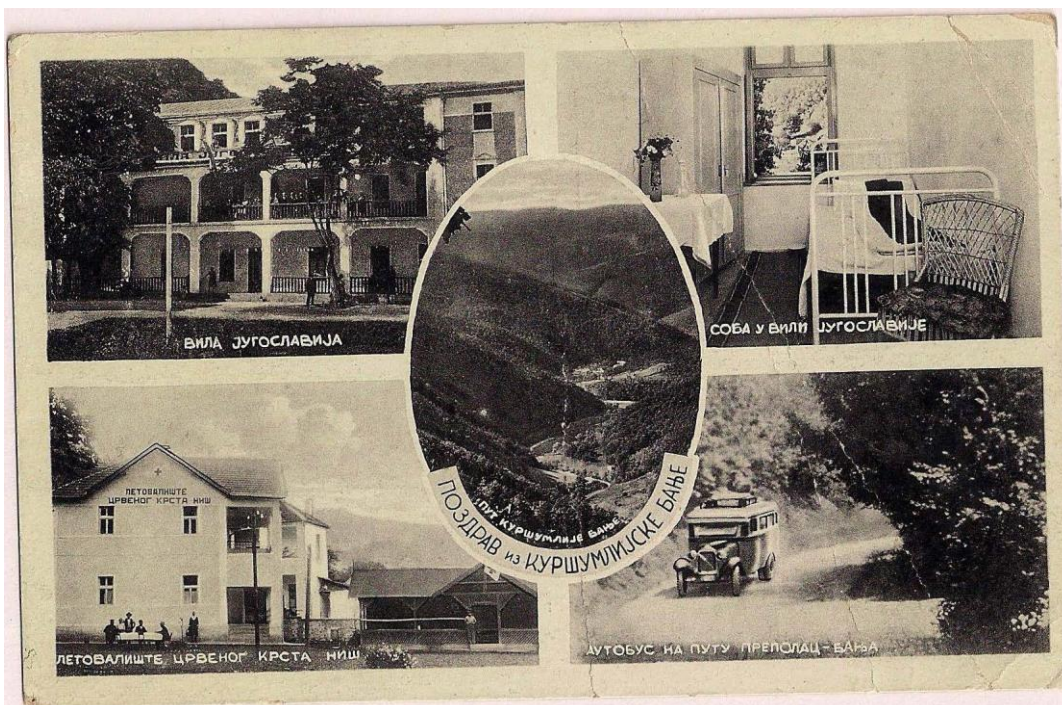


Figure 23. The postcard shows the last words from Josef Leitmann to his son George who, with his mother and grandmothers, had left Vienna in April 1940 when they believed Josef to be safe in Yugoslavia. Josef, who had served in Serbia as an Austrian officer during World War I and spoke Serbian, led a group of Austrian Jews across the border into Yugoslavia in April 1940. Ironically, after his second wounding in 1917 he lay in a military hospital in Nis where, 25 years later, he was most certainly murdered by the German occupiers. Josef Leitmann is included as number 51 on List 3 of Jews in Nis.